


C. L. A. Head.

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WADSTROM





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AN
E S S A Y
ON
COLONIZATION,
PARTICULARLY APPLIED TO THE
WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,
WITH SOME FREE THOUGHTS ON
CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE;
ALSO
BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS
OF THE COLONIES ALREADY FORMED, OR ATTEMPTED, IN AFRICA,
INCLUDING THOSE OF
SIERRA LEONA AND BULAMA.

BY
C. B. WADSTROM.

IN TWO PARTS.

Illustrated with a Nautical Map (from Lat. 5° 30' to Lat. 14° N.) and other Plates.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

And sold by G. NICOL, No. 58, Pall-Mall; W. FADEN, Corner of St. Martin's Lane, Strand;
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MDCXCIV.

(1794)



INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the following pages having, in the earlier part of his life, travelled through most parts of Europe, and observed various modes of civilized society, was desirous of contemplating human nature in simpler states; and, from what he had heard and read, he concluded, that Africa presented the most ample field for such observations. Accordingly, in the year 1787, he communicated his design to his sovereign, the late intelligent and enterprising King of Sweden, who not only granted him leave of absence from the office he had the honour to hold under him; but was also graciously pleased to favour with his royal countenance and support, himself and his fellow-travellers, Dr. A. Sparrman, known to the public by his voyages to the Cape of Good Hope, and round the world with the celebrated Cook, and Captain Arrhenius, of the Swedish artillery, a very able and experienced mineralogist.

They travelled by land from Stockholm to Paris, with his majesty's particular recommendation to the court of France, where their views were very cordially promoted. A passage was granted to them in a French ship from Havre de Grace to Africa, and they carried orders to all the

French governors and agents on the coast, to give them every kind of assistance, which accordingly they received wherever they thought proper to land.——Thus the author's opportunities of observation were uncommonly favourable, and he flatters himself he did not let them escape altogether unimproved.

The chief objects of his enquiry and observation in Africa were the character of the natives, and the evils they suffer from the slave-trade, the produce of the country, and above all, how far it seemed capable of improvement and of colonization.

The author, on returning to Europe, in 1788, called on some friends he had left in England eleven years before. Dr. Sparrman, who went first to Paris, shortly afterwards joined him in London; Captain Arrhenius going directly to Sweden. It soon transpiring that they had just returned from Africa, they were summoned before the British Privy Council, in whose interesting report their opinions on the subject of this work stand recorded in these words: “ The question being put to Mr. Wadstrom and to Dr. Sparrman, whether they thought that by any and what encouragement the natives of that country might be induced to cultivate the above articles” (viz. cotton, indigo, the sugar cane, &c.) “ so as to make them objects of commerce? —Mr. Wadstrom gave it as his opinion, that the only encouragement would be by settling a colony of Europeans there, and though they would proceed by very slow degrees, yet they would gradually reconcile the princes and natives of the country to it; and he added, that he should himself be glad to be one of the first to engage in such an undertaking.” —“ Dr. Sparrman thinks also this might be accomplished by planting colonies among them, and paying them
for

for their labour. They have at present some sort of industry, which by example might be increased. They would not at once be brought to regular and diurnal labour; but by little and little they might be reconciled to it*."

In 1789, he published a small tract, now out of print, compiled from his journals, and intitled "Observations on the Slave-trade in a Voyage to the Coast of Guinea." That trade was then under parliamentary investigation in England; and the author was flattered that his little piece might contribute to its abolition. At present the colonization of Africa shares the attention of the friends of the same cause. With renewed alacrity, therefore, he again steps forward, agreeable to his promise in the above-mentioned tract, in hopes of promoting that grand design, by proving that the colonization of Africa is not only practicable, but, in a commercial view, highly prudent and adviseable.

The reader has no doubt, by this time, discovered that the person who now addresses him is a zealous friend to the Africans. But it is presumed that his zeal is not inconsistent with sober truth; and that friendship to the Africans is not incompatible with friendship to the Europeans, and to all mankind. The author has ever thought that the most likely way to promote the civilization of mankind, would be to lead their activity into the cultivation of their country, as the best exercise for their affections, and to diffuse among them a spirit of *liberal* commerce, to exercise their understanding. Thus, cultivation and commerce established upon right principles, rendering the mind active, would early dispose it for the reception of pure moral instruction: commodities in this case could not fail to become the

* Privy Council's Report, Part I. Art. "Produce."

vehicles of ideas and inventions; the best systems of morality or religion would of consequence soon prevail; and the human species thereby would be ultimately improved and exalted.

Thinking thus, the author, particularly since he trod the fertile soil of Africa, and surveyed her rude, but valuable, natural stores, has often been grieved and astonished that such a country should have been so long overlooked by the industrious nations in Europe. Of this and some other curious circumstances relative to Africa, he will endeavour, in the ensuing tract, to trace the causes. Here he will only ask, in the words of the celebrated Professor Zimmerman of Brunswick, "Why have not other mercantile nations long ago opened their eyes, and looked into the benefits that would arise from a better knowledge of Africa? It may be answered, that, besides the prejudice that so strongly governs the world in general, we must not altogether reproach them. One of the finest and most increasing Dutch colonies is that at the Cape of Good Hope. France has flourishing colonies in the Isles of France and Bourbon. Portugal has several important establishments, and Denmark has lately given us a proof of what she intends to do. The day, I hope, is not far distant when Africa will enrich Europe with the most lucrative commerce." Indulging the same pleasing hope, the author most cheerfully joins his efforts with those of the benevolent and enlightened Britons, who are now endeavouring to form colonies in Africa—happy if his personal observations, supported and illustrated by the best authorities, should contribute to remove prejudices, and to prevent dangerous mistakes in those who may hereafter enter upon such undertakings in that quarter of the world.

AN
E S S A Y
ON
COLONIZATION, &c.

C H A P. I.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO COLONIZATION, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA.

1. **W**HEN the maritime nations of Europe first attempted to found colonies in the Indies, they had prodigious difficulties to encounter. Few of the adventurers seem to have been aware of the serious nature of such undertakings, and of the necessity of proceeding on regular and well digested plans. Many of them appear to have embarked with expectations of the speedy acquisition of wealth; but without well knowing where they were to land, and to reap this golden harvest. Even the best informed of them were unapprized of the inconveniences which they were to guard against, and unacquainted with the diseases of hot climates, and the means of prevention and cure; especially with that invaluable medicine, the Peruvian bark. Many of the lower class of settlers were men of debauched habits, and unaccustomed to the labour of clearing land; and all of them but indifferently provided with

Plans of the
first European
colonists.
ill digested.

C H A P. I. with the accommodations and diet necessary to support them under their exertions. Such, except in the case of Pennsylvania and one or two others, appears to be a pretty good general sketch of the characters and conduct of the first European colonies. We cannot here be more particular; but, if the intelligent reader will call to mind the various disasters and distresses which the original settlers of most of the modern European colonies suffered, he will not wonder that some of them failed, but that almost any of them succeeded. The liberal spirit of enterprize, however, which *then* animated the merchants of some nations, and the governments of others, in many cases, repaired first miscarriages, overcame every obstacle, and at length founded colonies, some of which now emulate powerful nations.

Africa hitherto neglected.

2. While such splendid establishments have been formed in Asia and America, "it is melancholy to observe that" Africa, a country much more accessible to European commerce than either Asia or America, and, "which has near 10,000 miles of sea-coast, and noble, large, deep rivers, should yet have no navigation; streams penetrating into the the very centre of the country, but of no benefit to it. In short, Africa, though a full quarter of the globe, stored with an inexhaustible treasure, and capable, *under proper improvements*, of producing so many things delightful as well as convenient, seems utterly neglected by those who are civilized themselves*." It may not be amiss briefly to state what appear to me to have been among the causes of the neglect which the respectable author here notices.

Causes of this neglect.

3. One grand incitement to European enterprize, in the fifteenth century, seems to have been the discovery of a

* Postlethwayt's Dictionary, Article "Africa."

passage by sea to the East Indies, which should lay open to all nations the commerce of that country, then monopolized by the Venetians. In 1492, Columbus, in quest of a westerly passage to the East Indies, was unexpectedly interrupted in his course by the islands of America. In 1497, Vasquez de Gama pursued and accomplished the same object, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

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4. Both these events appear to have operated greatly to the disadvantage of Africa. The coast of that continent, after having served as a clue to conduct navigators to the East Indies, was itself comparatively neglected; not on account of any natural inferiority in its soil, climate, or productions; but because the Africans, not having advanced so far in the arts as the East Indians, nor having then discovered such quantities of the precious metals as the Americans, could not *immediately* supply the European demand for those desirable productions, which the commerce of the East afforded. Thus Asia and America became the principal theatres of the ambition and avidity of the Europeans; and happy had it been for Africa if they had so continued. But it is distressing to recollect the rapid progress of European iniquity among the simple and untutored nations inhabiting the other quarters of the world. Their operations in America were deplorably injurious to Africa. It was soon found that the aborigines of the former could not endure the toils imposed on them by their new masters. "The natives of Hispaniola alone were reduced, in fifteen years, from at least one million to about 60,000*." Hence arose the *apparent* or *pretended* necessity (for there never can be any *real* necessity to commit villainy) of resorting to

The Slave-trade.

* Robertson's History of America.

C H A P. II. Africa for a supply of labourers, in form of slaves. Here commenced *the Slave-trade*, that scourge of the human race, which has kept down a great part of the Africans in a state of anarchy and blood, and which, while it's nefarious existence is tolerated, will prove *the* grand obstacle to their improvement and civilization. Early in the sixteenth century, this traffic had assumed an appearance of system; for we find that, in 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain slave-merchants for the annual supply of 4000 negroes to the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico. It has since been cherished with as much care, as if the very existence of legitimate commerce depended on it, and as if, in principle and practice, it perfectly accorded with the feelings and sentiments of it's patrons.

The West
Indies derive
their import-
ance from
Africa.

5. Without undervaluing the West Indian sugar colonies, we may venture to observe, that their importance, nay, according to the planters themselves, their very existence, depends on Africa. That continent supplies them with slaves, whom they call by the soft name of "Negro labourers," and who *alone* confer a value on their property. Some affirm, with much probability, that they also owe to Africa the very object of their labours. Certain it is, that the sugar-cane grows spontaneously in Africa; but whether it be a native of the West Indies, is a controverted point. Be this as it may, it was surely somewhat preposterous to drag the Africans to the West Indies, there to drudge amidst whips and chains, in cultivating a commodity which, had they been prudently and humanely dealt with, they might have been induced to raise, as an article of commerce, upon their own soil, and that much nearer to the European markets than the nearest of the West Indian islands.

islands*. But the very vicinity of Africa, which should have recommended it to the Europeans, may have operated to its disadvantage; for mankind generally set the greatest value on things distant and difficult to be obtained. Distance, like a fog, confuses objects, and lends them a magnitude that does not belong to them; and thus fascinates and misleads men of warm imaginations, often to their injury, sometimes to their ruin.

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6. But the slave-trade, as carried on in Africa, not only impedes the progress of the natives in the arts of industry and peace; but also now prevents the European merchants concerned in it, or in the sugar colonies, from countenancing the colonization of that continent, from an ill founded apprehension, that such new establishments may interfere with those in the West Indies. It is indeed well known, that the Sierra Leona Company experienced very great opposition from the selfish and ungenerous African traders, and West Indian merchants and planters. In justice, however, to several of the more liberal individuals of those bodies, we must observe, that, disregarding vulgar prejudices, they saw no cause of alarm from such establishments. They probably considered, that self-interest is always, in the end, best promoted by liberality; and that as all the cotton pro-

Opposition of
merchants
and planters.

* Voyages from England to the nearest of the West Indian islands are performed, on an average, in about thirty days; to the most distant, in about six weeks.---A voyage to Sierra Leona occupies about twenty days; but Mr. Falconbridge once arrived there from England in seventeen days. Voyages home both *from* Africa and the West Indies, are longer than those *to* them, from the opposition of the trade winds; and homeward bound ships from Jamaica, St. Domingo, Cuba, and the Bahamas are farther interrupted by the gulph stream.---In 1782, a French frigate arrived at Senegal from Brest in thirteen days, and returned in fifteen.---The Chevalier de Boufflers told me that he arrived at Senegal from Havre in twenty days, and that the vessel returned to Havre in the same time.

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duced in the British islands is quite inadequate to the demand of the British manufacturers, so the consumption of sugar being rapidly increasing, in Europe and America, and capable of indefinite extension, the time may not be very distant when all the sugar that can be produced on the West Indian plantations already settled, may be equally inadequate to the supply of the European and American markets. I say on the West Indian plantations already settled; for it is the opinion of persons well acquainted with West Indian affairs, that those plantations cannot, on the present system, be profitably extended.

Objections against colonizing Africa answered.

7. Besides the foregoing obstructions to the colonization of Africa, several well meaning people have stated some objections which ought to be answered.—First, “They fear that the colonization of Africa would introduce, among the simple and innocent natives of that continent, the corrupted manners of the Europeans.”—I answer, that the slave-trade has already introduced, into those parts of Africa where it prevails, the manners of the most corrupted of the Europeans; but that a colony of sober, honest and industrious people from Europe, who will of course fix their residence where there is little or no slave-trade, and who will support themselves by agriculture, and not by commerce, need not excite any alarm whatever on this head. “But the Europeans, it may be said, corrupted the aborigines of North America, though neither party dealt in slaves.” This is unfortunately true; but it is equally true that this corruption was the work of European *traders*, and not of European *farmers*. The genius of commerce unfortunately prevailed, more than it ought to have done, in the first establishment of the European colonies, in the new world. Of the consequences of this unhappy ascendancy of commerce over agriculture, many melan-

melancholy instances might be given, were this a proper place. Suffice it to observe, what will scarcely be denied, that the object of the European traders in America (*as traders*) was not to civilize the natives; but, like the white slave dealers in Africa, to turn their rude propensities for European liquors, gunpowder and baubles, to their own *immediate* profit, without looking forward to the advantages, to legitimate commerce, which, sooner or later, would have resulted from their civilization. Nor have governments seemed to be sufficiently sensible of those advantages; for while they strictly regulated the commerce of their subjects with civilized nations, they left them to push their trade with the uncivilized in any direction, and by any means, their own blind avarice suggested. Hence followed “deeds unjust—even to the full swing of their lust.” In the Portuguese colonies, indeed, of Grand Para and Maranhao, a Directorio was established in 1758, for regulating the dealings of the whites with the native Indians, who are there described as “uncivilized and ignorant,” and “universally addicted to debauch in liquors, furnished them by the whites.” It does not appear what effect these regulations have had in eradicating the evil habits which had been previously fostered in the Indians by the Portuguese pedlars. But they have, in some degree, civilized the native Africans in their settlements on the coast; and the progress of the Jesuits in Paraguay clearly proves that uncivilized nations may be improved, instead of being debauched, as hath too often happened, by an intercourse with the Europeans.

8. Secondly. It is objected, that “Colonies in Africa would prove the means of perpetuating, and not of destroying the slave-trade.” This objection would no doubt have some force, if commerce, and not cultivation, were to be

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the primary object of such establishments; or even if cultivation were to be carried on by human labour only, unassisted by the labour of cattle. But commerce and human labour are both very capable of limitation and regulation; and in this work I hope to prove that it is very practicable so to limit and regulate them in Africa, as to check the hurtful predominancy of the one, and to prevent the oppressive tendency of the other.

9. Another objection is "That the defence of colonies in Africa would, like that of most of the American colonies, be burdensome to the European governments, which should favour their establishment." To this it may be answered, that, if according to the plan I mean to propose, the colonists cultivate, from the beginning, an amicable coalition with the natives, they will, like the above-mentioned establishment of the Jesuits in Paraguay, soon acquire such a degree of strength as to secure them from all wanton aggression.

10. It seems unnecessary to say more in this place, to satisfy objectors who, upon the whole, wish to promote the civilization of Africa, if they clearly saw how it could be effected: for one great end of this work is, to remove their conscientious scruples; most of which, however, appear to me to deserve attention, more on account of their motives, than of their strength.

C H A P. II.

CHARACTER AND DISPOSITION OF THE AFRICANS.

11. CIVIL and religious government is allowed to be the principal cause which affects (and even forms) the characters of nations. Climate, diet, occupation, and a variety of other less considerable causes contribute their share to the general effect. It is not, however, by abstract reasonings alone, on the separate or combined influence of those causes that the character of a nation can be ascertained; but actual observations on their genius and conduct must also be attended to. Such observations cannot be too numerous; nor can general conclusions be too cautiously drawn from them.

Governments, &c. form national character.

12. That this important moral balance may be struck with perfect impartiality, the observer ought to dismiss every prejudice, and to leave his mind open to a full and fair impression of all the circumstances. Every well disposed man will allow the necessity of such procedure, who knows how grossly the very people of whom we are treating, have been misrepresented by those who first made merchandize of their persons, and then endeavoured, by calumny, to justify their own conduct towards them. The accounts of African governors and other slave merchants, have been but too implicitly followed by authors of no small note, who never were in Africa, and who did not suspect that the writers they quoted were interested in misleading them.

Misrepresentations of the character of the Africans.

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them. Hence it is to be feared, that many well meaning persons have been led to believe that the Africans are so insensible as not to feel their ill treatment, or so wicked as not to deserve better; and have therefore, without farther examination, left them to what they think a merited fate.

13. The author, aware of the difficulty of this part of his subject, has all along laboured to observe as minutely and extensively, and to judge as impartially, as he could. But, after all his diligence, he is only able to offer some short and imperfect sketches. Imperfect, however, as they are, he is conscious they are faithfully copied from the original.

Civilized na-
tions govern-
ed by reason,
uncivilized
by passions.

14. He believes every man, who has made it his business to compare the conduct of civilized and uncivilized nations, will admit that the former are governed by reason, and the latter by their will and affections, or what are commonly called their passions—or at least that, upon the whole, reason influences mankind in proportion as they are civilized.

15. This observation may be applied very appositely to the Africans. Their understandings have not been nearly so much cultivated as those of the Europeans; but their passions, both defensive and social, are much stronger. No people are more sensible of disrespect, contempt, or injury, or more prompt and violent in resenting them. They are also apt to retain a sense of injury, till they obtain satisfaction, or gratify revenge. In this they resemble other imperfectly civilized tribes, and even the more refined Europeans, in whom that benevolent religion, which teaches forgiveness of enemies, has not yet produced it's full effect. For was not satisfaction to offended honour; that is, was not a certain mode of revenge a distinguishing part of the system of chivalry? And do not our modern duelists, the polite successors of the ancient knights, still cherish a principle

ple which they will not allow to be called revenge; but for which sober people cannot find a better name? Revenge causes wars in Africa: and are there no symptoms of its producing wars in Europe? But African wars are never protracted, with cold-blooded perseverance, to the length of the siege of Troy; nor is peace ever negotiated with a view to future wars. The Africans have no particular tortures in reserve for their prisoners, like the North American Indians; nor do they ever devour them, like the natives of New Zealand.

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16. But if they be charged with hatred to their enemies, kindness to their friends ought, in candour, to be stated to their credit; and their hospitality to unprotected strangers is liberal, disinterested, and free from ostentation; as I myself and many others have experienced. Their kindness, and respectful attention to white persons, with whose characters they are satisfied, arises to a degree of partiality which, all things considered, is perfectly surprising. Persons of this description may, and often do, reside among them in perfect security, receiving the best possible proofs of their good will, namely the most pressing solicitations to settle among them. This partiality to well disposed Europeans extends also to their dress, manners, and commodities; in short, to every thing that is European—a disposition which might long ago have been improved to the best purposes.

17. On those parts of the coast and country, where the slave-trade prevails, the inhabitants are shy and reserved, as well they may! and on all occasions go armed, lest they should be way-laid and carried off.

18. In maternal, filial, and fraternal affection, I scruple not to pronounce them superior to any Europeans I ever was among;

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Africans corrupted by the European traders.

among; but, as they practice polygamy, their paternal and conjugal affections may be supposed less ardent.

19. As many of them have not sufficient employment either for their heads or their hands, they are apt to relieve listlessness by intoxication, when they can procure the means. So very successful, indeed, have the European slave-dealers been, in exciting in them a thirst for spirits, that it is now become one of the principal pillars of their trade; for the chiefs, intoxicated by the liquor with which they are purposely bribed by the whites, often make bargains and give orders fatal to their subjects, and which, when sober, they would gladly retract. A desire for spirituous liquors, however, is the failing of all uncivilized people. In particular, it has greatly thinned some American tribes, and almost annihilated others.

20. Their notions and practices respecting property are not more inaccurate or irregular than those of other men in the same stage of society; as is evident from the general conduct of such of them as are unconnected with this destructive commerce. But those who are, may be expected to be tainted with its concomitant vices. As the whites practice every fraud upon them, in the quantity and quality of the goods delivered, and in trepanning their persons, the blacks cannot carry on *this* trade, on equal terms, without resorting to similar practices. As to the injustice, cruelty and rapine which, at the instigation of the whites, they practice on one another, they are not more disgraceful than the well known trades of crimps, and kidnappers, and press-gangs, carried on, without foreign instigation, in several European countries, and even protected, or connived at, by their governments. At the worst, these practices are not so disgrace-

disgraceful to uncivilized men as to their *civilized*, European instigators. Menzel gives a horrid detail of the operations of the Zeelverkoopers, (soul-mongers) of Holland, whose infamous trade it is to trepan men for their East Indian settlements. By such means, the author affirms, that the population of the pestiferous city of Batavia is kept from total extinction*.

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21. Of the infamous arts of the Europeans, and the consequent intoxication and violence of one of the African chiefs, I have had ocular proof. In order to promote the slave-trade, the French governors at Goree send yearly presents to the black kings, who return a gift of slaves. In 1787, I attended an embassy of this kind to the King of Barbesin at Joal, on the coast between Goree and Gambia. That chief having been unwilling to *pillage*, was kept constantly intoxicated, by the French and mulattoes, till they prevailed on him to issue the dreadful mandate. When sober, he expressed extreme reluctance to harass his people. He complained that the traders of Goree, after making him trifling presents, came upon him with long accounts, and endless pretensions; that the governor listened too readily to their tales, thought too little of the sufferings of the negroes, and must have been imposed upon, when he allowed his name to be used on such occasions—An allegation which most probably was true; for the Chevalier de Boufflers then governor, I really believe, was ignorant of these knavish proceedings; but, like many other great men, was the dupe of his courtiers. I heard the king more than once hold this language, had it interpreted on the spot, and insert-

Instance in
the conduct
of an African
chief.

* Beschreibung von Cape de Bonne Esperance, (Description of the Cape of Good Hope) Vol. I. p. 351, 357, 369.

C H A P. II. ed it in my journal : and yet he soon after ordered the pil-
lage to be executed.

22. On this occasion it happened that only one captive was taken. This was a handsome young negress, who, notwithstanding her tears, was forthwith carried on board a ship then lying off Joal. As she belonged, however, to one of those families who, by the laws of the country, are exempted from slavery, this action shocked the people so much that a commotion ensued. The king having, by this time, come to his senses, and seeing the danger, entreated the purchaser to return the girl. The Frenchman, though surrounded by a great multitude of negroes, and though our party, including Dr. Sparrman, Captain Arrhenius, and myself, consisted but of five white men, was so madly obstinate as to refuse his request. I say madly, for in all the conjunctures of my life, I never was so alarmed for the safety of it. After much entreaty, however, he restored the young woman to her disconsolate relations, the king promising him two slaves in exchange, whom he expected to seize on a future expedition.

Proofs of the
industry of
the Africans.

23. The opposers of the colonization of Africa would have it believed, that the natives are incurably stupid and indolent: but I have in my possession the means of proving the contrary; for, on a question put to me in a committee of the British House of Commons, I offered to produce specimens of their manufactures in iron, gold, fillagree work, leather, cotton, matting and basket-work, some of which equal any articles of the kind fabricated in Europe, and evince that, with proper encouragement, they would make excellent workmen. All men are idle till incited to industry, by their natural or artificial wants. Their soil easily supplies their natural necessities, and the whites have never
tried

tried to excite in them any innocent artificial wants; nor indeed any other wants than those of brandy, baubles, trade-guns, powder and ball, to intoxicate or amuse their chiefs, and to afford them the means of laying waste their country.

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24. Even the least improved tribes make their own fishing tackle, canoes and implements of agriculture. I forgot to mention salt and soap, and dying among the manufactures of those I visited, and who are by no means exempted from the evils of the slave-trade. If, even while that traffic disturbs their peace, and endangers their persons, they have made such a progress, what may we not expect if that grievous obstacle were removed, and their ingenuity directed into a proper channel?

25. The slave-trade disturbs their agriculture still more than their manufactures; for men will not be fond of planting who have not a moral certainty of reaping. Yet, even without enjoying that certainty, they raise grain, fruits, and roots, not only sufficient for their own consumption, but even to supply the demands of the European shipping, often to a considerable extent. In some islands and parts of the coast, where there is no slave-trade, they have made great progress in agriculture. At the island of Fernando Po, in particular, they have such quantities of provisions, as to spare a sufficiency for all the shipping at Calabar, Del Rey, and Camerones. In some places, they bring their produce to the coast on their heads, and return home loaded with European goods. Others go in armed bodies even a month's journey inland, with articles for trade. In some places, they wood and water the ships, and hire themselves to the Europeans to work for low wages, both in boats and on shore. In short, their industry is in general proportioned

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to their comparative civilization, to their own wants, to the demand for their labour, to their desire for European goods, and above all, to their total or partial exemption from the slave-trade *.

26. Refined nations form systems, and rise to generals: unpolished tribes dwell on detail, and trifle in particulars. The Africans are unacquainted with the dexterity and dispatch arising from the division of labour, and with the numerous advantages of combined exertions systematically conducted. Except in works which, without united efforts, cannot be performed at all, they do every thing in a solitary, desultory manner. Each individual or family, like the peasants in some parts of Europe, spins, weaves, sews, hunts, fishes, and makes baskets, fishing-tackle and implements of agriculture; so that, considering the number of trades they exercise, their imperfect tools, and their still more imperfect knowledge of machinery, the neatness of some of their works is really surprising.

27. Of their labour in concert, I shall give one example, of which I have been a spectator. The trees on the coast I visited, being generally bent in their growth by the sea-breeze, and wanting solidity, are unfit for canoes. A tree of the proper dimensions is therefore chosen, perhaps fourteen or fifteen miles up the country, which being cut into the requisite length, but not hollowed, lest it should be rent by accident, or by the heat of the sun, the people of the nearest village draw it to the next, and thus successively from village to village, till it reach the coast, where it is formed into a ca-

* See the evidence of Sir George Young, Captain Dalrymple, Captain Wilson, Captain Hall, Mr. Ellifon, &c. in Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons.

noe. For this severe labour the villagers look for no other reward than a feast and merry-making, which they enjoy in the true style of rural simplicity. C H A P.
II.

28. The same happy mixture of united labour and festivity takes place at building their houses; also in cultivating, planting or sowing their fields, belonging to the same village, and in reaping the crop, which is considered as the common property of the inhabitants. Such a practice in Europe would generate endless disputes; but among this simple people, is the best bond of good neighbourhood. Such indeed is the amiable simplicity of manners which reigns in the villages remote from the slave-trade, that European visitors are ready to imagine themselves carried into a new world, governed by the purest maxims of patriarchal innocence.

29. But though few of them unite their strength, except on these, and a few similar, occasions, and most of them turn their hands to different occupations, we are not thence to conclude unfavourably of their intellects, any more than of the intellects of those European peasants, (in Sweden, Norway, Scotland, &c.) whose practices are similar. On the contrary, Lord Kaimes has observed, I think with much truth, that such peasants are generally more intelligent than artificers, to whom the division of labour, in manufacturing countries, has assigned *one, simple* operation. A peasant, who makes and repairs his ploughs, harrows, and harness, his household furniture, and even his cloaths, has an ampler scope for his understanding, and really becomes a more intelligent being than he who spends his whole life in forging horse-shoes, making nails, or burnishing buttons. Such a being, confined for life to a few simple motions, may be said, in some degree, to lose the use of all his powers, but that of
the

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III.

the muscles which perform those motions. His intellect lies dormant, for it's use is superseded by a mere animal habit. He becomes, in short, a kind of live machine, in the hands of some monied man, to contribute to the pride and luxury of drones, who possess no other talent than that of turning to their own account the activity of their poor brethren of mankind*.

30. I am unwilling to refine too much; but as the situation of the Africans approaches much nearer to that of intelligent peasants than that of stupid mechanics, I am inclined to think that their intellects may have been improved by being so variously exercised; for the natural way of improving the human intellect, is to afford it an ample field of action; and the sure way to cramp and contract it, is to keep it incessantly plodding in *one* dull pursuit. Certain it is, that though, on the whole, passion is more predominant in the African character than reason; yet their intellects are so far from being of an inferior order, that one finds it difficult to account for their acuteness, which so far transcends their apparent means of improvement.

C H A P. III.

CIVILIZATION IN GENERAL.

Will and understanding,
the leading
faculties of
the mind.

31. NO one will deny that the *will* and the *understanding* are the leading faculties of the human mind. The *will* is actuated by love for, or *affections* to, some objects in

* See Lord Kaimes's Sketches of the History of Man.

preference to others, and those affections being possessed by man in common with other animals, he would become a destructive being, if in society he had not an opportunity of giving a social bias to his *understanding*, which is capable of infinite elevation. But when this latter faculty is matured, it then acquires a right of governing and directing the *affections* and the *will* in the way most conformable to social order.

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32. The establishment of this dominion of the *understanding* over the *will*, as influenced by the *affections*, is the effect of what we call *education* or *civilization*—Education with respect to every man in particular, and civilization with respect to mankind in general.

Education and civilization defined and their relations explained.

33. Societies may be divided into the *civilized* and the *uncivilized*; and the duties of the former to the latter are similar to those of parents to children; for uncivilized nations, like children, are governed by their affections, their understanding being uncultivated.

34. If we feel within ourselves a principle which teaches us to seek our own happiness in that of our offspring; ascending from particulars to generals, we shall also find, that civilized nations ought, for their own advantage, sincerely to promote the happiness of the uncivilized.

35. As the tutelage of children is a state of subjection; so it would seem that civilized nations have perhaps some right to exercise a similar dominion over the uncivilized, provided that this dominion be considered and exercised as a mild paternal yoke; provided also that it be strictly limited to acts conducive to their happiness, and that it cease when they arrive at maturity. These provisos, it is hoped, will prevent my meaning from being misunderstood: for, by this paternal dominion, I am far from intending any species

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Africans
would be im-
proved by in-
nocent luxu-
ry.

cies of arbitrary power, which cannot be too cautiously guarded against, in any form, especially in a distant colony. The experience of all ages tells us, that the governors of remote provinces have ever been with difficulty restrained within the limits prescribed to them by the laws.

36. The active and intellectual principles of the Africans have never been completely unfolded, except perhaps in the case of the Foolahs, the natives of Fernando Po, a great part of the Mandingoes, and one or two other tribes. The Europeans have addressed themselves chiefly to the evil affections of their princes, and have succeeded to admiration in exciting among them a desire for gunpowder and brandy. The desire which some African nations have for more useful European goods has been accidental, rather than intentional, on the part of the whites. Yet this desire conspires with the reason of the thing, to point out the method of forming them to the habits of civilized life. In order to improve their intellects, we must endeavour to set their active powers in motion. New objects must be presented to them, which will excite new desires, and call forth those faculties which have hitherto, in a great measure, lain dormant, merely for want of exercise. Thus, to promote their improvement, by stimulating them to industry, it will be necessary to introduce among them a certain degree of what I beg leave to call *luxury*; by which I do not mean effeminacy, but that relish for the comforts of civilized life which excites men to action, without enervating them. In other words, by *luxury*, I understand all innocent enjoyments beyond the necessaries of mere animal life.

Interesting
behaviour
of African
chiefs,

37. The behaviour of the King of Barbesin, on an occasion apparently trivial, may serve to exemplify this doctrine, and to shew that this beneficial kind of luxury might be introduced

roduced with less difficulty than one would at first sight expect. I gave his majesty a pair of common enamelled Birmingham sleeve-buttons, with which, though ignorant of their use, he was infinitely delighted. On my shewing him for what purpose they were intended, he appeared much mortified that his shirt had no button-holes; but observing that that of a mulatto from Goree was furnished with them, he insisted on exchanging shirts with him, in our presence; a demand with which the man was forced to comply. Transported with his new ornaments, the king held up his hands to display them to the people. His courtiers soon surrounded my hut, entreating me to furnish them also with buttons, which I did with pleasure, reflecting that this fondness of the natives for European baubles might one day come to be made subservient to the noblest purposes.—Another instance of innocent luxury in point. The East India ship, that conveyed out a judge to Bengal, touched at the coast of Madagascar. The king of that district, being invited on board, became enamoured with the judge's wig, and nothing but the gift in fee simple, of that venerable ornament, could satisfy the cupidity of his dusky-coloured majesty. The poor judge, who had but one wig in store, and was resolved not to disgrace the seat of justice in a night cap, refused to part with the wig. What expedient could be thought of in this dilemma?—The king was promised the wig the next day.—An ingenious sailor, in the mean time, wove and frizzled up a handful of oakum in the best imitation. The hempen ornament was carried ashore the next morning with due solemnity, and his majesty's pate covered, to the glory and delight of himself and all his subjects, who attended the ceremony. This anecdote was re-

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lated

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lated to an intimate friend of mine by the surgeon of the ship who was present at the inauguration.

38. The conduct of the king (formerly grand marabou*) of Almammy, while I was in Africa, appeared to me more interesting; as it seemed to evince the manly and sagacious character of the negroes, when enlightened, even by an African education. His understanding having been more cultivated in his youth than that of the other black princes, he soon rendered himself entirely independent on the whites. He not only prohibited the slave-trade throughout his dominions; but, in the year 1787, would not suffer the French to march their slaves from Gallam, through his country, so that they were obliged to change their route. He redeemed his own subjects, when seized by the Moors, and encouraged them to raise cattle, to cultivate the land, and to practise all kinds of industry. As grand marabou, he abstained from strong liquor, which, however, is not an universal rule among that order; for some who travel with the whites are not very scrupulous in this respect. His subjects, imitating his example, were more sober than their neighbours.

shewing that
luxury would
incite them
to agricul-
ture, and o-
pen their
minds.

39. This instance seems to prove to what a degree of civilization these people might be brought, if this noble enterprise should be pursued with prudence and patience; for it will undoubtedly require a great deal of both. But some degree of luxury (in my restrained sense) appears to me to be absolutely necessary to the success of any plan of this kind. Indeed, I cannot comprehend how the human understanding can be led on, from its first imperfect dawn-

* The marabous are the chief priests among the negroes, and are the only people *I have seen* who can read and write Arabic.

ings,

ings, to that state of improvement which is necessary to the formation of civilized society, without a relish for the comforts of life. Mere animal instinct impels uncivilized tribes to procure mere necessities: wishes for innocent gratifications would stimulate them to cultivation, which would furnish equivalents for the objects of their new desires. And when they are once brought to bestir themselves, and reconciled to regular, but moderate, labour, the improvement of their understandings will follow of course. For a people who have acquired habits of application, and whose industry, having secured them from want, affords them leisure for thought, will not be long without a desire for moral and intellectual improvement: or, at least, many individuals will feel, and hasten to gratify, this desire, and will gradually impart a degree of knowledge and refinement to the whole community.

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40. To accomplish this magnificent design, in Africa, let us form agricultural colonies on its coast, which present a variety of situations, where we shall be little, or not at all, disturbed in our operations. Let us kindly mix with the inhabitants, and assist them in cultivating their fertile soil, with the view of inviting them to participate with us in its inexhaustible stores, and in the concomitant blessings of improving reason and progressive civilization. Let us give them a manly and generous education, which will make them feel the nobility of their origin, and shew them of what great things they are capable—an education which will teach them no longer to suffer themselves to be dragged, or to conspire to drag others, from their simple, but improveable and beloved societies—which will teach them to avenge themselves on the blind and fordid men who purchase them, only by becoming more useful to them as free-

*Agricultural
colonies re-
commended.*

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men, than ever they have been, or can be, as slaves. Thus, on the wreck of tyranny, let us build altars to humanity, and prove to the negroes that the Europeans, become just from sound policy, and generous from a sense of their true interests, are at last disposed to make some atonement for the irreparable mischiefs their perverted system of commerce has occasioned in Africa.

41. On principles nearly approaching to these, a colony has already been formed at Sierra Leona, and another attempted at the island of Bulama, of both which some account will be given in the following pages.

C H A P. IV.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND WATER.

C L I M A T E.

42. **T**HE climate of Africa, like that of other countries, varies with the nature of the soil, in its dryness or moisture, its elevation or depression, the comparative state of improvement, the height of thermometer, and other circumstances, perhaps, not yet sufficiently investigated. The latitude of a place is by no means a certain criterion of its climate, as seems to be commonly supposed*. Even in the midst of the torrid zone, we meet with all possible gradations of heat and cold, almost the only circumstances which enter into the common idea of climate. The lofty summits

* See an excellent discourse on this subject, delivered in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, by B. Ferner, counsellor of the king's chancery.

of the Andes, in South America, though under the equator, and the high lands of Camarones, on the coast of Africa, though within between three and four degrees of it, are covered with everlasting snow. C H A P.
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43. In the temperate zones, the year is divided into winter and summer; for spring and autumn may be considered as transitions from each of these extremes to its opposite. But, in most parts of the torrid zone, nature has distinguished the seasons into the wet and the dry. The former is, in Guinea, the season of sickness; but during the greater part of the latter, that country is, upon the whole, as healthful as any other whatever. Wet and dry
seasons.

44. From what I have seen, and been able to collect, the rainy seasons follow the passage of the sun to either tropic, so as generally to prevail in those places where the sun is vertical. East of Cape Palmas, however, they seldom set in before June, when the sun returns from the northern tropic; but to the westward of that cape, and up the whole country, those seasons generally commence within the month of May, and continue for three or four months. In the beginning of this season, the earth being softened with rain, the negroes till and plant their grounds; and, after the return of dry weather, they gather in their crops; occupations which they seldom abandon, even though allured by the most advantageous commerce.

45. To give the reader some idea of the quantity of rain, which deluges Africa during the wet season, I need only mention that, at Senegal, one hundred and fifteen inches in depth of rain were found to fall in four months; a quantity which exceeds that which falls in most parts of Britain during four years*. Quantity of
rain. Even during the dry season, the dews are

* See Lind on the Diseases of hot Climates, p. 43.

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so copious as to preserve young and ripening vegetables from being scorched by the heat. It may indeed be questioned, whether the rain which falls in some countries, equal the dews which distil on most parts of the fertile shores of Africa. But the magnitude and number of the rivers, which rise and fall, in the wet and dry seasons, are evident proofs that that continent is abundantly watered. In short, the notion of the ancients, that the torrid zone was not habitable for want of moisture, is perfectly inapplicable to most parts of the western tropical coast of Africa.

Thermometer and Barometer.

46. The range of the thermometer is but in considerable in the tropical regions; and, what is still more remarkable, the barometer remains almost stationary during those surprising transitions from dry to wet, and the contrary. In Europe, the mercury rises and falls about three inches; in the torrid zone, seldom half an inch. It is even said to be but little affected by the most violent hurricane *. But M. West, in a description of St. Croix, published at Copenhagen last year, says that in a hurricane, or violent storm, which happened there in 1791, the mercury in his barometer rose very considerably †.

SOIL.

From Cape Blanco down to the River Gambia.

47. The soil all along the coast is very unequal. From Cape Blanco down to the River Gambia, it is in general very sandy; but the sand contains a very large admixture of broken shells, and is covered, in many places, with a rich black mould. Even the most barren and unpromising tracts of this part of the country, except just on the sea shore, are covered with bushes and grass of a great growth; and

* Lind *ibid*.

† Bidrag til Beskrivelse over St. Croix, &c.

where

where the black mould is found, the vegetation is luxuriant to a degree unknown in the most fertile parts of Europe, and the trees are of vast dimensions. C H A P.
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48. I have observed that the mountains from Cape Verd to Gambia, are generally composed more or less of regular basalt, exhibiting evident remains of volcanoes, the eruptions of which add greatly to the fertility of the soil around them. Hence the lower parts of the mountains and high grounds at Cape Emanuel, Goree, Cape Rouge, and other places lower down, are in general very fertile. Basalt.

49. M. Adanson, a celebrated naturalist, who was sent to Africa in 1753, at the request of the French Academy of Sciences, observes that the soil from Cape Blanco to the Gambia, though by no means bad upon the whole, is not to be compared in fertility with that of the country from that river to Rio Nunez, which is equalled by few soils, and excelled by none, on the face of the globe*. His observations apply, not only to the coast, but to very extensive tracts of the inland countries, as the reader will perceive by consulting my map, in which I have traced his lines of separation between the more and less fertile tracts; and which are as accurate as the nature of the thing will permit. The evidence given before the Privy Council abundantly confirms the observations of M. Adanson, my fellow travellers and myself, and proves that the large extent of land, just mentioned, wants nothing but skilful culture to render it more than commonly productive of every tropical article. Adanson's
account of
the soil
down to Rio
Nunez.

50. The coast and the banks of the rivers are in many Rice-
Grounds.

* When at Paris in 1787, I had daily opportunities of conversing with that respectable old philosopher, and obtained from him many interesting communications, which were extremely useful to me on my arrival in Africa.

places.

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places interspersed with marshes and savannahs, which, in their present state, are unfit for any other crop than that of rice, which forms a considerable part of the food of the natives. But their fertility in this article does not compensate for their infalubrity; and unfortunately the Europeans have fixed all, or most of, their habitations near them. Yet in almost every part of the coast, far more healthful situations might easily have been found; especially on the dry and elevated banks of the Rio Grande. But, strange as it may appear, health is, with those men, an object of less consideration, in the choice of a residence, than trade, for which the situations of their factories are generally well adapted.

W A T E R.

Compara-
tive qualities
of different
waters.

51. Rain-water, I believe, is allowed to be the lightest and simplest of all waters. Next in order, is spring water, which varies in purity with the nature of the soil through which it percolates. That which issues from among rocks, gravel, or chalk is generally accounted the best. Similar to this, is the water of draw-wells, the quality of which depends much on the strata at or near the bottom, and it generally improves by exposure to the open air. But of all waters, that which stagnates in ponds, ditches, and morasses, is the most unwholesome.

52. The waters at the mouths of the large African rivers, which glide slowly through a level country, being mixed with those of the sea and of the marshes which it overflows, are impregnated with salt, and rendered turbid by various impurities; yet some of them require but little preparation to make them fit for common use, and the natives often use them without any preparation whatever. Dr. Lind had samples of those of the rivers Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra
Leona

Leona sent him sealed up in bottles. Although he found them all putrid, especially that from the Senegal, he could not discover any animalcules in them, with a good microscope, nor any uncommon contents, by chemical analysis. All of them, after being exposed some time to the open air, became perfectly sweet and good. Hence he concludes that the most effectual way of destroying the *ova* of animalcules, and of the Guinea worm* (if it be generated, as some suppose, in water) is first to let the water putrify, and then to pass it through a series of vessels placed under each other, having small holes in their bottoms; so that it may fall from one into another in drops, like a gentle shower—a process which, he assures us, will render it quite pure and wholesome†.

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IV.

Guinea
worm.

* As the Guinea worm is attended with great trouble and pain, though seldom with fatal consequences, unless when much neglected or mismanaged, I shall add Dr. Lind's description of it—"The less dangerous diseases," says he, "which attack Europeans in Guinea, are the dry belly-ach and the Guinea worm. This is a white round, slender worm, often some yards long, lodged in the interstices of the muscles, commonly in the legs, feet, or hands. When it attempts to escape through the skin, it occasions a swelling, resembling a boil, attended with great pain, until it's little black head appears in a small watery bladder, on the head of the boil. When this bladder breaks, the head of the worm is to be secured, by tying it to a small roll of linen, spread with plaister, and part of the worm is, once or twice a day, to be gently drawn forth with care not to break it, and wrapped round this roll, until it be brought away entire; then the ulcer generally heals soon: but if part of the worm breaks off, the part remaining in the flesh can be ejected only, by painful and tedious suppurations in different places. Dr. Rouppe observes that the disease of the Guinea worm is infectious. It may at least be prudent in Europeans, not to lie in the same apartments, and to avoid too free a communication with such negroes as are afflicted with them. The dry belly-ach and Guinea worm may be observed at any season of the year, and seldom prove mortal." Essay, p. 52.—"The dry belly-ach is the same disease here as in the West Indies; but the Guinea worm seems peculiar to Africa, and a few parts of Asia." Id. p. 57.

† Essay on the Diseases of hot Climates p. 60.

F

53. Even

C H A P.
IV.

To cool and
purify water.

53. Even very foul water may be rendered potable, by letting it drain through a wine pipe, or deep tub, half filled with pure sand, with a number of small holes near the bottom, covered on the inside with hair-cloth, or other porous substance, to prevent the sand from being carried through by the water.—These methods may be practised, when a large quantity of clear water is wanted; but an ordinary family is very plentifully supplied by a drip-stone, which is one of the most elegant methods of obtaining pure water. If the stone transmit the water too freely, it may be rendered less porous, by a mixture of water and lime; if too slowly, its bottom should be thinned, by rubbing it down with another gritty stone. The sand-tub or drip-stone, should be placed in the shade, where there is a free current of air; and the water should drop from the height of two or three feet into an unglazed earthen jar, not hard burnt, but so porous as to allow the water to transude pretty freely; and thus the water will be kept constantly cool, by the evaporation from the surface of the jar. It may be brought to table in small pitchers, of the same porous texture. The reader will observe, that this mode of keeping water cool depends on the same principle with that of refrigerating liquors, by covering the bottles with wet linen cloths, and placing them in a stream of air. All the above methods of purifying and cooling water are practised in hot countries. But all of them, except that of cooling the water, are unnecessary in many parts of Africa, for all the high grounds that I have seen there contain springs of the purest water.

54. The following simple discovery, for rendering putrid water fit to drink, has been lately made by a Mr. Lowitz. Six ounces of charcoal powder, thrown into five gallons of putrid

putrid river water, and agitated, is sufficient to purify and render it wholesome and drinkable. But the process is rendered still more efficacious, if to one drachm of charcoal be added two drops of strong vitriolic acid, which is sufficient to make four ounces of perfectly foul water sweet and clear, on being strained through a linen jelly-bag, containing charcoal powder *.

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V.

C H A P. V.

PRODUCE.

55. **A**S the slave-ships never return directly to Europe, but proceed to the West Indies with their wretched cargoes, it has never been the interest of their owners to bring home much of the produce of Africa.

Slave ships
bring little
produce.

56. Those called wood-vessels, might be supposed to deal only in produce. But this has by no means been the case. Besides their frequenting those parts of the coast, where the slave-trade is briskest, most of their commanders traffic in slaves on the coast; that is, buy slaves whom they sell again to the slave-captains. Yet, they have all along brought home some gums and gold, bees wax and ivory in considerable quantities, a great variety of valuable and beautiful woods, for the use of the dyers and cabinet-makers; and of late, some palm-oil for the purposes of the sheep-farmers and wool-combers.

Captains of
wood vessels
deal in slaves.

* See the Appendix to the Monthly Review enlarged, Vol. 12. p. 606.

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V.

East and
West Indian
interests op-
pose the im-
portation of
African pro-
duce.

57. But I believe the principal cause why a trade in African produce has never been encouraged, has been the irresistible influence of the East and West Indian interests. Those monopolists, unreasonably thought their commerce would be affected by the introduction of African commodities into the markets of Europe. Thus much is certain, that Mr. Norris, one of the Liverpool delegates for supporting the slave-trade, and therefore not to be suspected of partiality to Africa, stated, in his examination before the Privy Council, that he "once saw a quantity of African pepper of the quality of that brought from the East Indies. *It was so good, that the East India company objected to it's importation* *." We have before mentioned the formidable opposition made the West Indians to the establishment of the colony at Sierra Leona.

Produce rots
in Africa, for
want of con-
veyance.

58. By such means, has the field of commerce been hitherto narrowed or shut up in Africa: and instances frequently occur of valuable commodities rotting on the coast, for want of a sale, or of the means of conveyance, to a foreign market. I myself saw one hundred bullocks hides publicly sold at Goree for about five shillings and three pence sterling; and on another occasion, four bullocks for about fifteen shillings and nine pence sterling. I could mention several other striking instances of the same kind.

59. Little as Africa is yet known, I can, from my own knowledge, assert several articles to be indigenous in that continent, which have hitherto been brought to our markets from the East and West Indies, at an expense far exceeding the price at which they might be cultivated in, and

* Privy Council's Report, Part. I. Article "Produce" Mr. Norris and his two colleagues enumerated many other valuable productions.

veyed from, Africa. What a strange inversion of natural order, to exile from their native soil, both men and plants; the one to languish as slaves, and the other as exotics; the one to perish prematurely, and the other to fail every third or fourth year*!

C H A P.
V.
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ANIMALS.

60. The cattle, in that part of the country of which we treat, are smaller than the generality of European cattle, and not so fat as those of England and Holland; but their meat is juicy and palatable, and they give milk in abundance. Their inferior size appeared to me to be the effect of the careless and unskilful management of the negroes. They must be raised on the coast, as foreign cattle do not thrive there. Even those from the Cape de Verd Islands, being accustomed to an uncommonly dry climate, do not well bear a transition to the continent.——The horses are of a middling size, strong, hardy, and spirited. They are used in great numbers, for riding and carrying burdens, in the country between the Senegal and Gambia, and also on some parts lower down the coast; but there they are not numerous, and in some places there are none.——Camels, so admirably adapted, by the Creator, to assist the labours of man in hot climates, are not so generally used by the negroes, as could be wished.——I have not seen many asses; but there is an excellent breed at the Cape de Verd Islands, from whence great numbers of them, and also of mules and horned cattle, are exported to the West Indies, for the use of the sugar plantations.——The whole coast is abundant-

Cattle.

Horses.

Camels.

Asses.

Hogs, sheep,
&c.

* On the extreme uncertainty of the West Indian crops, see *Beskrivelse* over St. Croix af H. West—and the Report of the British Privy Council *passim*.

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V.

Game.

Fish.

Whales.

Ambergris.

Ivory, bees
wax, &c.

ly stocked with hogs, sheep, goats and all kinds of poultry, which propagate with astonishing rapidity.——The woods afford shelter to an endless variety of game. The most valuable is a species of deer, a very beautiful animal. Of the prodigious shoals, and numerous species of excellent fish, I could have formed no idea, without having seen them. Spermaceti whales, in particular, abound so much, that, in passing between Goree and the continent, distant about five miles, I have often been surrounded by them, and have been under no small apprehensions of their oversetting my canoe. Lower down on the coast, the Portuguese carry on a considerable fishery of those whales; and I have been informed that the English have lately paid some attention to the same object.—That valuable article, ambergris, is found in such quantities on the coast, that I have more than once seen the negroes pay their canoes with it. Till lately, the learned were not certain to which of the three natural kingdoms this substance was to be referred; but they seem now pretty generally agreed, that it is the excrement of the spermaceti whale.—Tortoise-shell may be had in any quantity: and bees wax, ostrich feathers, elephant's teeth, and the still more valuable teeth of the hippopotamus, or river horse, found in particular abundance near Cape Mesurado, already form very considerable articles of exportation. I do not know that we import ivory from any other part of the world than Africa.

V E G E T A B L E S.

Vegetables
and fruits.

61. The grass is thick, and grows to a great height. The natives are often obliged to burn it, when dry, to prevent the wild beasts from harbouring near their habitations; but it soon springs up again, and affords very luxuriant pasturage—
Millet

Millet, rice, maize, potatoes, yams, and a great variety of other excellent roots and vegetables, are cultivated on the coast with little trouble, and often in a profusion perfectly astonishing to an European. There is also an abundance of the most wholesome and delicious fruits; articles not less prized by the natives, than those just mentioned. Such indeed is the plenty which prevails on that division of the country, of which we are speaking, that all the European ships are victualled, without the smallest inconvenience to the inhabitants; and if the demand were increased, doubtless the production would keep pace with it.

62. It ought to be observed, that two species of rice are produced on that part of the coast, and I believe much farther down; one which, like that of Carolina, grows in swamps, and another which loves the dry soil of hills and sloping grounds. The husk of this last is reddish; but the grain is beautifully white. Though not quite so productive as the common kind, it bears a much higher price, and is every way preferable, as an article of food, not only to the other species, but to every kind of grain I know*.

Rice of two
species.

63. The sugar-cane grows spontaneously in many places, with a luxuriance which promises great advantages to those who may hereafter undertake it's cultivation. At present the natives, ignorant of it's value, make no other use of it, than by occasionally regaling themselves with it's juice, of which they partake in common with the hogs, cattle and elephants, which are all extremely fond of it.

Wild sugar-
cane.

64. Several species of cotton are also the spontaneous produce of this excellent soil. One of them is naturally of a nan-

* See Dr. Smeathman's Letters to Mr. Knowles, in the Appendix, also the evidence of Captain Hall, in Minutes of Evidence, 1790, page 523,

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V.

Wild cotton
of several
species.

keen colour, and another parts with the seeds so freely, that it may be spun almost without any preparation. The natives manufacture it into durable, though narrow, cloth of various degrees of fineness. I have in my possession one specimen of it, of so fine a quality, and so good a fabric, that some excellent judges, to whom I shewed it at Manchester, declared that it would not disgrace their best workmen. Some cotton, which I gathered in it's wildest state at Dackard, was sent by order of the Right Hon. the Privy Council of Great Britain, to Mr. Hilton of Manchester, whose report concerning it is in these words—"The sample of cotton, from Senegal, is very good and fine, as your lordships will see by the specimen inclosed, which is spun after the rate of one hundred and forty hanks, (each hank 840 yards) twist cotton yarn to the pound, and it is thought superior in quality to any of the Brazil cotton, and nearly equal to the East India*." It is worthy of remark that, *cæteris paribus*, the cotton of large islands is preferable to that of small islands, and that the cotton raised on continents is better than that produced on islands.

Wildindigo. 65. Indigo of different kinds also grows wild, and in such quantities, as to be a very troublesome weed, in the rice and millet fields. English dyers, who have tried the African indigo, affirm that it is superior to any imported from Carolina, or the West Indian islands, and equal to that of Guatimala†.

* Privy Council's Report, Part I. Article "Produce." See also Chap. X. Article "Bourbon."

† The first considerable exportation of cotton and indigo, from Africa, as far as I have been able to learn, was made by a Frenchman of Goree, while I was there, in 1787.

66. Gums are also very valuable articles, and are not, as some imagine, produced in the neighbourhood of Senegal only; for they are found on most parts of the coast, though the negroes have not yet got into the practice of collecting them. Gum Senega, gum Sandarach, gum Copal and some other kinds, are commonly brought from the coast. But doubtless these are not the only species which might be found there: for my companion, Dr. Sparrman, extracted a large quantity of sap from a small but very juicy tree, which abounds on the coast, and having exposed it to the sun for a few hours, had the satisfaction to find it converted into an elastic gum, equal in all respects to gum Catouch, or what is commonly known by the name of Indian rubber.

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Gums.

67. It would be tedious, as well as difficult, to enumerate the African plants and woods proper for the purposes of cabinet-work, dying, and ship-building. Some of their valuable qualities are already known to European artists; but with others even our botanists are unacquainted. I brought with me samples of fourteen curious kinds of wood; and might have collected many more, had this kind of research been my sole object. The *Damel* of Cayor's army is dressed in an uniform of cotton cloth, manufactured by his own subjects, and dyed yellow with a certain vegetable. And I have now in my possession a kind of bean, used by the negroes in dying, great quantities of which are annually carried on camels from Senegal to Morocco.—The negroes make very good ropes of the fibres of a large species of aloe*;

Woods, &c.

* The aloe here meant is commonly called silk-grass, the fibrous part of which may be applied to all, or almost all, the purposes of hemp and flax. Of the fibres of silk grass, or those of the cabbage tree leaf, or both, even lace has been made in Barbadoes.

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Spices.

and of several kinds of grafs, roots and leaves, they weave mats and baskets with peculiar elegance.

68. Among the commodities produced in the part of Africa, which is the subject of this work, I ought to mention ginger, nutmegs, and a great variety of peppers, particularly long pepper, Malaguetta pepper, or grains of paradise, many species of red peppers, and black pepper, as before mentioned, of the same quality with the East Indian. (See Chap. X. Art. Bourbon.)

69. I have only noticed some of the most obviously useful vegetable productions of that part of the country, of which I am giving a sketch. But my learned fellow traveller, Dr. Sparrman, made a large collection of plants, for the cabinet of natural history of the Royal Academy at Stockholm; and which contained a great part of the materia medica, drugs for various purposes of manufacture, and many plants which had never before been seen in Europe*.

M I N E R A L S

* A certain learned traveller, whose name I do not *now* think myself at liberty to mention, told me that he had seen the coffee plant on the coast of Guinea, which had been brought from the inland country by the negroes.—Concerning the propriety of cultivating spices, coffee, and tea, on the same coast, see Postlethwayt's Commer. Dictionary, Article "Guinea," where the author tells us that the tea plant had been tried, and thrived to admiration at Cape Coast Castle.—The use of coffee has been known in Europe since the middle of the last century; but was not generally planted in the West Indies, till after the year 1727.—It was carried by the Dutch from Mocha to Batavia in 1670. Some years afterwards, a tree was sent over to Amsterdam; from which in 1718 seeds were transmitted to Surinam; and it is remarkable that the same tree was growing in the Hortus Medicus, in 1774, when it was shewn to me by Professor Buhrmannus, during my stay at Amsterdam. The cultivation of coffee, however, proceeded but slowly in the West Indies, till the French entered upon it, and brought it to great perfection in Martinico, from whence it has been introduced into most of the other West Indian Islands. See Ellis's History of Coffee, printed 1774.—From these facts we may easily conclude with what advantage coffee might be cultivated in Africa.—Mr. Ernst, a Danish gentleman.

MINERALS AND METALS.

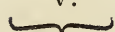
Minerals
scarcely
searched for.

70. If we except some trifling and unsuccessful attempts of the Chevalier de la Brue, in the beginning of the present century, the Europeans have never made any particular search for metals or minerals in Africa. Of late, indeed, the directors of the Sierra Leona company, sent out my countryman Mr. A. Nordenskjöld, a very skilful mineralogist on this business: but sorry I am to say, he fell a victim to his spirited exertions in the wet season, before he was able to accomplish the object of his mission. His death is lamented by many of the learned throughout Europe, as a public loss, and with great reason; for I may venture to say, that never were greater ability, industry, and zeal in the cause of science and of mankind, united in one person. It is to be hoped, however, that the company will not be discouraged by this unfortunate event; but will pursue the search with the attention it deserves. It is well known that very Gold. considerable quantities of gold are found near the surface, and in the channels of torrents, in the inland parts; although the negroes cannot be said to be skilful in collecting it. About the year 1728, the gold brought annually into Europe from Africa was valued, by the English writers, at £271,732 sterling. According to the cotemporary Dutch accounts, Africa furnished Europe with gold to the value of £230,000 yearly*. The near agreement of these estimates seems to prove that neither of them were very remote from the truth. “Guineas were first coined in King Charles II.’s

gentleman, who has often visited the gold coast, told me that he had seen a very large species of nutmeg, brought from the interior parts by the negroes, some of whom wear strings of it by way of ornament.

* Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, printed 1728, folio 271.

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reign. They went for twenty shillings, and had their name from the gold whereof they were made, being brought from that part of Africa called Guinea, which the elephant on them likewise denotes*.” “ From 120,000 to 150,000 ounces of gold were formerly imported from the gold coast of Africa annually; and in one year 400,000 guineas were coined from what was brought from thence†.”

Iron.

71. These facts will doubtless be interesting to many readers; but, for my own part, I confess that I am more partial to the useful, than to what are called the precious, metals. Gold and silver, as hitherto used, or rather abused, have occasioned infinite mischiefs to society. *Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum*. These words of an ancient poet (Ovid) are but too applicable to modern times. But iron, and the other humbler metals, are so indispensibly necessary to man, without their assistance every thinking person must see, that civilized society could never have existed, and will be disposed to look upon them as peculiar gifts of Providence; especially as the discovery of iron, the most useful of all metals, is so very remote from any experiments that we can suppose uncivilized tribes capable of making. Hence it gives me much satisfaction to be able to state, from the best authority, that the inhabitants of the mountains of

* Postlethwayt's Commercial Dictionary, printed 1763, Article "Coin."

† Treatise upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, by an African merchant, printed 1772, App. p. 2.—It is worthy of remark that Brazil, while in the hands of the Dutch, as it was for a whole century, produced no gold; because they did not search for it. The Portuguese, afterwards getting possession of that country, opened the gold mines, which are now said to be the richest in the world. May not the fate of the African mines be similar?—For an interesting memoir, relative to the discovery of gold up the river Gambia, see the Appendix.

Bambouc

Bambouc and Gallam, about 700 miles up the Senegal, possess this valuable secret, or at least possess plenty of excellent malleable iron*. The Chevalier de la Brue, describes it as so malleable, that the natives of those parts, work it into pots with hammers, and says they do not value European iron, unless it be already formed into some useful instrument†. Whether the natives extract this iron from it's ore, or whether they find it in a malleable state, M. de la Brue does not say, and I will not presume to speak positively on a point so much disputed among the learned. Professor Pallas, in particular, affirms that he found malleable iron in Siberia; and a certain eminent naturalist, lately flattered himself, that he had made the same discovery in Africa. I confess, however, with all due respect for such authorities, that I am inclined to think iron, from it's great corruptibility, is of all metals, the least to be looked for, in any other than a mineralized state; unless placed by nature in such a particular, and hitherto unknown, *vehiculum*, as has entirely excluded the air from it. Doctor Pallas, indeed, very fairly transmitted specimens of this malleable iron to several chymists throughout Europe; but most of them were of opinion, that it had undergone the

* During my stay at Goree, I often conversed with a negro captive, called Tumanissi, who came from Fouta Jallo (as he pronounced it) a considerable distance above Gallam, and who was very much regarded and trusted by his master, M. Augustus Newton of Goree, with whom he had lived ten years. This negro told me, that he had been often down in the mines in his country, which, he said, were very deep, and had also many galleries, or horizontal passages. These he described as very long, and, in some places, very high and wide, with openings from above, to give air and light. He added, that those mines were wrought by women, who, when they went down into them, always carried victuals along with them.

† Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale par Labat, Tome 4. p. 57.

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action of fire, and that the matrix, to which it was united, was nothing more than the scoria of the metal. However this be, it is certain that the natives of the inland countries, just mentioned, dig up and manufacture iron; for I was assured of the fact by several respectable officers at Gorcee.

C H A P. VI.

THE MEANS OF PRESERVING HEALTH.

72. **H**AVING given some account of the climate, soil, and produce of the part of the coast laid down in the map, it seems natural to make a few observations on the comparative salubrity of different places and situations; and to offer to Europeans, who propose to reside in that region, some advice respecting the preservation of health, in a country so very different from that to which they have been accustomed. This appears to me to be a matter of such serious importance, that I mean afterwards to propose the superintendance of it, as a separate department in the direction of every new colony.

Men and
plants simi-
larly affected
by being
transplanted.

73. "Men," says Dr. Lind, "who exchange their native, for a distant, climate, may be considered as affected in a manner somewhat analogous to plants removed into a foreign soil; where the utmost care and attention are required to keep them in health, and to inure them to their new situation; since, thus transplanted, some change must happen in the constitutions of both*."

* Essay on the Diseases of hot Climates, Introduction, p. 2.

74. During

74. During my stay in Africa, I have often observed with astonishment, how little the Europeans, both individuals and public bodies, appear to regard the preservation of health. They could not act more absurdly, if they aimed at ruining their constitutions, in order to bring upon the climate a degree of reprobation which, with all its faults, it really does not deserve. I cannot better express my own sentiments and observations on this head, than in the words of the able and intelligent physician just quoted.

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75. "It is not uncommon," says he, "in many trading factories, to meet with a few Europeans pent up in a small spot of low, damp ground, so entirely surrounded with thick woods, that they can scarcely have the benefit of walking a few hundred yards, and where there is not so much as an avenue cut through any part of the woods for the admission of wholesome and refreshing breezes. The Europeans have also unfortunately fixed some of their principal settlements on low, inland, unventilated spots, on the foul banks, or near the swampy and oozy mouths of rivers, or on salt marshes, formed by the overflowing of the ocean, where, in many places, the putrid fish, scattered on the shore by the negroes, emit such noisome effluvia, as prove very injurious to health. Notwithstanding what has been said, I think it will hardly admit of doubt, that if any tract of land in Guinea was as well improved as the island of Barbadoes, and as perfectly freed from trees, underwood, marshes, &c. the air would be rendered equally healthful there, as in that pleasant West Indian Island*."

Africa, if cleared, would be as healthful as the most salubrious West Indian Islands.

76. As an instance, in support of this position, the doctor mentions the Portuguese town of St. Salvadore, which, "not-

Instance in St. Salvadore.

* Essay on the Diseases, &c. p. 50.

with-

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withstanding it lies 150 miles up the river Congo, or Zaire, and within six degrees of the equator; yet, from it's being situated on a hill, and the neighbouring country being cleared of the natural woods and thickets, it's inhabitants breathe a temperate and pure air, and are in a great measure, exempted from all the plagues of an unhealthy climate*."

Trade preferred to health.

77. Thus we see, that the Europeans have their own conduct, more than the climate, to blame for their unhealthiness in Africa. If the intelligent reader ask, why their factories and forts have been so absurdly placed? I can only answer, that the speedy acquisition of gain seems hitherto to have been the *sole* object of the European visitors of Africa, who, intending only a temporary residence, have not been very nice as to their accommodation. To trade (as before hinted) every consideration of health and utility has been foolishly sacrificed: and, provided they could place advantageously their factories, for carrying it on, and their forts for protecting it, the salubrity of the situation was regarded as a matter of small moment, and sometimes not regarded at all. So universally has trade been preferred to health, that I believe it would be difficult to name a single fort or factory on the coast, in the settlement of which, the convenience of trade was not the ruling consideration. In establishing so many settlements it could not but *happen*, that some situations, proper for trade, would also be not unfavourable to health; but that this was at best only a secondary object, is evident from the little pains which have been taken to cut down the woods, drain the marshes,

* Id. p. 51.—I have often heard St. Salvadore mentioned as the most healthful spot on the globe, except the Island of Ceylon.

and

and cultivate the land, in the vicinity of the forts and factories on the coast. But why do I mention the cultivation of land, as if I did not know it to be so perfectly contrary to the views and habits of the European factors, that even the preservation of their own lives cannot incite them to use such obvious, pleasant and certain means of improving the climate?

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78. When, to the effluvia of marshes, woods, and the slimy beds of rivers, we add bad lodgings, bad cloathing, unwholesome, and scanty food, nastiness, both personal and domestic, intoxication with very bad spirits, exposure to damps, rains, and dews, and other similar causes of disease, we can no longer wonder at the mortality of soldiers in garrison, and other whites, on shore. As to seamen, the wonder is not that so many die, but that any survive, the operation of the causes of mortality which are inseparable from the slave-trade. For, besides the evils they suffer in common with soldiers, &c. on shore, but generally in a much greater degree, they are often, in collecting slaves by "boating," exposed to the weather up the rivers, for days and nights together, as well as to excessive fatigues in wooding and watering. And, as if these hardships were not sufficient to destroy their constitutions, very many of the poor men are barbarously treated by the slave-captains, who, to account for the enormous mortality which ensues, falsely attribute to the climate a malignity which more properly belongs to their own dispositions. I am the more confident in asserting these facts, as they have been proved, before the British legislature, by the most respectable evidence. Two other important facts are also established by the same evidence, namely, that the wood-vessels which trade, chiefly for produce, to the same parts of the coast, do not lose

Causes of
mortality of
soldiers and
seamen.

Ships of war,
&c. exempted
from that
mortality.

H

nearly

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nearly so many men as the slave-ships; and that ships of war make their voyages to that pretendedly fatal shore, with as little mortality as to the West Indian Islands, and with far less than takes place in the East Indies *.

79. It is not pretended, however, that the climate of Africa is perfectly congenial to the constitutions of all European strangers. There, as in other hot countries, new-comers must, in general, expect what is called a *seasoning*. All I would be understood to attempt, is to vindicate the climate of Africa from any *peculiar* malignity, never before experienced in other tropical regions, in the like unimproved state.

Comparative
salubrity of
different
places.

80. It is the general opinion, that the climates of Senegal and Whidah are the worst on the whole western coast of Africa. The neighbourhood of the mouth of the River Gambia, however, lately much frequented, has been found to be equally unfavourable to health. But the country becomes more salubrious as we advance up that river. From Elephant's Island to Yanimaroo, the climate is tolerable, and above this last place, it may be pronounced healthful. The climates of Sierra Leona, Cape Verd, Cape Mount, and above all Cape Mesurado, are comparatively salubrious. The Isles de Los, the Islands of Bananas, Cape Verd, Goree, and Bulama, one of the Bissao Islands, may be said to enjoy a climate inferior to few or none within the tropics. I was assured by a French physician of Senegal, that the mortality at the Island of Goree does not exceed that of

* See the Privy Council's Report, and Minutes of Evidence before a select Committee of the House of Commons, particularly the Evidences of the Reverend Mr. Clarkson and the Reverend Mr. Newton; also those of the seven following captains in the navy, viz. Sir George Young, and Captains Hall, Smith, Thompson, Scott, Hills and Wilson.

Paris.—In general, it may be observed, that in Africa, as every where else, low and marshy tracts are unfavourable to health; that elevated, dry and ventilated situations are to be selected as places of residence; and that, *cæteris paribus*, islands are always to be preferred to continents. To this I may add, that, in most parts of Africa, the interior country is more healthful than the coast, as I have been assured by many persons, whites as well as blacks, who have resided in, or visited the inland parts, particularly by M. Biorn, governor general of the Danish settlements, in Africa*. I can account for this fact, no otherwise than from the land continually rising as you recede from the coast.

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81. Having mentioned the climates of Sierra Leona and Bulama, it is but justice to state, that the mortality of the first colonists which took place at the former, and the misfortunes which happened at the latter, were not owing to the climate, but to very different causes, as will hereafter appear.

82. I now beg leave to offer a few hints to such of my readers, as may hereafter have occasion to frequent, or to reside in, the tropical parts of Africa. Being the fruits of the happy experience of my fellow travellers, myself, and many others, I need make no apology for recommending them as excellent preservatives of health; especially as I know that they are generally approved by the faculty. But, as it would be highly presumptuous in one who has not regularly studied the healing art, to trespass too far on the province of it's professors, I confine my remarks entirely to the preservation of health. When disease is unhappily formed, the patient cannot too speedily have re-

Hints re-
specting
health.

* See also Dr. Isert's Letters to his father, printed at Copenhagen, in 1788.

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course to medical assistance. Even medical gentlemen themselves cannot be too cautious, when at the commencement of their practice, within the tropics, they are called upon to prescribe for diseases with which nothing short of actual experience can be supposed to make them acquainted. I need not inform them of the merit of Dr. Lind's work on this subject. He has indeed, with singular ability, pointed out the causes of the diseases of hot climates, and the means of preventing and curing them. But in this, as in most other arts, there is yet great room for improvement. It is to be lamented that but few men of extensive medical knowledge have visited the coast of Africa, or at least have resided there long enough to become acquainted with the proper treatment of diseases in that climate*. Much however may now be expected from the genius and diligence of Dr. Winterbottom, the present able and successful physician at Sierra Leona, the choice of whom does infinite credit to the discernment of the directors.

H O U S E S.

83. On arriving in Africa, the first, as being the most important thing settlers ought to think of, is the erection of houses, capable of affording a healthful and secure refuge from the ardour of the meridian heat, the sudden change to coolness in the evening, the damps and dews of the night, and the heavy and penetrating rains of the wet season; from all which it is absolutely necessary for new-comers to be effectually protected.

Their elevation from the ground, &c.

84. The entire construction of houses immediately on ar-

* See Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona, &c. by Dr. Smeathman, p. 11.

riving,

riving, consumes much time and labour, at a juncture when both are peculiarly precious; as the unexpected commencement of the rainy season, before proper shelter is provided, most probably will prove fatal to the settlers, and ruin the whole undertaking. I would therefore earnestly recommend the framing of wooden houses here in Europe, ready to be put up on landing, and calculated to afford a temporary, but secure shelter, till a proper situation can be fixed on for a colonial town*. No oak should be used in such houses, as the bug-a-bugs, or wood-ants, destroy it sooner than any other timber†. The structure of the dwellings of the negroes about Cape Mesurado, which, although on a dry soil, are raised six or eight feet above the ground, first suggested to me the propriety of houses in Africa being considerably elevated; and reflection on the delicacy of unseasoned Europeans, convinced me of the necessity of adopting this mode of building.

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85. The bare inspection of figure A, plate I. will sufficiently explain the structure of such a temporary house, as I would recommend. A tree of a proper size and form being chosen, which, in most places, it will not be difficult to do, it should be so topped and cut as to form a central spin-

Temporary
and permanent
houses.

* The worthy Mr. G. Sharp, has lately given the public a plan for a colonial town, of which, in many respects, I very much approve. Another has also been proposed by Mr. Long, in his History of Jamaica. To both those plans, however, I have several important objections; for I have considered the matter very attentively: but am sorry I have neither time nor room to state my ideas on it, *at present*.

† Except the bug-a-bugs, I do not know more troublesome intruders into a house, than musketoos. But Mr. Sefstrom, in Sweden, has lately discovered, that a very small quantity of camphor, strewed on a fire-coal, immediately destroys every insect within the reach of it's effluvia, and no doubt would prove fatal to the musketoos. See the acts of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, for the year 1787.

dle,

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dle, leaving at least two supporting shoulders, perpendicularly above each other; so that the house may, when necessary, be moved round to suit the aspect of the different seasons. The ascent should be by a stair, to be drawn up at night.

86. When the scite of the intended town is fixed on, another kind of elevated houses ought to be erected, of a more permanent structure, and regular situation, according to the elevation and section B, plate I. The ingenuity and utility of this structure does great credit to the inventor, Mr. Andrew Johansen, a Swede, and certainly merit the attention of those who are so laudably engaged in the colonization of Africa, upon rational and humane principles. One or two of those gentlemen, whose persons and opinions I particularly respect, having objected to the expense of the buildings here recommended, I might answer them with the old proverb—"Better pay the cook than the doctor." But the answer which, I am sure, will come most home to their feelings and their understanding, is the plain matter of fact, that *the mortality, both at Sierra Leona and Bulama, was, in a great measure, owing to the want of good houses.*

Diet. 87. Europeans, until well seasoned to the climate, should beware of indulging in heavy animal food and spirituous liquors. They should eat moderately, especially in the middle of the day, making their best meals in the morning and evening, after the example of the natives. French claret and lemonade, temperately used, proved to me to be the best liquors; and not to me only, for it is worthy of remark that, since this kind of wine was substituted for brandy, which, before these last eight years, was served out to the French

French troops on the coast, they have been incomparably healthier. It is of the utmost importance always to keep the body open, which may generally be effected, by using a light diet, and to have recourse to the bark, on the first symptom of illness.

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VI.

Sleep, dress,
and employ-
ment.

88. To these hints on habitation and diet, it may not be improper to add a few words on *sleep, dress, and employment*.—While on the coast, I made it an invariable rule to go to bed betimes, and to rise early, in which, as in several other instances, I prudently and profitably imitated the natives. I would recommend rising about five o'clock in the morning, and taking gentle exercise, either in manual employment or walking, one or both of which I never omitted. But hard labour, especially in the heat of the day, ought to be carefully avoided by unseasoned Europeans. The dress should consist of a calico shirt, a short, white waistcoat, and trowsers, with a piece of thin flannel on the stomach, and shoes with thick soles. It is of great importance, not only to keep the head free from the fumes of liquor, but also to defend it from the beams of the sun. In this view, the form and colour of the hat are of no small moment. It ought to be white, deep crowned, and broad brimmed. To these properties, I added a contrivance which, though apparently trivial, I found to be so useful and comfortable, that I cannot but recommend it to every one who visits hot climates. Near the top of the crown, I cut three little square holes, like valves, opening upwards, which allowed the perspiration to evaporate, and admitted a gentle stream of cool air to circulate above my head, which only filled half the crown. See figure 1. plate I. Thus I was protected from the scorching sun-beams, which, to some people, prove a very serious inconvenience. I have, however, heard but of few.

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few persons being sun-struck in Africa, and these owed it to their own imprudence *. But I am informed this misfortune, called by the French *coup de soleil*, is not uncommon in the Southern States of America. In the afternoon, I experienced the benefit of putting on a flannel shirt; for, after the pores have been opened by the heat of the day, the body ought to be carefully guarded against the damps and dews of the evening and night.

89. After what has been said, I need not dwell on the necessity of unseasoned Europeans avoiding exposure to the rains in the wet season, and keeping the feet dry and warm at all times. When a person unluckily gets wet, he should change his cloaths immediately; or, if that cannot be done, keep up the perspiration by continued exercise. Rubbing the body with rum or other spirits, is a good precaution, after getting wet.

Cold bath recommended.

90. The cold bath is an excellent preservative of health, particularly in hot climates, the relaxing effects of which it tends greatly to counteract. It removes the fordes from the skin, leaves the pores open and free, and braces and invigorates the whole constitution. It is not, however, to be plunged into by all persons indiscriminately. Those who are plethoric or feverish, or whose lungs are diseased, ought to abstain from it. Yet it is seldomer improper in hot than in cold climates; and in Africa, I have known many benefited, but not one hurt by it. But let those who feel any indisposition take advice before they use it, which I the rather admonish them to do, as this is almost the only instance in which I have ventured to step out of the precincts of com-

* M. Adanson was sun-struck, by exposing himself without his hat in the extreme heat of the day, and in the hottest season of the year, at Senegal.

mon observation into those of the faculty.—The best time of the day for cold bathing is the morning. All the purposes of it are answered by a single immersion. The body ought to be immediately dried, and exercise used, for which it is an excellent preparative.

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91. The last specific direction which I shall offer is, to keep up the spirits, and to use every *temperate* mean to banish anxiety and melancholy. For this purpose, I can recommend nothing better than keeping the mind constantly occupied with some pursuit, either of business or recreation. Where business cannot be pursued as a recreation, I have no scruple to mention innocent games, even to a young colony. Playing at cards, draughts, chess, and above all billiards, for such trifling stakes as would agreeably engage the attention, might fill up a leisure hour with very good effects on the health. Those who have a taste for reading, writing letters, keeping diaries, natural history, gardening, drawing, or music, possess ample resources against that listless *ennui* which preys on the spirits of the idle and the tasteless. For want of a relish for such elegant, innocent, and improving studies, officers of the army, when cantoned in places where there were no public amusements, have sometimes been betrayed into deep gaming, drinking and other pernicious excesses. It requires but a slight knowledge of human nature to see, that the mind, as well as the fluids, must be kept in constant circulation, and that every method should be used to keep up a gentle flow of spirits. This direction, experience has taught me to believe, to be of the last importance to health, particularly in hot climates.

The spirits
to be kept
up.

92. So important does it appear to me, that I will venture to say, with due deference to the faculty, that the mental phenomena have not yet received that medical attention to

The mind
too much ne-
glected by
physicians.

I

which

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which they are entitled. If I be not much mistaken, there has been a little blameable neglect in this particular. I have not lived in the world without observation; and I know liberal physicians will excuse me for venturing to hint, that the practice of some of their body appears to be formed upon a theory which individuals have avowed, and which, therefore, we may conclude others secretly entertain, namely, that all the faculties of man owe their origin to causes merely material. These gentlemen seem to proceed, as if their patients were composed entirely of mechanical powers and chemical properties, combined, in some unaccountable way, with a certain mysterious, but material, principle, called *life*. Their language, at least seems to indicate, that they consider sick men as little or nothing more than modifications of matter and motion—a sort of chymico-mechanical automata. They *clear* the *primæ viæ*, *empty* the bowels, *brace up* the nerves, &c. *relax* the contracted fibres, *expel* wind, *correct* acidities, and bring about *digestions*, and *derivations*, and *revulsions* of various kinds of *matter*. I am far from saying that these terms are improper; although I fear I may have used them improperly. I only mean to remark, that terms taken from matter and it's properties abound much more in the medical nomenclature, than such as relate to mind and it's operations. For aught I know, this may be necessary and unavoidable; yet I cannot help suspecting that the more frequent use of such terms betrays a degree of indifference to the mind, as combined with, and influencing the body, in the human system. If we except the general terms “passions of the mind,” “depressing passions,” and a few others, physicians seldom use words that imply man to be a being, composed of a body, reason and affections, diversified and modified, and acting

ing on one another, in a variety of ways. Hence most of their prescriptions relate almost exclusively to the body. C H A P.
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93. There is indeed an old book, formerly of some authority in Europe, which prescribes many admirable medicines for a "wounded spirit." But our present race of physicians seem to disregard this antiquated volume, as quite foreign to modern *practice*.

94. Be this as it may, I believe it will be allowed that, in some diseases, the symptoms of the mind are as much to be attended to, as those of the body. I farther believe, that the exhibition of a deep tragedy, a humorous comedy, a concert of music, according to the mood of the patient, or any spectacle which would engage the attention and interest the passions, without agitating them too much, would be of use in more cases than are generally imagined.

95. It has been observed that boys, girls, women, and old men, stand a transition from a cold to a hot climate, better than men in the prime of life. These last, it is true, are more exposed to the causes of disease than girls, women, and old men; but, I believe, upon the whole, not more than boys. May not one reason of this be, that men of mature age are more thoughtful than women by nature, than boys and girls, who have not yet arrived at the season for anxious reflection, and than old men who have passed beyond it? Yet I am not sure that the answer to this query would be in the affirmative. For it seems to be certain that persons of a slender habit are generally more healthy in hot climates than those who are inclined to corpulency; though it is commonly thought, that the minds of the latter are more placid and tranquil than those of the former. It is also observed, that men above forty stand the climate of Africa better than those who have not reached that age.

Children,
women, slender persons,
and men above forty
stand the climate best.

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VI.Apology to
the faculty.

96. I should tremble for the incurſion I have made into the domains of the faculty, did I not believe that liberal phyſicians will pardon a few good natured remarks, made with a view to awaken their attention to the influence of mind in very many diſeaſes, where a proper attention to the powerful cauſes, lodged in it, might have the moſt beneficial conſequences.

Utility of
theſe hints.

97. To ſuch phyſicians, I would reſpectfully ſubmit the foregoing hints, which being chiefly preventive, do not, like curative preſcriptions, require any great knowledge of medicine. I muſt confeſs, however, that obſervation and experience have rendered me not a little confident of the utility of theſe hints, in guarding againſt the effects of a ſudden change of climate. By obſerving them, the conſtitution can ſcarcely fail to accomodate itſelf to it's new ſituation. And this happy conſequence will be experienced ſooner or later, according to the original ſtrength or weakneſs of the ſtranger's frame; the more or leſs manly education he may have received, or the early habits he may have formed. For the effects of the climate muſt of courſe be different on different conſtitutions. The foregoing rules are general, and the application of them muſt be left to the good ſenſe and prudence of individuals. For my own part, although I arrived on the coaſt, in the moſt unhealthful ſeaſon of the year, I eſcaped all the diſeaſes of the country. This I aſcribe entirely to a cautious obſervance of the preventives above recited. During a mortality, which raged at Senegal, while I was there, ſix out of eleven ſailors, belonging to the veſſel in which I returned to Europe, were carried off in a month; but not a ſingle gentleman, or officer on ſhore was ſo much as attacked, owing no doubt, to the temperance and regularity, which their *ſituations* enabled them

Mortality at
Senegal, eſcaped by the
temperate.

them to observe. Thus, having both seen and experienced, the good effects of the foregoing rules, I may hope to be indulged in recommending them so warmly to others.

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GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON COLONIES, AND THE MEANS OF PROMOTING THEM.

98. "THE idea of glory," says the Abbé Raynal, "is inseparable from that of great difficulty overcome, great utility resulting from success, and a proportionate increase of the happiness of mankind, or of one's country." — "Glory essentially belongs to God on high. Upon earth it is the portion of virtue, not of genius; of a virtue useful, great, beneficent, shining, heroic. It is the lot of a monarch who, during the perils of a boisterous reign, labours, and successfully labours, to promote the felicity of his subjects. It is the lot of a subject who sacrifices his life for the good of the community. It belongs to a nation which nobly resolves to die free, rather than to live in slavery. It is the reward, not of a Cæsar or a Pompey, but of a Regulus or a Cato. It is the just recompense of a Henry IV."

Definition of
glory, by
Raynal.

99. "Thanks to the spirit of humanity which now begins to inspire all sensible men; conquerors, both ancient and modern, are sinking to the level of the most detestable of mankind*. And I have not a doubt that posterity, which will pronounce an impartial sentence on our discoveries in the New World, will doom our barbarous navigators to a

* "Heroes are all the same, it is agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;—
The whole strange purpose of their lives to find,
Or make, an enemy—of all mankind."— POPE.

lower

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lower state of abasement than even conquerors themselves. Did the love of mankind, or did fordid avarice, actuate them? And can enterprizes, even though good in themselves, be thought deserving of praise, if the motives of them be vicious*."

Colonial policy of modern Europe contracted.

100. But were navigators alone blameable in this respect? And can we candidly affirm that the governments of the colonizing nations of Europe have seriously laboured, as they ought, to give to the selfishness of their subjects, a direction favourable to the real interests of mankind? I fear not. That enlarged policy which, imitating the source of all perfection, endeavours to extract good out of evil, order out of confusion, seems to have had too little influence on the conduct of those statesmen, who took a part in projecting the modern colonies of Europe.—We will send our superfluous people to South America, said the court of Spain, to explore it's treasures, and, by their means, we will possess ourselves exclusively of the sinews of war, and the medium of commerce, and thus render Spain the arbitress of Europe.—The court of Portugal held similar language.—We, said the Dutch, will get possession of the spices of the East, and not a clove or a nutmeg shall the Europeans receive, except through our hands.—The British, with more good sense, but perhaps not with less selfishness, resolved to form colonies in North America, to serve as consumers of their manufactures, and providers of raw materials and naval stores, which, from their bulk, might employ a numerous body of mariners, and give to Britain the empire of the ocean.—France, seeing the accession of wealth and power, which Britain seemed to derive from her colonies, but

* Hist. Phil. & Pol. T. VI. p. 285.

which

which she principally did derive from her liberty and consequent industry, at home, was not slow in following the steps of her rival. The Swedes, the Danes, the Prussians, and the Austrians, have also had their colonizing schemes; but not to the same extent with the nations already mentioned.

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101. All those schemes were formed upon a similar principle. Contracted views of commercial and financial advantage, narrowed their foundations, and suffered them not to spread beyond the limits of a partial and local policy. For, as far as I can learn, the founders of the modern European colonies scarcely ever entertained a thought of enlarging the sphere of human felicity, and extending the blessings of civilization and religion to distant nations. On the contrary, it is melancholy to trace the progress of the modern European colonization, marked, as it is, with injustice, rapine and murder, in various shapes.

102. And what advantages have the respective mother countries derived from their plundering schemes? Why, the Spaniards and the Portuguese gained gold, and they gained pride; but they lost their home-consumers by excessive emigrations; and their remaining people lost their industry, and their enterprising spirit, which before had made them so respectable in Europe. The Dutch gained the Spice Islands, on which indeed they formed settlements, or factories, rather than colonies*. But in the West Indies

Consequences of this narrow policy.

* I think it right to distinguish colonies from settlements or factories. A colony signifies a number of families, formed into a regular community, who have fixed themselves on an unoccupied spot, with a view to cultivate the soil, and rear posterity. The words colony and settlement have sometimes the same meaning; but as the latter is very often used for the word factory, I wish to restrict it to this last signification.—Factories (or settlements) having only commercial, temporary ends in view, remove as soon as those ends are answered, leaving wholly out of sight every kind of cultivation and improvement, either of the people or the land.

they

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they formed real colonies, which may perhaps have contributed to fill the bags of the Amsterdam Bank. With money, however, they multiplied drones in their industrious hive, acquired a taste for high living, increased their taxes, banished several of their manufactures, and have brought upon themselves evident symptoms of national decay. The French and the British gained an increased marine which each employed in watching the motions of the other, in taking and retaking West Indian colonies and East Indian settlements, and in desolating some of the finest countries in the world with famine, fire, and sword. We cannot enter into particulars. Suffice it to say, that these two great nations have, by their quarrels about colonies, well nigh ruined one another. The French politicians succeeded in separating the British colonies from their Mother Country; but, in this enterprize, they ruined their finances. All Europe knows the rest. All Europe has seen the French government subverted; and has heard of the national debt of Great Britain. May Heaven avert from this highly favoured nation, any ruinous catastrophe!

103. Colonies, as hitherto established and supported, have cost commercial nations nearly as great a sacrifice of people as the most destructive wars. For it must be owned, that colonists have been too often regarded by the monopolizing companies, or private merchants, who have generally directed them, in the light in which soldiers and sailors are considered by statesmen; that is, merely as the instruments of their schemes. It therefore becomes a matter of serious consideration, when, where and how to form new ones, which, in their commencement, shall not be so destructive to the human race. While the principals are aiming at the acquisition of wealth, they ought not, as unfortunately has
hitherto

hitherto been too much the case, to treat with indifference and neglect those whom Providence has placed in the humbler, but not less useful, station of executers of their plans.

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104. Though it be usual to compare nations and their colonies to parents and their children; yet, as things now stand, I apprehend the analogy is very far from being just. In every family, the procreation and education of children are innate principles, and the evident intention of the Creator. Where is the sensible parent who does not strive to give his children an education as good, at least, as he himself has received, and to elevate them into a situation in life equal, or even superior, to that which he himself fills. Acting thus, has he any other end than their good; any other purpose to serve than that of establishing them in society, and enabling them, in due time, to become the provident and beneficent fathers of future families?

Comparison
of nations
and their co-
lonies, to pa-
rents and
children.

105. From such obligations, it would be a contradiction to infer, that children, arrived at maturity, ought, from a principle of false gratitude, inseparably to abide by their parents throughout life. No! Nature herself then emancipates them from parental authority, and justifies their claim to a separate residence, even though opposed by their parents. Without this procedure, society could not exist, and the human race would soon become extinct.—In a word, children are fruit hanging on the tree: men are ripe fruit, qualified to produce, in their turn, new groups to grace the forest.

106. The gratitude and filial attachment which children preserve for their parents is, or ought to be, proportioned to

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the

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Nations
should pro-
vide territo-
ry for their
surplus po-
pulation.

the care they have taken in their education, and to the tie which has been mutually formed by both, during the state of pupillage.

107. Societies at large *ought* to act precisely on the same principle, in forming colonies, which are no other than their own children, or the superfluity of their population. It is indeed a duty incumbent on the government of every free, industrious, and prosperous nation, to look out betimes for unoccupied territory, against the period when their population and manufactures shall exceed the proportion which they ought to have to the land they already occupy, when fully improved. That proportion certainly has a limit, and commencing emigration will shew when that limit is exceeded. Without providing new space for surplus population, and seeking new markets for manufactures, the progress of both must cease; or else the people will emigrate to countries unconnected with the state. Hence sound policy seems to dictate, that governments should, with the care of provident fathers, prepare proper receptacles for the excess of their population—a principle which few or no mother countries seem to have sufficiently observed*.

108. When a large society thus gives birth to a small one, can it act on a nobler principle than that of regarding, in the first place, the interest of mankind at large, or universal society, and subordinately, the advantage of it's own colony, or the society descended from it in particular? Standing thus between both, will not the happiness of both centre in itself? Does not the father of a family rejoice in, and partake of, the felicity both of the community and of his children?

* See Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia, p. 3.

109. But is there any colony existing, founded on these truly humane and enlarged principles? On the contrary, does not the education, or treatment, which the present European colonies have received, and do still receive, from their imprudent and interested parents, generally prove the source of hatred between societies that ought to be united by the the most indissoluble ties? Whence comes it, that parties and sects have been first driven to discontent, then to emigration, and lastly, to separation from the larger societies to which they belonged; but from perverted systems of policy, the abuse of power, civil and ecclesiastical, and the provoking attempt to keep mature descendants perpetually in leading strings, like infants? Was it thus that the ancient Greeks treated their colonies? And ought not the moderns, in prudence, to have imitated the liberal system of those famed ancients, who considered their colonies as friends and allies, not as dependent societies or conquered provinces?

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Causes of
discord be-
tween na-
tions and
their colo-
nies.

110. "The mother Greek city, says Dr. Smith, though she considered the colony as a child, at all times entitled to great favour and assistance, and owing, in return, much gratitude and respect, yet considered it as an *emancipated child*, over whom she pretended to claim no direct authority or jurisdiction. The colony settled its own form of government, enacted its own laws, and made peace and war with its neighbours, as an independent state. The progress of many of the ancient Greek colonies seems accordingly to have been very rapid. In a century or two, several of them appear to have rivalled, and even surpassed, their mother cities. Syracuse and Agrigentum, in Sicily; Tarentum and Locri, in Italy; Ephesus and Miletus, in Lesser Asia, appear,

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by all accounts, to have been at least equal to any of the cities of ancient Greece."

111. "But the policy of modern Europe has very little to boast of, either in the original formation, or, so far as concerns their internal government, in the subsequent prosperity of the colonies of America. Folly and injustice seem to have been the principles which presided over the first project of establishing those colonies; the folly of hunting after mines, and the injustice of coveting a country, whose natives, far from having ever injured the people of Europe, had received the first adventurers with every mark of kindness and hospitality."

112. Every modern mother-country, has secured to herself, in one shape or another, a monopoly of her colony trade.—"This monopoly, like all the other mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile system, depresses the industry of all other countries; but chiefly that of the colonies, without in the least increasing, but on the contrary diminishing, that of the country in whose favour it is established.—Some nations have even gone so far as to give up the whole commerce of their colonies to an exclusive company, of whom the colonies were obliged to buy all such European goods as they wanted, and to whom they were obliged to sell the whole of their own surplus produce. It was the interest of the company, therefore, not only to sell the former as dear, and to buy the latter as cheap, as possible; but to buy no more of the latter, even at this low price, than they could dispose of at a very high price in Europe. It was their interest, not only to degrade, in all cases, the value of the produce of the colony, but, in many cases, to keep down the natural increase of it's quantity. *Of all the expedients that can well be contrived to stunt the natural*

tural growth of a new colony, that of an exclusive company is undoubtedly the most effectual." "For example, the Dutch East India company, by different arts of oppression, have reduced the population of several of the Molucca Islands, formerly pretty well inhabited, nearly to the number sufficient to supply with provisions their own insignificant garrisons, and such of their ships as occasionally come there for spices*."

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C O M M E R C E.

113. There are two species of commerce different from, and even opposite to, if not destructive of, one another. Some explanation of both forms an essential part of my plan.

114. 1st. *Commission-commerce*, into which, in remote ages, mankind were naturally led by their real wants. An interchange of useful commodities was the only object of merchants in early times. A natural and necessary barter, by

Commission
commerce

* Wealth of Nations, edit. 5. Vol. II. p. 344, 360, 375, 397, 434.—At p. 476, the intelligent author mentions the operations of the Dutch East India company, in the Spice Islands, to enhance the price, by burning all the spices, beyond a certain quantity, giving premiums for the collection of the blossoms of the clove and nutmeg trees, &c. He also glances at certain practices of the English East India company's former servants; particularly their ordering the peasants to plough up rice, and sow poppies, and the contrary, just as their interest, in the sale of opium or rice, happened to direct.—Sir W. Temple, in his observations on Holland, says that "a Dutchman, who had been at the Spice Islands, told him, that he saw at one time three heaps of nutmegs burnt, each of which was more than an ordinary church would hold."—But we need not go so far abroad, for instances of such proceedings; for, in the year 1774, I was present at the burning of a large quantity of of saleable spices, at the India House in Amsterdam, for the avowed purpose of keeping up the price.

their

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their means, diffused the produce of every part of the then known world over the whole; and their profits might be regarded more as the wages of necessary labour, than as the gains of injurious monopoly. Gold and silver were not excluded from this commerce; but they were left to find their way into the general circulation, by their *weight and standard*. Their relative worth was not, like that of *coin*, fixed by artificial laws; but, like the worth of every other commodity, was regulated by the natural demand. And paper credit had, in that early period, no existence. This natural and unrestrained state of commerce accorded perfectly with the primitive simplicity of those ages: and it certainly tended to promote a diffusion of the comforts of life commensurate to the wants of mankind, whom it united by the bond of mutual interests.

should be
encouraged
in a new co-
lony.

115. A mixture of sensible and virtuous Europeans with simple, untutored Africans, may be expected, by the reciprocal action and re-action of their habits and manners, to produce a social character nearly approaching the ancient simplicity. It were therefore to be wished, that the beneficial species of commerce, just mentioned, could be so fixed in every new African colony, as for ever to exclude that perverted system which I shall call speculation-commerce, on which it seems necessary to dwell somewhat more particularly*.

116.

* In order to give the reader some idea of the extent to which a trade in the productions of Africa may be carried, it may not be amiss to mention a few facts which show that a communication between very distant parts of that continent, is already open. And it will scarcely be denied, that this might be made the channel of conveying regular supplies of European goods into those central regions which have hitherto seldom received any, except when the precarious success of the predatory expeditions of their chiefs happened to enable them to make returns in
slaves;

116. 2d. *Speculation-commerce* produces effects very different from *commission-commerce*. It does not tend so di-

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Speculation-
commerce.

slaves; but who, were that traffic abolished, would not fail to find equivalents in the productions of the country.—The Chevalier des Marchais, who visited Guinea in 1725, 1726, and 1727, by order of the French government, says that “Malays came on horses 90 days journey to trade at Ardra, bringing cotton cloths and muslins, and receiving slaves, ivory and gold dust.”—Captain Fraser says, there is a trade in slaves, carried on across the continent by merchants, who come for them from the eastern parts of Africa to Angola on the west, and other witnesses affirm the same thing (See Min. of Evid.)—Lieut. Matthews tells us, that many black priests travel across from the Nile, and from Morocco to Abyssinia, that he saw several of them in the Mandingo country, and that by means of them, and the travelling black merchants, the defeat of the Spaniards before Gibraltar was known 40 days after, at Riopongos (Voyage to Sierra Leona, p. 70.) This report must have travelled at the rate of at least 40 miles a day, which proves that the roads are not very bad.—The negro captive I mentioned in the note to § 71, told me that he had travelled much; and, in particular that he had made seven journeys from Fouta Jallo, considerably above Gallam, to Whidah, to buy fire-arms for his king, who having been embroiled with the princes lower down the Senegal, could not as usual, get them from the coast, by that river. From his account Fouta Jallo, lies between the Niger and the Whidah, 10 days journey from the former “towards the sun-setting,” as he expressed it, and 15 from the latter, “towards the sun-rising, but considerably below it.” But the circumstance of his conversation which most surprised me was, that in many parts of the interior, he passed the rivers on bridges.—For an account of the “trade in the interior parts of Africa,” see that title in the Privy Council’s Report, where it appears that that continent is traversed in many directions by caravans trading in European goods, ivory, gold-dust, ebony, slaves, fennah, mannah, cassia, dates, gums, &c.—See also the interesting publications of the African association.

It may be said, that, seeing the western coast of Africa, is resorted to for slaves by the eastern nations of that continent, and even by the East Indians, that the abolition of that traffic does not depend on the Europeans. I answer that the slave market on the western coast does *entirely* depend on the Europeans; and that this is the *greatest* market, would appear from the dealers coming so far to frequent it; for they would not travel across the continent, if they could conveniently buy slaves nearer home. If, therefore, the Europeans abolish the slave-trade, it is plain that the emporium for it would be removed from the western coast, and would no longer disturb legitimate commerce there..

rectly

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rectly to supply the wants of a community, as to gratify the avidity of individual merchants, whom governments suffer to take advantage of those wants. Nay, as if this were not enough, most governments have been prevailed on to make formal grants, of monopolies and exclusive privileges to bodies of merchants. Such grants are destructive of competition, the very soul of commerce, put the consumers completely in the power of foretellers, and nourish the overbearing wealth and ambition of individuals, at the expense of the community.—The merchant who collects the products of distant countries in such quantities as have been previously ordered by his correspondents and customers, may be compared to a stream which gently irrigates and refreshes the fields. The monopolizing speculator in those products not unaptly resembles a reservoir which confines the waters till the fields are parched, and at last distributes them unseasonably and partially, overflowing some places, and miserably stinting others.

Speculators
unconnected
with the
community.

117. Speculators in exchanges and money-jobbers may, perhaps, love to be compared to conductors which convey the commercial fluid through the world. I shall not object to the comparison, if they will permit me to mention, that the Jews have also been likened to those conductors, by an eminent orator*. Like the Israelites too, those gentlemen are unconnected with any community; and, like Jew pedlars, can, at any time, put their cash and bills in their pockets, and flit, with the celerity of their own paper, from one end of the world to the other. For, I would ask any man who knows the world, what hold any community can have of persons who, without property in lands, houses, or commodities, sit in their counting-houses, watching the course

* Mr. Burke.

of exchange, or the chance of a job *? I do not mean a ministerial job; although some have shrewdly suspected that the gains of such men have been formerly swelled by this kind of business,—a circumstance which perhaps the illustrious Chatham had in his eye when, in the honest fervor of his patriotic soul, he uttered the following language.

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118. “There is,” said he, “a set of men in London who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent and the helpless; upon that part of the community which stands in most need of, and best deserves, the protection of the legislature†. To me, my lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of Change-alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by four or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and abhor him. My lords, while I had the honour of serving his majesty, I never ventured to look at the treasury but from a distance. It is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the monied-interest; I mean that blood-sucker, that muck-worm, which pretends to serve this or that admini-

Lord Chat-
ham's opini-
on of them,

* “The capitals,” says Dr. Smith, “employed in the agriculture and in the retail trade of any society must always reside within that society. The capital of a wholesale merchant, on the contrary” (and *a fortiori* that of a money-jobber) “seems to have no fixed residence any where, but may wander about from place to place” (just like its owner) “according as it can either buy cheap or sell dear.” *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II. p. 54.

† Dr. Arbuthnot observes, that “money-scriveners are like your wire-drawing mills; if they get hold of a man’s finger, they will pull in his whole body at last.”

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and Dr.
Johnson's.

119. “ These are the men,” fays Dr. Johnson, “ who, without virtue, labour or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoverifhed. They rejoice when obftinacy or ambition adds another year to flaughter and devaftation; and laugh from their desks at bravery and fciences, while they are adding figure to figure, and cipher to cipher, hoping for a new contract for a new armament, and computing the profits of a fieve or a tempeft.”

120. It is to be hoped, however, that the nation, to which this noble orator and this fublime moralift were fuch fhining ornaments, will never experience the evil confequences with which the influence of the monied intereft, if it continue to predominate over every other, may one day threaten their liberties.

Their operations tend to enslave mankind,

121. To fpeak the truth, it appears to me, that a fpecies of flavery, or dependence, very much like it, has gradually crept, with fpeculation-commerce and manufactures, into all countries where they prevail. Of this flavery or dependence, or whatever elfe it may be called, there are various degrees, from what we are pleafed to ftye a gentle ftate of fervice in our families, down to the moft abufive and boldly avowed flavery in our fugar colonies. I cannot give a fhorter inftance, than the ftate of celibacy in which our numerous menial fervants are obliged to live, on pain of lofing their places; as few will employ a married fervant. Thus the one fex is feducd into proftitution, and the other has no other refource than in the annihilation of a natural and neceffary paffion, or in whoredom and debauchery for life. This is but one, out of a thoufand inftances, which might be given of the inverfion of focial order

der which now, more or less, prevails in all commercial nations, and which ought to be particularly guarded against, in establishing a new colony. C H A P.
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122. I have thought much on these evils; and, on the whole, find myself inclined to attribute them to a cause which seems never to have been much, if at all, attended to by others. I have great reason, however, to suspect, that the degradation of a great portion of every mercantile community, arises from the prevailing lust of accumulating *money** independent of commodities, of the value of which it is become the mere *arbitrary sign*, instead of being, as formerly, circulated and transferred as a commodity itself. In this unnatural innovation, I think I see the source of many of the grievous evils which now afflict commercial nations. *Hac fonte derivata clades!* Money, in early times, was wisely adopted as the medium of commerce, which gave it it's chief value as a commodity. But it has been evidently diverted from it's natural use, which was admirably calculated to promote the free interchange of other commodities, the increase of knowledge and virtue, and the wealth and prosperity of nations. This lamentable perversion appears to have been owing to the Italian invention of bills of exchange, the operations of grasping monopolists, the arbitrary interference of governments, in attempting to establish between gold, silver, and copper, and between these metals and other commodities, an unnatural relative value; and, above all, to the modern system of public credit and finance. To these we must add, the enormous augmentation and wide circulation of paper, mostly of ideal value, re-

and why.—
Money inde-
pendent of
commodities.

* By *money* I mean any thing coined, upon which an arbitrary value has been fixed, entirely unconnected with any commodity, in like manner as it's fabricators, the speculating merchants, are unconnected with any community.

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fulsing from all the other causes. Thus money has completely supplanted commodities, and become itself the chief subject of commercial speculation, to the exclusion of useful productions. The acquisition of it is the *sole* pursuit of all men of business; particularly of individual merchants and monopolizing companies, separate from the general good, to which the production and interchange of useful commodities always directly conduces. In this unnatural chaos of money-speculation, where all the concerns of society, and all the abilities of individuals, as well as the produce of their industry, are estimated, not by ounces and penny-weights of gold and silver, but by imaginary denominations of pounds, livres, rix-dollars, &c. I say, in this forced and artificial state of things, could it be surprising that men should find their labours speculated upon, or monopolized, their time engrossed, their social and domestic comforts abridged, their persons degraded, their minds darkened, and their children brought up, as machines, to spin cotton and grind scissars?—And all for what?—but to enable a few monopolists to accumulate *money*.

Commercial
colonies
tend to slave-
ry, agricul-
tural to li-
berty.

123. That colonies formed on the modern mercantile system, in which money has usurped the place of commodities, must necessarily be supported by the degradation of a great part of the community, appears to me the unavoidable result of their faulty, commercial constitution. On the other hand, liberty must be the happy lot of colonies established on the basis of agriculture; for natural productions are not nearly so liable, as money is, to be perverted to purposes incompatible with the benefit of a community at large. Degradation, or a species of slavery, is undoubtedly one of the baneful effects of the abused power and influence of money. But liberty flows from the production of useful commodities.

modities, which leads the labourer or producer to true loyalty, making it his interest to strengthen the power of the laws, and to secure the peace and good order of the community, without which his bulky and unwieldy property cannot be secure.

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124. I hope my peculiar thoughts on commerce will have the good fortune to be well received by many disinterested persons, who will excuse my dwelling on it at as great length as the narrow limits of my work will permit. I flatter myself too, that the good-natured reader will interpret some warm expressions, which have escaped me, not as dictated by a rancorous spirit, or any disregard to the respectable part of the public, but by an honest zeal for guarding all new communities from the baneful effects of monopoly and speculation*.

125. The preceding reflections will appear the more important, if we consider that, unless we avoid the errors of former colonists, not to mention later attempts, our undertaking certainly will miscarry, leaving us overwhelmed with shame, self reproach, and an irretrievable loss of lives, time, labour, and expense. Let us therefore beware of proceeding on selfish and avaritious principles; but having made choice of one of the best situations hitherto known, let us profit by the experience of others; and, guarding against their mistakes and misconduct, let us act on plans worthy of men of good hearts and clear understandings; let us listen, in fine, to the counsel of experienced and disinterest-

Necessity of
caution in
forming co-
lonies.

* See the queries at the end of this chapter.

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nists should
be encour-
aged.

ed persons, and weigh matters of so great importance, with becoming seriousness and attention.

126. The result of such deliberations, we are warranted to hope, would be the formation and adoption of a series of regulations founded on substantial justice and virtuous liberty. If our wealth and enjoyments here in Europe should disincline us from personally executing so noble an enterprize, we may contribute essentially towards it, and probably increase our own fortunes, by giving encouragement to a body of men, poor perhaps in point of property, but rich in activity, probity, fortitude, and other mental resources. Let these give what security they can for the property advanced, and, if they are, as they certainly ought to be, men of the character described, their principles will be a sufficient security.

127. It is an important, though an obvious, remark, that the zeal, even of the best colonists, cannot reasonably be expected to exceed that of the principals in the undertaking. If we risk a little property, we should remember that they risk their lives; or, probably *think*, (though perhaps without sufficient reason) that they are risking them. Without countenancing their groundless fears, we ought to open to them prospects, in some degree, proportioned to the ideas of personal hazard, which most men attach to such undertakings. The best way to convince them that those prospects are not delusive, will be to furnish them liberally, in the first instance, with every accommodation conducive to their health and comfort. And what sort of prospects will it be necessary to hold out? Shall we tempt them with alluring promises of riches and splendour? No: men whose imaginations love to riot in such dreams would be a curse to an infant colony: but, to persons of the proper description,

tion, we need only make an honest and sincere offer of our effectual assistance in obtaining, by their own industry, a competency for themselves and their families. C H A P.
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128. The choice of people for an infant colony is a matter of the utmost importance; and the nicest delicacy; for the greatest care and caution will be necessary to ascertain the real characters of those who offer themselves as members of an infant community. On this depends it's peace and it's ultimate success. Men of restless, unsteady dispositions, or who indulge in gaming or liquor, or with various women; or who entertain ambitious and selfish views; or who are apt to dream of easy days and careless nights, and aerial castles and cities like El Dorado*. In short, all men of dissipated habits of whatever kind, and whose views and pursuits are not perfectly agreeable to social order, are to be rejected, as improper inmates for a new colony.

Choice of
colonists.

129. A few persons, of known and approved sobriety, honesty and industry, ought to be chosen and well provided with houses, food, cloathing, medicines and, in a word, every necessary, and even every comfort, suitable to their new and untried situation. Should the expense of liberally fitting out such a select number of settlers prove even double to that of a crowd of people indiscriminately picked up, the plan would nevertheless be found a saving one in the end; and it would moreover diminish the mortality, and, in all probability, insure ultimate success.

130. As an additional argument for the prudent choice of settlers, I may mention the footing of good neighbourhood

Native chiefs
to be concili-
ated.

* The golden city in South America, dreamed of by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which, above a century after that great man's death, a Jesuit, of the name of Gumila, expressed a strong desire to visit. But it has never yet been discovered!

and

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and friendship, which it will be absolutely necessary for them to maintain with the chiefs of the country. Those chiefs are far from being without discernment, and the discovery of any thing like a selfish spirit would awaken their jealousy, and as effectually alienate them from the interests of the colony as the most flagrant outrage. Since it will be of the highest importance to conciliate and preserve, by solid and lasting benefits, the good will of the chief of the spot where the colony is intended to be fixed, I would recommend it to the colonists to place themselves, as far as prudence will permit, under his protection; and to conform themselves, as much as they can, consistently with the great end of the establishment, to the innocent customs of the natives. When the colonial town comes to be built, and the lands divided, a house should first be built, and a garden laid out, for the chief himself; and the garden should be kept in order till his own people have learnt the method of performing that delightful task. This would be the easiest and most effectual way, at once to reconcile him and his domestics to the habits of civilized life, and to satisfy him that no kind of injustice, or usurpation was intended. Thus, not only his own interest would induce him to protect a colony which had increased his enjoyments, but gratitude would inspire him with cordial sentiments of regard for his new friends, whom he would soon be brought to consider as his children. All jealousy on the part of the chief being thus removed, his subjects, taught by his example and that of his domestics, would soon begin to adopt the manners of the Europeans, to imitate their industry, and to emulate them in every kind of improvement.

131. I know not what some of my readers may think, but to me, it appears a serious violation of natural law to force, or even to allure, men and women to drudge in any kind of hard labour that can be performed by cattle. For, to what purpose hath the Creator endowed certain animals with strength, patience and docility, and made them obedient to the will of man, unless they are to assist him in his labours, and to partake of the harvest? To partake, I say, of the harvest, and to be treated with a consideration proportioned to their services, and to their various degrees of feeling, which generally correspond with their different portions of intellect. We are ever to remember, that, of all the external gifts of God, the most valuable is the service of labouring animals, over which he hath not granted us an absolute, but an evidently limited, dominion, for the exercise of which we are accountable to him*. If so; it follows, *a fortiori*, that he hath not given men absolute dominion over one another. "Man over men he made not lord; such title to himself reserving †." Having then, strictly speaking, no absolute dominion over brutes, and still less over one another, we never can have a right, either by force or fraud, to make our fellow creatures perform the tasks of labouring cattle, tasks for which God and nature have not fitted them, and which in certain disorderly hordes across the Atlantic, have destroyed more human lives than ever did war, pestilence or famine, in any other country.

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VII.Men not to
be substituted
for cattle.

132. Without entering into the minutiae of cultivation, I shall only endeavour to point out the necessity of introducing

The use of
the plough
recommended.

* See Dr. Primatt's Essay on the Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals—also the Adventurer, No. 37.

† Milton.

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ing the labour of cattle and the use of the plough, if possible, at the very commencement of a new colony. It is not only the quickest and cheapest mode of cultivation; but is preferable in every other respect, to the slow and slavish method of forcing men and women to dig up the ground with hand-hoes, and to carry out the dung in baskets, as generally practised in the sugar islands, and in some parts of the American continent. This practice is evidently incompatible with the health and comfort of free labourers in a hot climate, and indeed in any climate; for I believe the hand-hoeing of all the land which is now ploughed throughout Europe, would be found intolerably oppressive to the peasantry, even in these temperate or cold climates.

Objections
to the
plough an-
swered.

133. In conversing with many of the West Indians, a little attention will discover that one grand, though tacit, reason for their preferring hand-hoeing to the plough is, *That it has hitherto been their custom.* This happens to be just such a reason as men wedded to ancient prejudices, constantly give for continuing their errors; and of all men, the cultivators of the earth, from their scattered situation, are observed to adhere the most obstinately to their ancient practices. Montesquieu remarks that the Turks still employ no other machinery, in their mines, than the arms of their slaves; while they daily see their neighbours, the Hungarians, who have no slaves, abridge their own labour, and save much expense, by the use of machinery. For, so infatuating is the practice of slavery, that the masters cannot see that the labour of slaves which, to vulgar eyes, appears the cheapest, is in truth incomparably the dearest of all labour*.

* This has been satisfactorily proved by Dr. Franklin in his *Thoughts on the peopling of Countries*, by Montesquieu in the *Spirit of Laws*, and by Dr. Smith in *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I. p. 122, and Vol. III. p. 38, edit. 5.

134. But

134. But the West Indians make two objections to the plough which are worthy of more serious answers. —“In the old small islands, many estates are too contracted to afford pasturage, and their cattle and horses have hitherto been fed with grass and weeds which the slaves are forced to “pick” when they should be taking rest. This scanty mode of feeding, gives the cattle barely strength to crawl to the shipping places with the produce; but would never sustain them under the labour of ploughing.”—I acknowledge the force of this objection, as far as it goes; but it affects only the old, small islands, and only the smaller estates in those islands, and even in these it might be, in most cases, as in some it already is, removed by the culture of Guinea grass, Guinea corn and other provender. This objection, however, applies not to Jamaica, and the Ceded islands, nor even to the larger estates on the old small islands.—Another objection is, that “some estates, or rather some fields (for it is scarcely true of any whole sugar estate) are too steep or too rocky to admit of the plough.”—But this cannot be urged against ploughing land that is *not* too steep and too rocky, and such is far the greater part of the cane-land in the sugar colonies. For few sugar works, comparatively, were fixed on lands obstructed with rocks and precipices, and the rash builders of most works that were erected on such spots, have been obliged to give up the culture of sugar for that of cotton, coffee, &c. and, in some cases, have abandoned their works altogether.—On the whole then, it will be found that the objections against the plough apply to but a small portion of the West Indian colonies collectively taken; and it will be the fault of the undertakers of new colonies in Africa, if in a country containing such immense variety of surface, they make choice of a situation where they cannot have the ad-

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vantage of the labour of cattle, in drawing ploughs and other implements of agriculture.

135. If it be asked, Why the first colonists of the West Indian islands, did not use the plough, as they had been accustomed to do, in their respective mother-countries? I answer, that they had, at first, neither pasturage nor cattle, and that, even if they had been provided with both, the roots of the trees were so very tough and hard, in some of the islands, that no plough could have gone among them. What little strength they had, they were obliged to employ, not in grubbing up roots, but in planting among them for an immediate subsistence. No instrument was so well adapted for this purpose as the hoe, and the hoe having been once used, the introduction of slavery, which soon after took place, did the rest. For when slavery begins, improvement ends; and society, if a collection of masters and slaves deserve that respectable name, sinks into a torpid state of stagnation is congenial to slavery, which cramps the powers of invention, and, by destroying emulation and reward, arrests the progress of every useful art*.

Has been
successfully
used in the
West Indies.

136. Yet some individual West Indians, nobly bursting the bonds imposed on them by vulgar prejudice and the practice of slavery, have happily precluded all speculative arguments in favour of the plough, by the successful use of it. It has been found, in Jamaica, that "one plough turned up as much ground in a day, and in a much better manner, than one hundred negroes could perform with their hoes, in the same time;" and that "the canes planted on the ploughed land turned out near three hogsheds of sugar

* See Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. III. p. 37.

per acre, which was one hogthead per acre more than it had been used to yield from the common method of culture*." C H A P.
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137. But, if the plough has been used, in some cases, so advantageously, in the West Indies, it will no doubt be asked, why it is not there used universally? This is a very fair question, and the volumes just quoted furnish a very satisfactory answer to it. "In some places, where ploughs have been tried and laid by again, experience, judgement and practical knowledge, were not always assisting in the operations†." "I am convinced," says Lieut. General Matthew, Governor of Grenada, "that experiments have not had sufficient or fair trial, from the want of proper implements, suitable to the different soils and situations, and from the want of intelligent labourers. This matter has been given up on slight investigation‡."

Why not universally used there.

138. To account for the "slight investigation" of so important a matter, will require a few words of explanation.—The proprietors of the West Indian islands, like those of most other countries, are either independent, or involved in debt. The latter, though chiefly resident on their plantations, are unable to afford the expense necessary for the first introduction of all improvements; and their creditors,

* Long's History of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 449 where the use of the plough is recommended by irresistible reasoning, and by facts still more irresistible.—See also Edwards's History of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 213. Mr. E. likewise writes from his own experience.—See farther, the Evidence of Sir George Young, the two Mr. Woodwards, Mr. Fitzmaurice, &c, in the Minutes of Evidence on the slave trade before the House of Commons—also various pieces of evidence in the answers to the 42d, 46th, and 47th, queries in the Privy Council's Report and the supplement.

† Answer by a planter of 1068 acres in Barbadoes, in the supplement to the Privy Council's Report, p. 32.

‡ Privy Council's Report Part. III. Article "Grenada and St. Christophers," answer to query 42d.

being

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being chiefly English merchants, who never were in the West Indies, are unwilling "to speculate," as they say, "in new projects," of the practicability of which they are not competent judges. The independent planters, on the other hand, chiefly reside in England, committing their affairs in the Islands to the care of agents (there called "attornies") who being very often Guinea factors (or connected with such) furnish the estates with imported slaves. The use of the plough would diminish the labour of slaves, prolong their lives, and, of course, lessen the demand for more. Add to this, that, by a law of Jamaica, "these agents or attornies" must be paid six per cent. on the value of the produce, which is another reason for their not wishing to diminish the labour of slaves; although, if they were not interested in the slave-trade, this commission would no doubt induce them to increase the produce by the plough. These "attornies" appoint the overseers who reside on the plantations, and who generally lay out their salaries on new negroes, whom they nurse in their master's kitchens, and let out most profitably to "hole" cane-land for "weak-handed" estates, at from £3 to £5 sterling the acre. It cannot therefore be expected that overseers, any more than their patrons, the attornies, will favour the plough, or any other mode of abridging the labour of slaves. In fact, the habits, the prejudices and, above all, the interests both of attornies and overseers are combined against the use of the plough. And so powerfully do these motives operate, that, a very respectable Jamaica planter stated in evidence before his Majesty's Privy Council, that though, by means of the plough, without an additional slave, and without injuring the cattle which drew it, he nearly doubled his crop of sugar; yet, after he left the island, in 1785, he could not prevail

Remarkable
instance of
its success.

vail on his overseer to continue the use of it*. But vulgar prejudice, the *esprit du corps*, and even the interests of particular classes of men, though difficult to be overcome, are not invincible: and, from what has already been done in the West Indies, particularly in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Grenada, we have reason to expect, that a more rational and humane mode of culture, will at last take place of the wasteful and oppressive one, which hath hitherto unfortunately prevailed.

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139. In the East Indies, the sugar-cane is raised by freemen, with the plough, in very great abundance. Mr. William Fitzmaurice, who spent seventeen years in Jamaica, ten of them as a sugar-planter, and who lately went over to Bengal to settle a sugar estate, approves of their mode of tillage by the plough; though he disapproves of their method of manufacturing the sugar†. But, near Batavia, the culture of the cane, with the plough, held by free people, and the manufacture, by a simple and natural division of labour, has been brought to the highest perfection by the Dutch and Chinese. Mr. Botham, who describes it, and who has managed sugar estates in the West Indies, as well as in the East, gives a decided preference to the Batavian practice. At Bencoolen, he superintended a sugar estate, during the late war, on the same plan, and with similar success‡. And, in Cochin China, we are assured by M. Le

In the East
Indies canes
raised with it,
by freemen.

* See the evidence of John Ashley, Esq. formerly of Jamaica, now of Cookham, in the Privy Council's Report. This whole pernicious system is explained at length by Mr. Long, in Vol. I. p. 189, 391, and Vol. II. p. 405, 406 and other parts of his History of Jamaica. See also the evidence of Mr. Coor, Mr. Clappeson, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and Lieut. Davidson, in Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons.

† See his printed letter to the East India Directors.

‡ See Mr. B's evidence before the Privy Council, and the House of Commons.

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Most other
tropical arti-
cles may be
raised with it.

Poivre, sugar is raised, for a great part of the Empire of China, by free labourers assisted by the plough*.

140. I have dwelt the more particularly on this head, as I deem it of the utmost importance to every new colony in the tropical regions of Africa. I refer chiefly to the British sugar islands, because the evidence, taken by the British Privy Council and House of Commons, furnishes a body of information far more extensive than any that I have seen respecting the colonies of any other European state. And I have confined my observations entirely to the sugar cane; because, if it can be proved that the very laborious culture of that strong, succulent plant can be, and actually is, carried on by means of the plough, it's utility in all, or almost all, other kinds of tropical cultivation will scarcely be denied. Knowing, as I do by experience, that men cannot safely undergo the same labour in hot as in cold or temperate climates, I cannot but be solicitous that the labour of cattle should be introduced, as early as possible, into every new colony that may be formed in Africa. Without it, I am truly sorry to predict, what every man, acquainted with the circumstances, must foresee, that the colonists, though free and protected from lawless violence, will soon sink into a state of degrading drudgery which will ruin their constitutions, and, in truth, render them, in one material particular, as wretched as West Indian slaves.

141. On the contrary, let the founders of a new colony early provide such regulations, as will proportionably divide the labour between cattle, men, women, and young persons, and all the lamentable consequences of it's unequal distribution will be prevented. " For it has been comput-

* Observations sur les Arts en Asie, &c. p. 100.

ed, by political arithmeticians, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life: want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty four hours might be dedicated to leisure, pleasure, instruction or contemplation*.”

Q U E R I E S.

142. To unfold the mysterious and complicated evils of monopoly and speculation, would require volumes, and I have room only for a few paragraphs. But so interesting is the subject, that, in addition to what I have ventured to insert above (§ 116, *et seq.*) I cannot help submitting to *deep and liberal thinkers*, and to such *only*, the following queries.—They are necessarily brief, and therefore, some of them may appear ambiguous or obscure. But brevity obliges readers to *think*; and I shall rejoice, if these queries give rise to a train of close thinking, in any one of those intelligent and candid minds, for whose consideration *alone*, (I repeat it) they, as well as the corresponding part of this chapter, are intended.

N. B. By *money*, or *coin*, in the following queries, I beg leave to understand every thing that bears a stamp of credit; consequently including not only *specie*, but every kind of *paper-credit*.

I. In all communities, are there not two things, which have the most intimate connection with one another, viz. *money and commodities*?

II. Are not commodities *essential* to the existence of every community, and is not money merely *accidental*: or in other

* Dr. Franklin's Essays, p. 138.

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words, Is it not practicable for a community to carry on it's business without *money*, but not without *commodities*?

III. Ought not money therefore always to represent commodities, and the whole *circulation of money* to be in dependence on the *production of commodities*; but not on the contrary?

IV. But do not commodities, at this day, represent money; and does not *their production* depend on the *circulation of money*? And is not money then a production INDEPENDENT of the production of commodities?

V. May not this inversion arise from money having obtained an independent origin and circulation, *uncontrolled* by the production of necessary and useful commodities?

VI. Are not commodities become the *means* for getting rich in money? But ought not money to be the *means* for getting rich in commodities?

VII. Is not the *accumulation of money the chief end*, at present, in every occupation, and commodities only the *means*?

VIII. Cannot a community, as well as an individual, as things now stand, *circulate* a greater or smaller stock of money independent of any *production* of commodities?

IX. Can a *producer of commodities*, at this time, extend his circulation in any degree equal to a *monied man*?

X. Is not money sooner *turned* than commodities, which can only be turned when *worn out or consumed*?

XI. Does not the quick return of money give the monied man an *undue advantage* over the producer of commodities which cannot be turned so quickly?

XII. Are not knowing people, at this day, sooner induced to enter into *money concerns*, than into the *production of commodities*?

XIII.

XIII. Granting the affirmative of the foregoing queries to be true, will it not follow, that money is, at this day, *separated from*, and has become *independent on*, commodities? C H A P.
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XIV. Are not all Banks, whether public or private, to be considered as *storehouses of money*?

XV. But should not storehouses, filled with necessary and useful commodities, be considered as the *essential and intrinsic banks*?

XVI. Are not those persons *independent or free*, in short rich, who possess storehouses of money, whether in cash, bank-notes or bills, and is not their independence in proportion to the quantity of money their storehouses contain?

XVII. Are not those *dependent or poor*, who, although in possession of storehouses filled with necessary and useful commodities, yet cannot command money when required, without loss on the disposal of their goods; and are not those persons dependent and poor, in proportion as their *stock of goods* exceeds their *stock of money*?

XVIII. Did not the *nature of money* alter, after the establishment of the first public bank at Genoa, and after the introduction of bills of exchange and other paper-money?

XIX. Is there any other difference between money in *bills of exchange*; and in *coined gold, silver, copper or paper*, than that, to the former is granted a limited credit, paying interest or discount, and to the latter, an unlimited credit which pays no interest or discount?

XX. Is not *coin*, in form of guineas, louis d'ors, ducats, rix-dollars, shillings, guilders, stuivers, pence, groschen, &c. whether stamped on metals, paper, leather (or wood,) *acknowledged and received as money, or credit*; and is not this

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coin different from, and independent of, any sort of commodities, even of the materials it is stamped upon, when considered as useful subjects of manufacture?

XXI. Is not money independent of commodities, in consequence of *it's coinage* being under a *monopoly*, while the production of commodities is *free*?

XXII. Are not monopolists, and especially coiners or *producers of money*, compleatly independent of society; and are not *producers of commodities* strictly dependent on society?

XXIII. Does not the independence of the producers of money on the producers of commodities and on society, naturally lead to an *opposition of interests*; and does not such opposition lead to jealousy and contention, where there should be, and, but for this unnatural state of things, would be, harmony and mutual dependence?

XXIV. Is not a tradesman a greater *merchant* than a horse-dealer—an importer or exporter a greater *merchant* than a tradesman—a negociator (of bills) a greater *merchant* than an importer or exporter—a banker a greater *merchant* than a negociator—and, in short, is not the producer or coiner of money the first *merchant* in every state, in as much as, in all his transactions, commodities are totally out of the question; for nothing circulates with him but money which he COINS, AD LIBITUM?

XXV. Does not the facility of coming at money or credit, *support and propagate corruption and luxury*, and *occasion ruinous bankruptcies*?

XXVI. Is not the *real want* of any commodity, in a community, the only natural basis of the *intrinsic value* of that commodity?

XXVII.

XXVII. Ought money to represent commodities *arbitrarily*, or ought it to represent them *naturally*, by the *intrinsic value* of the material on which it is stamped, arising from the *natural demand* for that material, when wrought into useful articles and utensils?

XXVIII. Ought not the *natural basis of money* to be the *staple production* of every community, and not gold, silver, copper, &c. in the form of coin, which form creates an artificial demand for those metals, over and above the natural demand?

XXIX. Have not the producers of money and the producers of credit *the same interests*; or, in fact, are they not the *same people*? And is not every one a fabricator of money, in proportion to the *credit* he is able to obtain?

XXX. Has not the true nature of money been perverted or overturned by, and much confusion ensued from, an *artificial credit*?

XXXI. Is there any mean to check the above confusion, but by *checking credit*?

XXXII. Is there no other alternative, than that commerce must either be *overcharged* with *imaginary paper*, or subjected, every eight or ten years, to the calamity arising from a *general destruction of that paper*, involving in ruin many honest and respectable individuals? May not these evils be lessened, or avoided, by *checking credit* in general?

XXXIII. Can credit be checked, as long as *coinage* is altogether, and the *production of money* in a great measure, under *monopoly*?

XXXIV. Did not the nature of money in it's primitive state approach more to *bartering*? And did not the people of remote antiquity *weigh their money*?

XXXV.

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XXXV. Would not the monopoly of coinage, and of the production of representative money, be taken away by letting every metal circulate according to its *weight* and *intrinsic standard*?

XXXVI. Is not natural credit grounded on the *active abilities, freedom and integrity of men*.

XXXVII. Is not artificial credit grounded on *imaginary property*; does it not give rise to *fraud and swindling*; and is it not supported by *arrests for debt*?

XXXVIII. If arrests for debt, were abolished, and all metals were allowed to circulate according to their weight and intrinsic standard, whether as money or as commodities, would not *artificial credit* be checked, and *order in æconomical matters*, be restored?—(See § 197 Note.)

XXXIX. Is it not probable that the present inverted system in æconomical matters, in all the states of civil society, originates from this cause, namely, the *independence of money* on the *production of commodities*?

XL. Is not he considered as a rich man, at this time, who subsists upon the *interest* of his money, independent of any *abilities and commodities*?

XLI. Are not they in reality, or comparatively, poor and dependent, who possess *talents and abilities*, and even *stocks of goods*, but yet cannot command money, when it is demanded of them in *form of taxes, rents, interest, &c.*

XLII. Is there not in general a greater trouble and risk in *subsisting upon the produce* of land or commodities, than upon money safely placed at *interest*?

XLIII. Is not a man, who lives without labour, whether on his own income, or by begging, an *useless drone* in society;

ty; and does not he become over solicitous about his own interest, and proportionally indifferent to the real interests of the community?—(See § 151.)

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XLIV. Does not interest, after a certain time, create a *new imaginary stock of money* or credit-paper; and does not security for money or credit lent (acceptances) also circulate as a *new created stock of money*, only with the difference of the interest or discount? And does not all such accumulation of imaginary money cause a great *disproportion* to, and *disconnection* with, commodities?

XLV. Does not the easy acquisition of money by interest, &c. and the *arbitrary disposal* thereof *uncontrolled by the community*, cause every individual to seek more after money than commodities?

XLVI. Does not the seeking merely for money, give rise to *speculation*, independent of *wants*?

XLVII. Does not *speculation-commerce* arise from *artificial credit*?

XLVIII. Does not speculation and commission trade differ, in as much as the former has *money for it's end*, and the latter *commodities for the supply of wants*?

XLIX. Should not the *raw productions* of the three natural kingdoms be chiefly favoured, afterwards *manufactures*, and lastly *commerce*? Does not the reverse, however, now prevail in all civilized societies?

L. May not such a *reform* of the nature of money as will make it the *means*, and commodities the *end*, be necessary, previous to all other reforms in old established societies?

LI. May not the evils, above hinted at, be effectually excluded from a NEW COLONY, by excluding imprisonment for debt, which will check speculation-commerce—and by allowing gold, silver,

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VIII.

*silver, &c. to circulate freely, by their weight and standard—
and will not the establishment of these simple regulations render
commerce subservient to manufactures, and both subservient to
agriculture—and, in fine, will not the grand object of the whole
community be the production of useful and necessary commodi-
ties, and ultimately lead to FREEDOM, PEACE, and HAPPY-
NESS.*

C H A P. VIII.

HINTS ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

E D U C A T I O N.

Its import-
ance.

143. **T**HE happiness and stability of every society, entirely depends on the virtuous qualities of the individuals who compose it; and, if there be no influx of strangers, the continuation or increase of the society will depend on the rising generations, who are successively to become members of it. The mind receives its most permanent impressions and habits during the period of nonage. The education of youth, therefore, is a matter of the highest importance to every society. So very important is it, that, in my opinion, it ought to form a distinct department of the administration of a new colony.

Schools and
apprentice-
ships.

144. For the instruction of such children, either of the colonists, or of the natives, as may shew marks of genius and inclination for literature, it will be necessary to establish schools. But, from what I have observed, it appears to me, that paternal care during childhood, and strictly regulated
apprentice-

apprenticeships afterwards, would be found the most eligible mode of education for those who wish to pursue the ordinary business of the colony; and who might receive sufficient instruction, from their parents and masters, in reading, writing, arithmetic and the principles of religion, as well as in the manual arts which they might choose to learn.

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145. And, in order to accelerate the civilization of the natives, every colonist should undertake the education, both with respect to body and mind, of two negro children, to be received as apprentices, on certain conditions to be fixed by law. These apprentices ought, at stated times, to be examined before the superintendants of education, who should be empowered to fix the time of their coming of age, after which they are to be entitled to all rights of members of the community, and to be accountable to the same, for their conduct. By such means, a small number of colonists might, within a few years, furnish the community with a valuable accession of negro members, instructed in christianity, trained to regular habits and diurnal labour, and who would soon spread a taste for such acquirements, and pursuits, among their countrymen.

Colonists
should in-
struct natives.

146. It were also to be wished, that a school for the natives of Africa were erected in some fertile part of Europe, where the cultivation of raw materials is more pursued than manufactures and commerce. To such school negro children might be sent to be trained up, till a certain age for an active, social life, and returned to the colony, when their elementary instruction may have prepared them for such apprenticeships, as have been just mentioned. Along with the theory of religion, they should be taught the practice of it, in order to form them for union with

Schools and
apprentice-
ships should
join practice
with theory.

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their Creator, and harmony with society.—All their exercises, bodily and mental, should be directed to social and religious uses. Thus their understandings would be gradually opened; practice would follow theory, and action spring from instruction. In short, it appears to me, that the children should be taught, not only the general principles, but the *actual practice*, of cultivating land, making bricks, building houses, and of the most common and necessary trades, such as those of tailors, blacksmiths, &c*. Such a course would tend much more to form their minds for useful, social purposes, and for spreading civilization in their own country, than the most refined literary accomplishments. Not that I would wish book-learning to be excluded from this plan; but, unless the pupil manifest uncommon talents, and an earnest desire for pursuing science or literature, I would certainly confine him to reading, writing and common arithmetic.

African
children al-
ready sent to
Europe for
education.

147. The desire of the Africans to have their children educated in Europe, appears from their voluntarily sending them over for that purpose. There are generally from fifty to seventy of these children at school in Liverpool, besides those who come to London and Bristol, “ to learn sense and

* In the commercial academy of Hamburgh, which I have visited, and which is now conducted by the very able Professors Bush and Ebeling, the most essential mechanical arts are taught, both in theory and practice; and that academy, *mutatis mutandis*, offers an excellent model for such a one as I recommend.—Forster laments that O'Mai, a native of O'Taheitee, though he spent near two years among the *fashionable circles* in London, was not taught the use even of the most essential mechanical implements. Being unable, therefore, to be useful to his countrymen, it was fit that he should be furnished with the means of amusing them; and he accordingly carried out a portable organ, an electrical machine, a coat of mail and a suit of armour!—His country man, Aotourou, whom M. de Bougainville brought to France, died there, after receiving an education equally insignificant!—Forster's Voyage, Preface.

get

get a good head," as they express it. After receiving a common school education, they return to Africa, where they endeavour to dress and live in the European manner; and they value themselves much, and are respected by their countrymen, on account of their European education*. Many African children were formerly sent to France for the same purpose.

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RELIGION.

148. At a time, when such differences of opinion prevail among all ranks of people, in civilized nations, in consequence of their unsettled notions concerning God; it might be esteemed presumptuous in me to offer any opinion of my own on this momentous subject.

149. I shall therefore content myself with mentioning what I have been able, with my utmost assiduity, to collect of the opinion of the Africans on this subject. They believe simply that there exists one God, the Creator and Preserver of all things; and, in order to fix their ideas, they think on God, in some form or other; for, to believe in any thing without form, they seem to think is to believe in nothing. Yet, although some of them appear to consider the sun as the emblem of God, for they turn their faces towards it when praying, they seem all to believe, that God must be a man, or in human form; as they cannot think of any more perfect or respectable form to compare him with. How easy would it be to bring a people already predisposed, by their natural dispositions and principles, to receive christianity, the basis of which is a confidence in one God,

African idea
of God.

* Privy Council's Report, part I. detached pieces of evidence N. 4.—I received a similar account, by letter, from the late Mr. R. Norris of Liverpool.

C H A P.
VIII.Toleration
recommend-
ed.

and that this God is manifested in the person of Jesus Christ?

150. All that I can venture to offer on this head, to the consideration of the founders and directors of any new colony, is diligently to look out for the most active, social and virtuous persons, as the first colonists; taking care to promote early and regular marriages as the very foundation of all social order. For experience shews, that the irregularities, which necessarily result from a celibacy, are the primary causes of most of those disorders which too frequently convulse civil societies.—The rest should be left to the Providence of the Lord, who is the only searcher of hearts; allowing, with a generous toleration, the colonists to settle this *very delicate* matter among themselves, free from all external restraint or imposition from any one quarter whatsoever.

E M P L O Y M E N T S.

Employ-
ment pre-
vents vice.

151. It is a trite observation, that “people who have nothing to do, will do mischief.” To prevent idleness, therefore, is to prevent vice, which may be much more easily excluded from an infant society, than eradicated from an old one, where it has already taken root and borne it's pestiferous fruits. For this grand purpose, I can think of no means likely to be so effectual as the formation of a distinct department, in the government or direction, which shall have for it's object, the study of the characters and inclinations of the youth, with a view to their instruction in occupations necessary in the colony. It should also be the business of the same board, to provide employment for grown persons, male and female, the frequent want of which, in most countries in Europe, gives rise to many, or most, of those vices and crimes which infest society. Thus the ob-
ject

ject for this department in the government should be employment for *men*, for *women* and for *children*. C H A P.
VIII.
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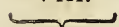
CONTRACTS AND LAWS.

152. All social harmony depends on a strict and faithful observance of contracts, which form the true basis of all laws.

153. The contract between married partners, is the first and most important, in the order of nature. Marriage is the primary feminary of the individuals, or component parts, of society, of which the contract is the elementary bond; and it ought to be held sacred accordingly. Conjugal fidelity, which is ever accompanied with a parental care of children, is much more intimately connected with social felicity, than many persons in this depraved age appear to believe. Yet it seems to be sufficiently evident, that the man who violates conjugal and family contracts, will not easily be brought to perform social contracts. If he disregard the strong and natural obligations of husband and father, the weaker and more artificial bonds of society will scarcely be able to restrain him within the limits prescribed by it's laws. Marriage
contracts.

154. The next species of contracts is that which takes place between individuals not naturally related, as between master and servant, master and apprentice, employer and employed, buyer and seller, &c. Social con-
tracts.

155. In order to promote the tranquillity and increase of a new colony, the relation between the society at large and it's governors (that is the directors, chosen by the colonists and subscribers) ought, in every particular, to be fixed and defined by express contract. Nothing ought to be left to the implied consent of the governed, or to the mere will, or dis- Civil con-
tracts.

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VIII.Political
balance.

discretionary power of the governors; for it is easy to see, that a loose and indeterminate relation would soon give rise to mutual uneasiness and jealousy. To dwell on this important subject, at the present juncture, may be a matter of some delicacy. But as our object is nothing less than the felicity of, perhaps, whole communities, I venture to submit to the consideration of persons, disposed to think deeply on this point, a hint which may be found calculated to preserve in a new colony, that equilibrium between governors and people which seems now to be declining in some civilized communities, and in others to be entirely destroyed—The hint is this: to lay into the scale of the governors (viz. the court of directors) the RIGHTS of *proposing* and *executing*; and into the scale of the people, the RIGHTS of *de-liberating* upon and *determining*, every matter proposed. Propositions might also originate with individuals; but, come from whomsoever they may, they should be fully and publicly canvassed, before they are submitted, by the directors, or colonial governors, to the subscribers and colonists. Propositions, however, should always come before a general meeting, through the organ of the directors who will be best able to place them in a true light, to judge of their general tendency, and of their application to local circumstances, of which the government alone has the means of being extensively informed. The governors (or directors) nevertheless, should not have the right of concealing any propositions from the subscribers and colonists, or their proxies, to whom the right of ultimately rejecting or approving them ought to belong.

Laws found-
ed on con-
tracts.

156. All order among men in society depends entirely upon *laws* wisely formed, and duly executed, and legislation, as we have just seen, is primarily founded on contracts.

tracts. Without laws so framed and executed, no comprehensive design can be promoted or accomplished; nor can the community exert that united strength which it's subsistence and security indispensably require. Nothing therefore can be more important than due social subordination, which depends essentially on the form and organization of it's internal order, and the prompt, impartial and exemplary execution of the laws. Without this, a society (if it would deserve the name) would be nothing but a chaos of discordant elements, and destructive passions. But in the same proportion as vices are prevented or restrained, and evil habits corrected or eradicated, by wholesome laws, the civilization and improvement of the people are promoted, and the design of the social union secured.

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157. All *laws* may be reduced to the following classes, *Laws.*
viz. *judicial, political* and *æconomical*.

158. (1.) *Judicial*. A community without laws of justice, *Judicial.*
may be compared to the body of a man without a head; that is, to something so monstrously and unnaturally defective, that it's existence would imply a contradiction. Accordingly no nation, which is more or less civilized, is destitute of distinct ideas concerning *good* and *evil*; however those ideas may be limited and diversified. Nor does there exist any such nation which does not endeavour to encourage the free course of moral and social good, and to prevent or eradicate the opposite evils; and this in a greater or less conformity to the laws of the decalogue, which is the most ancient and universal code.

159. (2.) *Political*, or laws of *police*. Every community is *Political.*
composed of individuals in greater or smaller numbers, and distributed into different classes or orders, all of which must, each in his proper sphere, co-operate with the rest, in order

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Æconomi-
cal.

order to give strength, consistency and regularity to the whole. For a community without political laws, is like a head without a body, or like some heterogeneous being, that possesses neither form nor order.

160. (3.) *Æconomical*. These resemble a man's cloaths, for, like them, they may not only be changed, to adapt them to new circumstances; but a society without them is like a naked man, exposed to every inclemency of the weather.—I need therefore scarcely to add, that a department for the execution of contracts and laws should be established in the government or direction.

EXTERNAL WORSHIP.

External
worship.

161. If christianity is to be promoted and encouraged, in a new colony, it seems indispensably necessary that the order which characterizes this divine religion should be observed, in it's outward forms or rites. This order may be reduced to the three following primary articles of external worship, under which all the more minute parts may be comprised.

I. *Baptism*, or the first ceremony of introduction into a christian community, ordained by the great Institutor of christianity himself.

II. *Confirmation*, a ceremony performed when a person comes of age, and is thenceforth to be answerable, for his own conduct and actions, to the community.

III. *The holy supper*, an ordinance of the greatest importance, on the right and sincere use of which depends entirely the union of every individual with his Creator.

HEALTH.

H E A L T H.

Health.

162. If what has been remarked on the subject of health (in Chap. VI.) has had due weight with the reader, he will see the necessity of instituting a distinct department, in the government or direction, to superintend it. This department will have under their inspection,

I. *The practice of medicine*, in curing internal diseases; and, as this is connected with the mental, as well as the corporeal, powers of man, it includes also physiology and the kindred sciences.

II. *The practice of surgery*, for the external, or the merely mechanical derangements of the human system. It may include midwifery and it's sister arts.

III. *The practice of pharmacy*, for the preparation of drugs and medicines.

C U L T I V A T I O N.

Cultivation
of raw ma-
terials.

163. In addition to what has been remarked on cultivation (§ 131 *et seq.*) it does not seem necessary to add more than that there ought to be in the direction, a department for promoting, in a systematic, æconomical and scientific manner, the production of raw materials,

I. *Of the animal kingdom,*

II. *Of the vegetable kingdom,*

III. *Of the mineral kingdom.*

M A N U F A C T U R E S.

Colonial
manufac-
tures to be
encouraged.

164. It is needless to exhaust time in showing that, in every conceivable mode of civilized life, the manufactures subservient to food, cloathing, lodging and domestic accommodation, are absolutely necessary.—Those articles must either be procured from abroad, or fabricated at home.

P

The

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The former mode of supply encourages external commerce, the latter internal industry. Commerce should rise out of, or follow, internal industry; but should never be suffered to precede it, as it would do, if resorted to for articles which a country has hands enough to fabricate.—Besides, external commerce tends to injure, and internal industry, properly regulated, to promote morality and civilization. In every African colony, therefore, all the hands that can be spared from cultivation, should be employed in the arts necessary to prepare apparel, buildings, furniture, tools and such articles of food as require some artificial process. The natives, whom I always suppose mixed with the colonists, will thus not only be excited to use articles manufactured in the European manner, but will be taught to fabricate them with their own hands; and, having the paths of honest industry opened to them, will no longer depend, as too many of them have hitherto done, on a pernicious traffic, for a precarious supply of foreign goods, baubles and trash. In short, next to agriculture, their taste for, and employment in, useful manufactures will be the most effectual means of promoting their civilization. (See § 36, 37.) It seems necessary, therefore, that there should be a department, in the government or direction, to superintend and inspect the manufactures, to deliberate on the introduction of new ones, and to encourage, by rewards, or otherwise, those which they may deem it expedient to establish.

C O M M E R C E.

Commerce.

165. This article, like several of the preceding, has been pretty largely treated of in Chap. VII. (see § 113, *et seq.*) whence may be seen the necessity of instituting a distinct department in the direction to promote,

I. *The*

I. *The internal, or colonial, trade.*II. *The exportation commerce,*III. *The importation commerce;*C H A P.
VIII.

to promote them, I mean, in such a manner, that surplus produce may be taken off by exportation, without interfering with the necessary and ample supply of the colony. By *promoting*, however, I do not mean any thing like an exclusive surrender of the colonial commerce into the hands of the directors; but only that they should watch over, or, as the name of their office imports, *direct* the general course of commerce to the general good, leaving to individuals the full, free and open exercise of all *legal*, commercial pursuits.

D E F E N C E.

166. On the internal polity and external defence of a new colony, I have bestowed much thought; and, on the whole, the ancient English system of frankpledge appears to me to be the best calculated to secure both these objects*.

Internal polity and defence, by frankpledge.

167. In this, as in many other particulars, I so entirely agree with the Right Hon. Paul le Mesurier, the present worthy and spirited Lord Mayor of London, that I hope he will pardon me for taking the liberty to insert an extract from a few hasty, but judicious remarks, with which he was pleased to honour me.—“The common law and polity of England,” says his lordship, “being founded on the system of frankpledge, will naturally form the basis of the internal

* This system is explained at large in “An account of the constitutional English polity of congregational courts,” &c. by the excellent Granville Sharp, Esq. who has applied it to the case of a new colony, in his “Short sketch of temporary regulations for Sierra Leona.”

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government of the colony.—It may be divided into districts, each to contain, as near as can be, 50,000 acres, or 100 grand lots, and be subdivided into tythings of 5000 acres, or 10 grand lots each. Every district to have one head constable; and every tything, one petty constable, or tything man, who should have power to call the tything together, on every emergency.—The head constable to be captain of the militia in his district, and to nominate such of the tything men under him, as he should chuse for officers.—Every proprietor, or proprietors, of 500 acres to furnish one man for the militia, whereby there would, in every district, be 100 militia; and the civil police there would consist of one head, and ten petty, constables.—The tything man to be elected annually in each tything; but the head constable to be named annually by the president and council, to be possessed at least of 500 acres, and to be responsible, to the president and council, for the safety and peace of the district; as the tything men would be responsible to him, for that of their respective tythings.—In parts of the colony distant from the seat of government, it may be proper for the president and council to name a chief, who might have the power of a justice of peace, and be also at the head of the militia of the several districts under his inspection; and where his command was extensive, he should be assisted by proper persons to collect the taxes, if any, superintend the public works, and see that the orders of government were duly executed, &c. The chief and his assistants to have some salary; but the head constable, tything men, &c. to serve without salary.”

168. “Wherever there shall be towns established, that contain 500 or more males, above the age of fifteen, every such town to be considered as a district in itself, wherein
every

every ten families shall constitute a tything, and shall annually chuse a tything man who shall act as constable; and, from among the tything men so chosen, the president and council shall annually nominate a mayor and three aldermen, who shall preside over the town, and take charge of the police for the year.—Each family, in every town, shall also be obliged to find a man for the militia; and they shall be enrolled and exercised under such persons, from among their own townsmen, as the president and council shall annually appoint, who, as well as the mayor and aldermen, shall serve without salary, fee or reward.”

169. To these valuable hints from his lordship, I have only to add, that the defence of the colony ought to be committed to a distinct department of the government or direction, in order to protect the colony from hostile attacks by land, by sea or by noxious animals.

FINANCES.

170. Many may think that in a colony or community, where the public good is the interest of every individual, a public treasury would not be a material consideration. But when the necessity of the three following institutions is considered, it will soon be found, not only that the raising of colonial finances will come to be unavoidable, but also that a board of the direction must be established for applying them to these necessary uses; viz.

I. *Public charities*, such as public institutions for orphan children, for all useful persons after the age of sixty, or when they become incapable of labour; for hospitals, &c.

II. *Public works useful, ornamental and recreative*, such as public buildings, highways, bridges, harbours, gardens, &c.

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III. *Public defence*, such as fortifications, arms, ammunition, &c.

P O L I T I C A L A R R A N G E M E N T S .

Political arrangements,

171. Comprizing also foreign affairs. This is placed the last of all public functions, because it is the link by which every individual within a colony, and every colony with it's mother country, neighbours, and other countries, are connected together in relations whose basis is, or ought to be, mutual friendship and assistance. The order which connects individuals in society is called *police* and *polity*; and that which connects nations and colonies, *politics*. Both are equally necessary, and require specific departments in the direction; the two former, namely *police* and *polity*, are referred to the 4th department in the 1st class, § 179; the functions of the last, or *politics*, may be referred to the three following objects.

I. *The political balance*, between the colonists, or subscribers, and the direction, or the government, both in the colony, and in Europe.

II. The political balance, between the colonial establishment, and other mercantile companies, or colonies, in Europe, or elsewhere.

III. The political balance, between the colonial establishment, and the neighbouring African nations, which require a different mode of intercourse and treatment, as being uncivilized.

C H A P. IX.

SPECIFIC PROPOSITIONS APPLIED TO THE CASE OF A NEW COLONY.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum. HOR. DE ART. POET.

172. **I**N the seventh chapter, I have made such observations as appeared to me useful and expedient, for the first establishment of a new colony in Africa; and in the eighth, I have delivered my opinion respecting some of the permanent regulations. Still some of my readers may perhaps expect a more specific and practical plan than what I have yet proposed; for most men are much assisted in comprehending and deciding upon a subject, by having it reduced to something like a system. It hath been well observed, by Dr. Watts, that method and system, though lately too much neglected, are nevertheless excellent auxiliaries to the mind, in forming an adequate idea of any subject that comprises many mutually dependent parts. And, if there be any subject in which system is *peculiarly* necessary, the science of government is certainly that subject. To gratify (therefore the lovers of order) I insert, with a few necessary alterations, the following Propositions, which I had the honour to lay before the subscribers to the Bulama Association, for their consideration, at a meeting held on the 29th of April 1794.

PROPOSITION I.

173. That those who may be disposed to subscribe to such an undertaking, form themselves into a company

FOR

TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS

on the western coast of Africa, between the 6th and the 14th degrees of north latitude*.

174. That such company select from among themselves a court of directors to manage the whole concern; to sell land; to engage colonists; to receive money or commodities; to pay money, and dispose of commodities; to appoint their own officers and agents, both in Europe and in the colony; to send out vessels, to trade wherever it may be found beneficial for the whole concern, &c. and to lay a proper and satisfactory account of their proceedings, before a general meeting of the subscribers, every year.

175. The directors of this court ought to consist of two classes.—*The first class* should have the care of the cultivation of the people, or the introduction of morals and civiliz-

* My reasons for selecting this part of the coast, for the subject of my book and map are—1st, That it is much nearer to Europe than any equally productive portion of the coast.—2dly, That owing to the trade-wind and currents, as well as the smaller distance, voyages to and from this part, can be performed sooner than to parts lower down, and incomparably sooner than to any island in the West Indies (see § 6, note)—3dly, That the harbours are better on this part, than any known harbours on the Western coast of Africa.—4thly, That this part of the coast is more fertile than any part convenient for European navigation, and particularly than the tract of coast immediately to the northward of it.—5thly, That the inhabitants appear, upon the whole, to be more disposed to peace and industry, than on any other portion of the coast.—6thly, That very little of this portion of the coast is occupied, or claimed, by European powers.—7thly, That this part is less infested by the slave-trade, than any other portion of the coast, where that traffic is at all carried on.—8thly, That, on account of navigable rivers and the good disposition of the inland people, the interior countries are more easily accessible, from this part of the coast than almost any other.

ation,

ation, together with every thing that regards moral order and regulations.—*The second class* should have the care of the cultivation of the soil of the colony, or the raising of productions, it's management, and the disposal thereof.

176. If six directors were established for each class, the business being more systematically divided, would be more easily managed. Each director should be placed at the head of his particular department, and become answerable to the whole court of directors, as the whole court of directors should be responsible to the subscribers and the colonists at every general meeting.

177. By this mode of arranging the business, it will become necessary to have a general meeting, of the whole court, only once a quarter. Each class might meet once a month, and every director, as the head of his particular department, might manage the business in such a manner as may best suit his convenience.

178. It seems to be the indispensable duty of every director, not to reject any petitions, or propositions, that may be presented to him, but to lay the same before the meeting of his class, with his own opinion thereon: and all such petitions or propositions, presented before that class to which they belong, should be included in a report to the next quarterly meeting of a general court of directors, who are to decide upon the same, and which court should direct that all such papers should be properly digested and entered in the general reports, which every year should be laid before the subscribers.

C H A P.
IX.

THE FIRST CLASS,

which regards the cultivation, civilization and order of the people, and their preservation in the colony and it's dependencies. This Class may be divided into the two following divisions, and each of these into three departments.

FIRST DIVISION.

Promotive
with respect
to morals.

1. For promoting *regular marriages* in the colony, as the foundation of all social order and true religion. This head depart. includes three kinds of duties.
 1. The adjustment of differences between married partners. } See §
 2. The promoting and encouraging the marriage of young men. } 150,
 3. The promoting and encouraging the marriage of young women. } 153.
2. For promoting *education and instruction*, which is the second object of importance, and without which no civilization can take place. This department includes also three duties, viz.
 1. The preparatory or family educat. of children under 10 years. } See §
 2. The education of boys, separately, above ten years of age. } 144,
 3. The education of girls, separately, above ten years of age. } *seq.*
3. For promoting *useful occupations or employments* in the colony. This is of essential consequence, next to the two before mentioned, in order that the colony may flourish. The objects for this depart. are,
 1. Children. } See § 151.
 2. Men. }
 3. Women. }

SECOND DIVISION.

Executive
with respect
to order.

1. The executive department of the *laws*, viz.
 1. The laws of justice. } See § 152, &
 2. The laws of police, and polity, (see § 166.) } *seq.*
 3. The Economical laws. }
2. The executive department for the performance of the *healing art*, as comprehending
 1. The Medical. } See § 162.
 2. The Surgical. }
 3. The Pharmaceutical. }
3. The executive department for the performance of *external worship*, particularly in the three essential ordinances, viz.
 1. Baptism. } See § 161.
 2. Confirmation }
 3. The holy supper. }

THE SECOND CLASS,

C H A P.
IX.

which regards the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of the colony. This Class, like that on the opposite side, may be divided into the two following divisions, and each of these into three departments.

FIRST DIVISION.

Promotive
with respect
to practical
art.

1. For promoting the *production of raw materials* in the colony from the three natural kingdoms, viz.

1. Animal,	} See § 163.
2. Vegetable,	
3. Mineral.	
2. For promoting the *internal trade and manufactures* of the colony, or the formation and the employment of the before mentioned raw productions for, the immediate use of the colony, reducible to

1. Food,	} See § 164.
2. Cloathing,	
3. Building.	
3. For promoting the *commerce* of the whole colony, viz.

1. Their interior or colonial trade,	} See § 165.
2. The trade of exportation,	
3. The trade of importation.	

SECOND DIVISION.

Executive
with respect
to peace.

1. The executive department for the *defence of the colony* when attacked

1. By land,	} See § 166, & <i>seq.</i>
2. By sea,	
3. By ferocious animals.	
2. The executive department of *colonial finances* for defraying the expences of

1. Public charities	} See § 170.
2. Public works	
3. Public defence	
3. The executive department for all those *political* affairs, whereby the colony must maintain its connection

1. With its government or direction,	} See § 171.
2. With other companies or colonies,	
3. With it's neighbouring African nations.	

180. That the subscribers do agree to sell, or in the most advantageous manner, to dispose of, all the land which they have purchased, or may purchase in Africa, upon such conditions, and to such persons, as the court of directors shall approve of, as moral, good and useful colonists, and who shall chuse to go out to settle, and to cultivate their purchased land within a certain limited time*.

181.

* This is nothing more than what took place in the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago ceded to Great Britain, in 1763. In those islands 174,000 acres of land were sold by commissioners, authorized by the government, for £620,000 sterling, or £3 : 11 : 3 per acre, being thirty times the price which the lands at Bulama have cost the subscribers: yet the purchasers in the ceded islands were bound, under a heavy penalty, to clear and cultivate, at least one acre in twenty, every year, till one half of the land they held was brought into cultivation. (See the evidence of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Greig in Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons in 1790, p. 166 and 221.)—Cultivation proceeded slowly in Antigua, till the colonial legislature of that island laid a tax of five shillings per acre, on all manurable lands that should not forthwith be opened and cultivated. The effect was that every man exerted himself to the utmost, or sold such land as he could not cultivate; and thus, in a short time, all the manurable lands in the island were bearing canes, cotton or other produce. (See Long's History of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 409.)—In short, bad roads, scarcity of provisions, the obstruction of population, and the detriment of health, and inability or difficulty of defence, are the certain consequences of suffering purchased lands to lie uncultivated in a colony, especially an infant colony. For an account of the evils Jamaica has laboured under, from this cause, see Long, vol. I. p. 283, 405 *et seq.* 598.—See also Douglas's History of New England, Postlethwayt's Com. Dictionary, Art. "Colonies" and "Paraguay."—Reasons for establishing the colony of Georgia, p. 15, 29, and Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. p. 370.

I know not whether I ought to mention that the island of Barbadoes, Antigua and some others, though they have been rendered incomparably healthier by being cleared, yet, having few or no trees to attract the clouds, have not such plentiful and regular rains as formerly, and suffer much inconvenience from the want of timber. Certain portions of the ceded islands have, therefore, been reserved in wood. Whether this conduct will be imitated or not in Africa, is not for me to determine. If it

were,

181. That the first subscribers may have it in their option, however, to go themselves to the colony, and to settle as colonists, and then to be subject to the same conditions and terms as the other settlers; namely, to oblige themselves to cultivate their purchased land within a certain limited time, at the expiration of which the land remaining uncultivated, whether belonging to settlers, or to subscribers who are not settlers, shall be forfeited and disposed of by the court of directors*.

PROPOSITION III.

182. That a colonist, his heirs, or executors may have equal rights, in every respect, with a £60 subscriber, as soon as he has brought into a cultivated state, within any space of time, not exceeding three years, thirty-six acres of land; and that of a £60 subscriber, who shall go out to the colony, and like the colonists, cultivate his land, shall enjoy the benefit of a double subscription, or that of two subscribers rights, in proportion to every thirty six acres of ground cultivated by him.

PROPOSITION IV.

183. That in consequence of the third proposition, there ought to be a court of directors in the colony, similar to

were, I would not hesitate, to pronounce that the woods should be sacrificed to health; especially as all kinds of provisions and the smaller produce still thrive very well in the drier islands.—But they are not so proper for sugar-canes.

* To reside in one part of the world, and to cultivate land in another, will never promote a colonial interest, as such cultivation must evidently be by agents or managers, who will not have an interest in the prosperity of the colony, like settled colonists, or those who superintend their own business on the spot; and the former case, it is more than probable, would, sooner or later, end in tyranny and slave-flogging, to the total dissolution of all colonial order and social virtue.

that

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that in Europe, the two courts having a combined interest with each other. That these two courts, or divisions of the company, thus acting in perfect harmony or union, one in Europe, and the other in the colony, should be so arranged, that the former may have the general administration of every thing that regards *the deliberation upon, and regulation of, the general affairs*; and that the latter may have the superintendence or direction of such local administration of the affairs as may regard the *active, practical or executive* province in the colony. That only half the directors, both in Europe, and in the colony, should go out at every new election, in order that the court may always be provided with persons properly acquainted with the affairs of the colony.

PROPOSITION V.

184. That after the first election of directors, or after two years, none should be elected but those who have at least once visited the colony, in order that the directors may be properly qualified, by their knowledge of the local situation and practical state of the colony, to manage the direction in Europe*.

PROPOSITION VI.

185. All kinds of oaths to be abolished, from the very be-

* Those who object to the share the colonists will, on this plan, have in the direction, will do well to consider, that the present British colonies in the West Indies lay their own *taxes*, and make their own *internal laws*, which can be reversed by no authority inferior to that of the King in Council, and that *only when* they are repugnant to the laws and constitution of Great Britain.—The late British colonies in North America enjoyed the same privileges.—Absentees from the British sugar islands have no vote in the colonial legislatures, and those from Jamaica are additionally obliged, by a law of that island, to pay their “attornies,” or factors, six per cent. of the value of the produce of their estates, which operates as a heavy tax on them for deserting their civil and military duties in the Island. See Long’s History of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 387, &c.

ginning

ginning of the colony, as they do not seem to be necessary, when matters are arranged and managed in such an equilibrium, that there are checks upon every action and proceeding, both of the court of directors, and of the inhabitants of the colony*.

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PROPOSITION VII.

186. That commerce may be free, as well that of the company, carried on by the court of directors, as that of the colonists; so that, on either side, there may be an equal right of trade. Any person who should be found to deal in slaves, to be expelled immediately from the colony.

PROPOSITION VIII.

187. That new subscriptions to the Bulama undertaking may be opened upon the same plan as the former, viz. at £60 per 500 acres, in order to avoid unequal shares, and that another expedition may be undertaken, as soon as the advanced state of their subscriptions, and of the necessary preliminaries, conspire with the season to render the same adviseable.

* I have been credibly informed, that there are, in London and Westminster above 30,000 lawyers, attornies, and pettifoggers. And I have been led, by my enquiries, to full conviction, that a great proportion of them is maintained in consequence of abused oaths. But this is not all: most people must have heard of the practice of Jew-bail and the trade of affidavit-men; and the farce of custom-house oaths is not less ridiculous than it is shocking. Mr. Locke and other great men, here and elsewhere, have lamented the multiplicity of oaths required by the laws of most nations; but hitherto, it would seem, too much in vain. Sure I am, that, among honest men, they are unnecessary; and that rogues regard them as an empty form. Why then introduce into an infant community, a practice which long experience has proved to be unnecessary or futile?—But, if oaths are to be administered, none but men of known integrity should be allowed to make that sacred appeal.

188. It

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188. It should be proposed that such persons as are willing to subscribe, may do it either in commodities or money, at their option; for I have met with many persons who would gladly have subscribed in goods; but who could not spare the money from their business. Subscriptions should therefore be opened in such commodities as are likely to be hereafter the produce of the new colony; such as sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, tobacco, rice &c. and the court of directors immediately to take charge of the sale of these articles, at the most advantageous price for the company. And in order that those who subscribe in commodities may not obtain more favourable conditions than others, the price of the commodities may be fixed at a par between the buying and selling price, to which ten per cent. should be added, as a compensation for the risk and trouble of the court in the disposal of them; the company to receive all the benefit, or sustain all the loss, that may arise from the sale of them. Suppose that 2400lb. of muscovado sugar is purchased at 5d. a pound, and sold at 7d.—then 6d. a pound would be the average price, and would make out exactly £60. which is the price of a share of 500 acres; but as it would be an additional trouble to the court to convert these 2400lb. of muscovado sugar into ready money, there should be added 10 per cent. consequently to pay a share of 500 acres of land, according to £60 per share, with sugar instead of money, it would be first — 2400lb. and 10 per cent. additional — 240lb.

2640lb.

of sugar to be paid into the company's storehouse for a share of 500 acres;—the same plan to be followed, with respect to all other goods.

P R O.

PROPOSITION IX.

189. That every association for forming colonies in Africa, ought to act connectedly and in harmony with the Sierra Leona company, and every similar establishment; so combining their interests, that every resolution, taken in the general court of directors of any one company, should be generously communicated to the others; and, when a general election is held, and new resolutions taken into consideration, that two of the Directors of every such company should be invited to be present.

PROPOSITION X.

190. That no other currency be introduced, from the commencement of the colony, but that recommended in the judicious plan of that friend of mankind, Granville Sharp, Esq. founded on *labour**, which will tend to create and encourage an activity for raising useful productions, better than any other method. This plan, it is evident, may be adapted, or made applicable, to all the pecuniary transactions that can take place in the largest community.—If gold and silver should be ever introduced, they should never appear in the form of any coin; but should circulate according to their weight and intrinsic standard.—See § 142. Query LI.

PROPOSITION XI.

191. In order compleatly to secure social virtue and order in the colony, the ancient and venerable English system

* See "Sketch of temporary regulations for Sierra Leona," where the worthy author recommends *day-labour*; but I prefer *piece-work* which in all, or in most, cases, may be as easily accommodated to the intended purpose as *day-labour*.

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IX. } of frankpledge should also be introduced; but with some alteration to adapt it to the present state of things*.

PROPOSITION XII.

192. The company ought to keep a compleat store-house in the colony, containing a proper assortment of articles suited to that part of the coast: and, in order to give spirit and support to every active and useful colonist, there should be a *discounting account* in articles kept for the general use of the colony, that those colonists who have abilities, but no means, may obtain such articles, to a certain limited extent, under the direction of the company.

PROPOSITION XIII.

193. When in process of time, taxes come to be raised in the colony, partly for the maintenance of public order, (see § 170,) and partly for raising such revenue to the subscribers as may afford them a liberal, but specific, indemnification for risking and lying out of their property, it is proposed that the following ground for taxing may be observed, by which the overbearing influence of commerce, to the prejudice of more useful and necessary occupations in the colony, may be prevented, viz.

194. That the inhabitants of the colony may be divided into three distinct classes: the first, *producers*, or cultivators of raw materials, such as sugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, spices, cattle, corn or any other kind of productions in their first state. The second, the *tradesmen or manufacturers* in the co-

* Society is also indebted to Mr. Sharp for illustrating and recommending the adoption of that excellent system. See his *Treatise on Congregational Courts*. —Also § 167.

lony, who form the before-mentioned raw materials or productions by means of industry into some shape for use; and the third or last, the class of *merchants* in the colony, who are chiefly occupied in traffic and negociation, both within and without the colony. It is of very great importance, that every inhabitant, from the beginning, may class himself yearly under either of these three, and that the imposts may be laid by the colonial legislature, in such proportion, that the first class be taxed the lowest, and the last the highest, and that the right of voting, in all cases, shall be confined to the first class only*.

PROPOSITION XIV.

195. That no colonist be allowed to possess more than a certain portion of land, say acres†.

PROPOSITION XV.

196. That, in order to prevent certain obvious irregularities, as much as possible, every colonist that remains unmarried after the age of years, shall pay a tax to the community of per cent. on his property, and all married people shall be encouraged in that state by an exemption from certain taxes.

PROPOSITION XVI.

197. That no colonist be arrested or imprisoned for debt,

* See the Plan of a free Community on the Coast of Africa, entirely independent of all European laws and Government, 4to. 1789, p. 23.

† “ Experience has shown the inconvenience of private persons possessing too large quantities of land in our colonies, by which means the greatest part of it must lie uncultivated; and the inhabitants are thrown at such a distance that they can neither assist nor defend one another.” Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia, p. 29.—See the Note to Prop. II.

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P R O P O S I T I O N XVII.

198. That every useful mechanical invention, especially such as are calculated to abridge and facilitate human labour, in clearing and cultivating the soil, be particularly encouraged.—See § 132 *et seq.*

* Every individual belongs to the community, and not to any other individual. He cannot therefore be sold for money, far less for credit; because credit is often given by insidious men, or debts bought up by them, in order to inveigle and confine their competitors; and competition is the very life of an industrious community. The number of persons who are lost to society, to their families and themselves, by imprisonment for debt, is very great. Sixty years ago, it was calculated that four thousand were annually cast into prison for debt in England, and that one third of their debts were never thereby recovered.—(See *Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia*, printed in 1733, page 18.) If the number of such victims has increased, as it is natural to believe it has, with the trade of the kingdom during that period, few thinking men will be disposed to rejoice at an extension of commerce which has brought such an evil in its train. I am, indeed, credibly informed that, in the beginning of the present year (1794) no fewer than 27,000 persons were confined for debt in the gaols of England and Scotland. What a number to be thus shut up from the eyes, and, I fear, too often excluded from the hearts, of their fellow subjects!—But it is to be hoped that the promoters of colonization in Africa, will effectually prevent this afflicting evil from entering into any of their establishments, always remembering that one of their primary objects is, *the abolition of the slave-trade*!—See § 142, Query LI.

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COLONIES FORMED IN AFRICA, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF COMMERCE,
by the Portuguese, Spaniards, French, Dutch and Austrians.

199. **M**OST men yield a readier assent to facts, showing what has already been done, than to arguments, proving what it is practicable to do. For the information then of persons who may be inclined to subscribe, or to embark as colonists, in any new undertaking of this kind, it may not be improper to introduce into this work, a short history of those modern European colonies which have already been established, or attempted, in Africa, on the principles of commerce, and of those which are now forming on the principles of humanity*. But it seems unnecessary to describe the temporary settlements or factories.

THE PORTUGUESE†.

200. The Portuguese explored the coast of Africa, before

* The interests of commerce and humanity were at first so successfully reconciled by the Dutch, at the Cape of Good Hope, that the sketch hereafter given of the first establishment of their colony in that part of Africa, deserves particular attention. Upon the whole, it appears to me to afford a very good model for forming colonies in general.

† The following short account of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, I have compiled from the *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, London printed 1728.—*Mortimer's and Posslethway's Commercial Dictionaries*, both printed in London, 1766.—*Tableau General de Commerce*, Londres, 1787.—*The Report of the British Privy Council*, London 1789.—And the volumes already published of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 3d. edition now printing at Edinburgh.—It may be observed, however, that the present state of Portuguese Africa is different from what it was at the period which furnished the materials for these works.

any

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Portuguese
first explored
the African
coast.

any other modern European nation; but from an ungenerous reserve on the part of their government, or from some other cause unknown to me, they have been so sparing in their communications, that I cannot pretend to describe their colonies with that certainty and precision which I wish*. Among other causes of confusion, unsettled orthography is not the least. For example in the kingdom of Congo, we meet with Congo, Kakongo, Cango, Coango, names in the application of which geographers do not seem to be agreed. Thus much, however, is certain, that the Portuguese possessions in Africa are far more important than those of any other European nation; and that in the hands of an active people, they could not fail to become the sources of immense power and opulence.

201. Portuguese Africa, as it may not improperly be called, extends on the west from about 5 deg. of north lat. to 10, some say 15 deg. south. Here, instead of being cooped up within the narrow limits of trading factories, as they are on other parts of the western coast, they are settled in colonies, under a regular government, and have built several large and well fortified towns. The soil, which is rich and well watered, they have, in several places, taught the natives to cultivate; for this kind of instruction forms no considerable part of the policy of the Portuguese clergy, who have taken

* I have the satisfaction of informing the reader, that since the above was written, the following sketch has had the advantage of being reviewed, and corrected in a few places, by Colonel Bolts, a gentleman whose knowledge of the eastern parts of Africa is allowed by those who have the honour of his acquaintance, to be very extensive. Having spent many years in the eastern parts of the world, he published in 1772, "Considerations on India affairs," in three vols. 4to; and, I believe, he has it now in contemplation to lay also before the public the result of his personal and acquired knowledge of the East of Africa, not only of the coast, but of the inland country.

so much pains to convert the natives, that it is thought they have been the means of making many of them better christians than themselves. Thus much at least appears, that the religion these fathers have taught the natives has contributed to soften their manners, if not to mend their morals, (See § 36, *et seq.* and § 146). As a proof of this, we are assured, that in many parts of this country, they are cloathed in the European fashion, to which they are so habituated that, even were the Portuguese to leave the country, they would not soon abandon it.

202. Awerri, though in the kingdom of Benin, is subject to the government of the Portuguese, who have here a castle and a garrison; also a church and a monastery. It is worthy of remark, that though the river of Benin is very fatal to the English and Dutch seamen who frequent it, yet the Portuguese, who dwell farther within the country, do not experience any peculiar insalubrity of climate. This is one instance, among many, which might be adduced, to make it probable, that the interior of almost all of the western parts of Africa is more healthful than the coast. (See § 76, and 80.)

Awerri.

203. Angola was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1484. They afterwards conquered several of it's provinces, and rendered the native king tributary for the rest, as his successors have since continued. Their acquisitions may extend 240 leagues along the coast, and, in some places, 100 within the land. The capital is St. Paul de Loanda, which has a good harbour. It is the seat of the government, and, every three years, receives a new governor from Portugal. The country has been cleared, drained and cultivated in so many places, as to improve it's climate very considerably. Some years ago, a number of people from Biscay were sent out to work the excellent iron mines in Angola; but they miscarried,

Angola.

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carried, for want of proper support. The Portuguese in Angola, are said to be able, at any time, to bring into the field 3000 well armed men, of their own nation. Their power is chiefly situated in the interior parts; for the trade of the coast of Angola, &c. has always been open; and thither the French, English and Dutch send yearly a considerable number of ships for slaves, &c.

Congo. 204. In 1484, Congo was discovered by Diego Cam, who, in behalf of his sovereign, King John of Portugal, formed an alliance, with the King of Congo, which has continued to the present day, with some interruptions, on the part of the Portuguese. Their chief town, St. Salvadore, is situated 150 miles up the river Congo, or Zaire, upon an eminence, in a country well cultivated and most uncommonly salubrious. (See § 76.) It is a very extensive place, but not proportionably populous, as the houses are intermixed with spacious gardens, which, doubtless, is one cause of it's salubrity. Yet it's inhabitants must be very numerous, as it is said to have twelve churches and seven chapels, besides the cathedral.

Loango and
Benguela.

205. Of these countries I do not find any thing particular, except that Benguela is very unhealthful. They are under the power or influence of the Portuguese; and, I believe, are generally included in descriptions of Congo and Angola.—In the interior parts of these last countries, it appears that the Portuguese have many presidios, or garrisons, who, with the assistance of the natives, have cleared and cultivated the land in their respective vicinities, raising maize, calavances, yams, bananas and other provisions and fruits.

206. Many of the Portuguese at Loando, Colombo, St. Salvadore and other places in this part of Africa are exceedingly rich. It is common for a Portuguese to possess 50, 100 and

200 slaves, and some of the more opulent are the masters even of 3000. A religious society, at Loando are the proprietors of no fewer than 12,000 slaves, who being blacksmiths, joiners, turners, stone-cutters, &c. earn, by their work, from 4 to 500 rees per day, for the society.—How far this sort of revenue is compatible with the intention of such an institution, it is not my present business to enquire.

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207. In Congo, christianity was preached soon after the arrival of the Portuguese; and missionaries are still well received there. Encouragements have been offered at different times, particularly in the beginning of the present reign, to the religious in the convents of Portugal, to labour in the conversion of the natives of Congo, Angola, and their other African possessions. Many missionaries have accordingly undertaken this pious work, at different times. Their success appears to have been considerable, and, had they been steadily supported, there is reason to believe it would have been compleat. Many Portuguese bishops reside in this part of Africa, and numbers of the natives have been regularly ordained priests.

Missionaries.

208. To the farther credit of that nation, it ought to be noted, that they carry on the slave-trade from the countries just mentioned, with as much humanity as it is possible to unite with such a traffic. Great numbers of slaves who come from the remote inland countries, are shipped from Congo, Angola, &c. None, however, who belong to these last countries, are sent as slaves to the Brazils, except black convicts; and even these, before they are put on board, are catechised and receive baptism, a rite which has been found to console their minds under their unhappy circumstances. The Portuguese slave-ships are never over crowded, and the sailors are chiefly blacks, called *Negros Ladinos*, who

Portuguese
slave-trade.

S

speak.

C H A P.
X.

ſpeak their language, and whoſe buſineſs it is to comfort and attend the poor people on the voyage. The conſequences are, that they have little or no occaſion for fetters, ſo conſtantly uſed in the other European ſlave-ſhips, and that they perform their voyages from Angola, &c. to Brazil with very little mortality.

Portugueſe
colonies on
the Eaſt of
Africa.

209. So vaſt are the territories poſſeſſed by, or tributary to, the Portugueſe on the eaſt of Africa, that they may, or might have been ſaid to be maſters of a great part of that whole coaſt. They are never interrupted there by any other European nation, except occaſionally by ſhips in diſtreſs, on their return from India; for, in going out, they ſteer quite another courſe*.

St. Martin,
Puado.

210. The Portugueſe poſſeſſions on the Eaſt of Africa begin about 25° ſouth latitude, according to Poſtlethwayt. Here they trade for ivory and gold, and they abound ſo much with cattle, that they yearly furniſh numbers to the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope. St. Martin and Puado are two iſlands in the River Cumana, where the Portugueſe and the natives plant proviſions for the ſhipping, and whence they have ſome trade with the inland negroes.

Sofala.

211. The kingdom of Sofala extends about 30 leagues along the coaſt, and about 80 up the country. It is, or was governed by a Mahometan prince, tributary to the King of

* The Portugueſe, however, do not appear entirely to exclude other nations from a participation in ſome parts of the trade of the eaſtern parts of Africa. For, when I was at Havre de Grace in 1787, ſome ſlave-merchants in that city were ſending a few ſhips to Moſambique for ſlaves. They told me, that, although, in the long, cold and ſtormy voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, many more of the ſlaves died, than even in the paſſage from the coaſt of Guinea to the Weſt Indies; yet that their cheapneſs at Moſambique fully compensated for their increaſed mortality.—So coolly do merchants talk of ſacrificing the lives of mankind, at the ſhrine of the “ Mammon of unrighteouſneſs!!”

Portugal. The sands of the river of Sofala have a very considerable admixture of gold-dust. The inhabitants of the town and kingdom of Sofala are a mixture of Mahometan Arabs, idolatrous caffres and bad Portuguese christians.

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212. From the mines of Sofala, more than 2,000,000 of merigals of gold are said to be yearly extracted, the value of which, M. Savary computes, at 28,000,000 livres Tournois, or £1,166,666 sterling. These riches are divided between the Portuguese, the Arabians of Ziden and Mecca, and the native traders of Quiloa, Monbaze and Melinda. These last come in small barks, called zambucks, bringing dyed and white cottons, silks, ambergris and succinum, or yellow and red amber. The Arabians exchange goods from the East Indies and the Red sea, to the amount of £140,000 sterling per annum, for ivory and gold. The merchants of Sofala also exchange European and Asiatic goods for the gold of the inland country of Monomotapa, which comes down in such quantities, that the Portuguese call the Prince of Monomotapa, *the golden emperor*.

Great quantity of golds

213. On the west of Sofala, is the kingdom of Mongas, chiefly remarkable for the quantity of gold it yields, particularly at Massapa, Maninas, and the mountain of *Ophir*, whence, it is believed, Solomon's treasures were brought*. At Massapa, the Portuguese are settled, under the authority of the Governor of Mozambique.

Mongas.

Mount
Ophir.

214. This emporium, is on an island in latitude 15° south (D'Anville.) It is extremely populous, one half of the inhabitants being Portuguese and the rest negroes. The island abounds with cattle, poultry, fruits and provisions of

Mazam-
bique.

* Some, however, are of opinion that Solomon brought his gold from Sumatra, on the north end of which there is likewise a mountain which to this day is called Ophir.—See Bolts on Indian Affairs, Vol. I. p. 6.

C H A P. X. all kinds; so that, in this respect, it is a very proper place of refreshment for the Portuguese East Indian ships, especially as the harbour is very good; but the air is reckoned none of the best. At Mozambique are numbers of monks, some of whom are frequently sent, by the governor, to the opposite continent; not so much, it is strongly suspected, on spiritual errands, as to dispose the natives to give his excellency good bargains of their gold, ivory and ebony.

215. When the European goods arrive at Mozambique from Portugal, they are taxed by the king's factor, who sends them to Chilimani, at the mouth of the Senna, whence they go very far up the river, to a Portuguese town, whither the Africans come, sometimes from the distance of two or three months travel, to buy, or take on credit, the European goods, for a stipulated quantity of gold, and which they faithfully bring or send. This barter yields cent per cent, and indeed, may well be called the Chili and Peru of the Portuguese; gold being so common, that, at a month's journey from the coast, household utensils and ornaments are frequently made of it. Of the trade of Mozambique, we may form some idea from the governor's duties which annually amount to between 60 and £70,000 sterling; exclusive of the pay of the troops and garrisons, and of a considerable tribute annually remitted to the crown of Portugal.

Zanguebar. 216. Lamo, Pata and Ampasa, on this coast, are, or were, governed by chiefs dependent on the Portuguese.

Melinda. 217. This large country, was for many years, governed by a prince tributary to the same nation. But the circumstances are now reversed; for the Portuguese are obliged to purchase by annual presents, permission to trade, and to explore the country for gold—a revolution probably caused partly

partly by the declension of the Portuguese power, and partly by the advancement of the natives in the arts of commerce and policy, which made them sensible both of their own interests, and of their own strength. The capital, likewise called Melinda, was wholly built by the Portuguese, in the latitude of 5° south (D'Anville) with a very good harbour, and a strong citadel. It is a large city, said to contain 30,000 Portuguese, exclusive of natives, and 17 christian churches, besides religious houses. From their ware-houses, in Melinda, they supply the country with European goods to a vast distance inland, whence they procure ivory, in such quantities as to load ships, with that commodity alone. Adjoining to Melinda, are five other kingdoms all tributary to the same nation; so that, in this part of Africa alone, the Portuguese, in the zenith of their power, might have been said to hold the sovereignty of a country as large as Spain and Portugal together.

218. The natives, however, carry on some trade with their own vessels, in which they frequent the Red sea, and the ports of Arabia. They are also seen in the Indian seas, especially at Cambaya, a maritime town in the territories of the Great Mogul. The Indians and Arabians, on the other hand, sometimes brings them goods to Melinda. Yet the Portuguese ultimately transact all the trade of Melinda, which is but little inferior to that of Mozambique. Gold from Sofala, ivory, copper, quicksilver, all sorts of silks and cottons from Europe and the East Indies, spices, rice and other grain are the chief articles brought to Melinda.

219. The inhabitants of Brava consume great quantities of European manufactures; for they dress in the Portuguese manner, like the people of Quiloa, and many other parts of this coast.

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X.

Ajan and
Adel.

220. From Brava to Cape Guardafui, extends the coast of Ajan, and from thence to Rasbel, at the entrance of the Red sea, the country is called Adel. These vast territories abound in cattle, corn and fruits; and Ajan affords the Portuguese several whole cargoes of ivory yearly. The inhabitants are, or were, partly tributary to the Portuguese and partly subject to Moorish and Arabian princes*.

MADEIRA †.

221. The island of Madeira, is about 55 English miles long, and 10 broad, and was first discovered, A. D. 1419, by Joao Gonzales Zarco. It is divided into two capitancias, *Funchal* and *Maxico* (read Mashico) each containing two judicatures. Funchal (in latitude 32° 33' north), besides the city of that name, contains 7 towns, and 26 parishes; and Maxico 3 towns and 17 parishes.

222. Madeira consists of one large mountain, whose branches rise every where from the sea towards the centre, where there is an excavation, from which, and from the greater part of the stones being lava, it appears that a volcano has formerly existed here.

223. Many rivulets descend, from the summit, in deep chafms, or glens. Their beds are in some places, covered with stones, brought down by the winter torrents of rain and melted snow. The water is conducted by weirs into the vineyards, where some have it constantly, and others once, twice or thrice a week. The heats rendering irrigation absolutely necessary, the planters of new vineyards are obliged to pay dear for water to those who have a constant

* After all, I find it is believed, that the natives have dispossessed the Portuguese of most of their territorial acquisitions on the *continent* of the East of Africa.

† Abridged from Forster's Voyage round the World, Vol. I. p. 13. *et seq.*

supply.

supply.—Wherever a level can be formed on the hills, the natives plant eddoes (*arum esculentum*, Linn.) inclosed by a dyke, to confine the moisture. The hogs eat the leaves, and the natives, the roots.—The sweet potato (*convolvulus batatas*, Linn.) is planted for the same purpose, and is a principal article of diet; together with chefnuts which grow in extensive woods, on grounds too high for vines. Wheat and barley are sown, where the vines are decaying from age, or are newly planted. But, as the crops do not afford above three month's provisions, corn is imported from America, in exchange for wine. The want of manure and industry are partly the causes of this defect; but, even were the cultivation perfect, it is believed, the island could not afford corn sufficient for the inhabitants.

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MADEIRA.

224. Where the soil, exposure and supply of water admit, vines are cultivated. They are supported on a lattice-work of bamboos, about seven feet high, from which the grapes depend, and ripen in the shade; and hence the Madeira wines are believed to derive their excellent flavour and body. The best, called *Madeira Malmsey*, is made from a vine imported from Candia, by order of Don Henry, Infante of Portugal. Only a small quantity of this rich, sweet wine is made; and it is sold on the spot, for £40 and £42 sterling the pipe. The next sort is a dry wine, such as is exported to London, at £30 and £31 sterling per pipe. Inferior kinds, for the East and West Indies and North America, sell at 20, 25 or £30 sterling. About 30,000 pipes, from 110 to 120 gallons, are made, upon a mean, every year. About 13,000 pipes of the better sorts are exported, and the rest made into brandy and vinegar; or consumed at home. The vineyards are inclosed with walls, and hedges, of prickly pear, pomegranates, myrtles, brambles and wild roses.

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MADEIRA.

roses. The gardens produce all the European fruits, with, now and then, some tropical ones, as bananas, goavas and pine-apples.

225. All the domestic animals of Europe are found at Madeira. The mutton and beef are small, but well tasted. The horses, though not large, are sure footed; and climb with agility, the difficult paths of the island. There are no wheel-carriages of any kind; but in the town, they convey heavy goods on sledges drawn by oxen.—The only wild quadruped here is the grey rabbit.—Many wild birds, common in Europe, are found in Madeira; but very few hens, or other tamè birds, owing perhaps to the scarcity of corn.—There are no snakes whatever in this island; but the vineyards and gardens, and even the houses, swarm with lizards.—The shores are not without fish; but, as they are not in sufficient plenty, for the Lent season, “herrings” says Dr. Forster, “are brought from Gothenburg, in *English bottoms*, and cod from North America*.—On this head, I cannot

* My author may be right in stating that herrings are brought from Gothenburg to Madeira, in *English bottoms*; but I have the best reasons to believe that the greater part are sent there in Swedish bottoms. It is true, payments at Madeira are not made in money; but in produce, viz. wine, a great part of which the English very conveniently dispose of in their colonies, an advantage which I should think is more than balanced by the lower rate of Swedish freight, and the numerous advantages of the free port of Gothenburg; and they are obliged, at any rate, to go to the southward for salt; they pack the herrings full as hard, and fit for hot climates, in Sweden, as any where else; and, upon the whole, the Swedes can certainly send herrings, not to mention other articles, to Madeira, at least as good and cheap as the English.—I do not mean, however, to say, that the exportation commerce of Sweden is in a state unsuceptible of better regulations. There is in that country a board, called COMMERCE COLLEGIUM, consisting of a president and eighteen members; and whose business it is, or ought to be, to watch over the commercial interests of Sweden. I am sensible that this board contains a *few men* of real worth, and who have the good

cannot omit an observation of my learned author. “Africa,” says he, p. 27, “which we visited during this voyage, in a few weeks, supplied us with a great variety of quadrupeds, reptiles and insects, whilst all the other lands where we touched, afforded no new discoveries in those classes.”

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X.
MADEIRA.

226. The common people of Madeira are tawny, with dark eyes and black curling hair, which, in some individuals, begins to crisp, owing, perhaps to intermarriage with negroes.—The inhabitants of the towns are more ill-favoured than the country people.—The gentry are a sort of *petite noblesse*, whose genealogical pride makes them unf sociable and ignorant; and causes a ridiculous affectation of gravity.

227. The country people are very sober and frugal; their diet being generally bread and onions, or other roots, with little animal food. Their drink is water, or a fermented infusion of the refuse rind of the grape; for the wine, which their own hands prepare, they seldom, if ever, taste.—Their chief occupation is raising vines; but as this requires not much attendance, for a great part of the year, they naturally incline to idleness. Indeed, warmth of climate, where great provision against inclemency of weather is unnecessary, and where hunger is easily satisfied, will probably produce indolence, where the legislature does not counteract it by encouraging industry. But, it seems, the Portuguese legislators are not thus disposed; for, though they have lately ordered olive-trees to be planted here, on spots too dry and barren for vines, they have given the labourers no temporary assistance, and have offered no premiums, to overcome their reluctance to innovation, and to labour.

good of their country very much at heart; but, whether, upon the whole, it answers the end of its original institution, I beg leave to save myself the mortification of enquiring.

T.

Add

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MADEIRA.

Add to this, that the landed property is in the hands of a few ancient families; the vineyards are held only by an annual tenure; and the farmer reaps but four tenths of the produce; four tenths being paid in kind to the landlord, one tenth to the king, and one to the clergy. Such small profits, joined to the thought of making improvements for others, preclude all alterations for the better, under the present system. But, oppressed as they are, they are chearful and contented. Their labours are commonly alleviated with songs; and, in the evenings, they dance to the drowsy guittar.

228. The governor is at the head of all the civil and military departments of Madeira, Porto Santo, the Salvages and the Ilhas Desertas, which last contain only the temporary huts of fishermen.—The law department is under the corregidor, commonly sent from Portugal, and holding his place during the king's pleasure. To him appeals lie from the inferior courts, each of which has a senate, and a presiding judge chosen by them. The merchants elect their own judge, or *providor*, who collects the king's revenue, amounting annually to about £120,000 sterling, arising (1) from one tenth of all the produce of the island; (2) from 11 per cent. on all exports; and (3) from 10 per cent. on all imports, provisions excepted. Far the greater part of the revenue is applied to the support of the civil and military establishments, and of public buildings.

Military.

229. The island has but one regular company of 100 men; but the militia consists of 3000, who are annually embodied for one month, under the Sergeanté Mor. Neither privates nor officers receive any pay; and yet the places of the latter are much sought after, on account of the rank.

230. The secular priests are about 1200, many of them employed as private tutors; for, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, there have been no regular public schools here, except one, where a priest educates 10 students, at the king's expense*. Those who intend to go into orders are obliged to study at the university of Coimbra, in Portugal. There is a dean and chapter at Madeira, headed by a bishop, whose income, which considerably exceeds the governor's, consists of 110 pipes of wine, and 960 English bushels of wheat, amounting, at a mean, to £3000 sterling.

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MADEIRA.

Priests.

231. In 1768, the inhabitants of the 43 parishes of Madeira, amounted to 63,913, of whom 31,341 were males, and 32,572 females. But, in that year, the deaths were exactly 5243, and the births 2198. It is highly probable that some epidemical distemper prevailed in that year, as such a mortality would soon depopulate the island: a supposition which is strengthened by the excellence of the climate†. In summer, the heat is very moderate on the higher parts of the island, whither the better sort of people then retire: in winter, the snow lies there for several days, while, in the lower parts, it never continues above a day or two.

Population,
births,
deaths.

Climate.

232. In 1449, Antonio Nolli, a Genoese in the service of Don Henry, Infante of Portugal, discovered some of the Cape Verd Islands; and in 1460, another voyage was under-

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* There appears to be a priest in Madeira for every 53 inhabitants; exclusive of about 70 friars and 300 nuns.

† My author's supposition is farther strengthened, by Dr. Heberden's observation, that the inhabitants of Madeira double their own numbers, by the births, in 84 years, under all their oppressions; for nothing short of *West Indian oppression* can prevent mankind, when once fairly settled in a tolerable climate, from keeping up, or increasing, their numbers by births—See Price on Annuities, p. 204.

‡ Abridged from Forster's Voyage round the World, Vol. I. p. 33 *et seq.*

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taken to settle them, when the rest were discovered. Santiago, (as Colonel Bolts writes it) is the largest of them, and about 17 leagues in length. The capital, of the same name, lies in the interior, and is the see of the bishop of all these islands. This isle contains 11 parishes, the most populous of which has about 4000 houses.

233. The Cape Verd Islands are generally mountainous; but their lower hills are often covered with verdure, and have a gentle declivity, with extensive vales between them. They are ill supplied with water; but Santiago has one tolerable river. The hills are covered with stones, which are a species of lava. The soil, which is fertile enough in the vallies, is a kind of rubbish of cinders and ochreous ashes: hence it is probable that all these islands have contained volcanoes; especially as Fogo still consists of a burning mountain.

Oppressed
by monopoly.

234. Porto Praya stands on a steep rock, and contains only a few cottages. Its fortifications are old walls towards the sea, and low fences of loose stones, towards the land. A tolerable building, at a little distance, belongs to a company at Lisbon, who monopolize the trade to all these islands, and keep an agent here. "*The company,*" says Forster "*perfectly tyrannizes over the inhabitants, and sells them wretched merchandize, at exorbitant prices.*"—It is believed, however, that those poor people have lately been delivered from *this* cause of their wretchedness, by the abolition of that most odious and oppressive monopoly. May Heaven preserve every colony in Africa, *especially those professedly undertaken on humane principles*, from the cruel clutches of such unfeeling companies!

Inhabitants.

235. The natives of Santiago are middle sized, and almost black, with frizzled hair, and thick lips, like the ugliest negroes.

groes. But, whether the change has been wrought in these descendants of the first Portuguese colonists, by the climate acting on their complexion, for nine generations (300 years) or by intermarriage with negroes, Dr. Forster does not decide. He states, however, the opinion of Canon Pauw, the Abbé Demanet, and the Count de Buffon, that “the colours of the human species depend principally on the climate*.” At present, there are no whites in these islands, except 12 or 15 at Santiago. Even the governors and the priests in the other islands are blacks. The better sort wear ragged European cloaths: the rest seem well pleased with the partial covering of a shirt, a vest, a pair of breeches, or a hat†. Despotic governors, bigotted priests and the indolence of the court of Lisbon, will always keep those people more wretched than any community of negroes in Africa. They are rather inclined to sloth; and their situation confirms this habit. Beggary alone can protect them from the gripe of tyrants, to increase whose treasures, would be the only effect of their toil. Add to this, that the dry soil is parched up, when the annual rains fail, and famine inevitably succeeds. From these powerful causes, it is reasonable to suppose, that the inhabitants are deterred, from marriage

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Causes of
their wretch-
edness.

* See De Pauw Rech. phil. sur les Americ. T. I. p. 186.—Demanet Nouv. hist. de l'Afr. Fran. T. II. p. 224.—Buffon Hist. Nat. 12mo. T. VI. p. 260.—If I might venture to offer an opinion on a subject so much controverted among the learned, I would give it as the result of my observations in Africa, that a black, or a very dark, complexion would be the consequence of *whites living within the tropics, after the manner of the natives*. But the whites, except perhaps at the Cape Verd Islands, have hitherto lived in tropical countries, clothed and lodged, as in temperate climates; and therefore the complexions of them and their descendants have, in general, undergone but little alteration, especially in individuals not much exposed to the sun.

† I have been credibly informed, that Rag-fair in London supplies the Cape Verd Islands with great quantities of old cloaths.

which

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ISLANDS.

which would only bring misery, and perhaps the horrors of slavery, on their offspring*.

236. After what has been said, the state of agriculture in these islands cannot be expected to be very flourishing.

Agriculture: The valley near Porta Praya fort, however, seems to have some moisture, and is planted, here and there, with cocoa-nut-palms, sugar-canes, bananas, cotton, goaves and papaws. But the greatest part of it is over-run with brushwood; and another is left for pasture.—But we may perhaps conclude, that the Cape Verd Islands, in the hands of an active nation, might be cultivated to great advantage. The cochineal plant, some spices, and coffee, would thrive particularly well in this hot, parched climate. These would supply the natives not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, under the influence of a free and equal government, like that of Great Britain.

Exports and
manufac-
tures.

237. Such is the substance of our learned voyager's ac-

* In 1773 and 1774, (as Mr. Forster was told at the Cape of Good Hope, in 1775) a famine destroyed multitudes of people, in the Cape Verd Islands. In the midst of this distress, several of the natives sold themselves for slaves to a Dutch captain, who happened to arrive, and who sold them at the C. of G. Hope. But the government there having been informed of it, ordered the captain to redeem them, at his own expense, to carry them back to their own country, and to bring a certificate from the Portuguese governor, importing the execution of these orders.

From the dates given by Forster, I infer that some of the members of the government to whom this praise worthy action was to be ascribed, were Baron Joachim von Plettenberg, the Governor; M. Hemmy, the second governor; M. von Prehn, the major; and M. Berg, the secretary, gentlemen whom Forster, on another occasion, (V. I. p. 74) mentions as valuable members of society, ornaments to their country and friends to mankind; and he gives the same character of M. Christophel Brand, commander of the post at False Bay, and of M. Kerste and M. de Wit, who appear to be private gentlemen.—While I was at Goree, in 1787, a vessel arrived from the Cape Verd Islands, which brought accounts that they had been without rain for three years.—The W. Indian Island of Antigua once had no rain for 7 years.—Privy Council's Report.

count

count of the Cape Verd Islands, which being ill watered, and their rains uncertain, cannot be ranked among the most fertile parts of Africa. But it is not improbable that he visited them during a drought; for Mortimer (in his Commercial Dictionary, Art. Cape de Verd Isles) does not represent them as very miserable habitations. He tells us that, though mere deserts when the Portuguese first settled on them, they now produce several commodities for trade, as raw and dressed hides, oil extracted from tortoises, honey, wax, salt, Turkey wheat, (Indian corn or maize) oranges, lemons, &c. and supply vessels with tame and wild fowls. Cattle are in such plenty, that several ships are employed in carrying them to Brazil, whither they also convey quantities of fish, caught and salted near Cape Verd.—He might have added, that these islands supply the West Indian sugar colonies with great numbers of cattle, asses and mules (See § 60) and that, at Santiago, the inhabitants manufacture cloths of cotton and of silk. They are very beautiful articles, and are commonly called in England, “Saint Jago cloths,” a name, however, often applied to “Guinea cloths,” or those fabricated by the negroes on the continent of Africa.

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ISLANDS.

238. Colonel Bolts who was at the Cape Verd Islands, in 1781, has obligingly communicated to me the following additional and very interesting particulars.

239. In September and October, ships have often been driven on shore in Porto Praya road. In the dangerous season, therefore, it is best to anchor out in 18 fathoms water; so that, in case of a gale, the ship may be sure of clearing the eastern point, called Mulher Branca, or the western, called Harbours.

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ISLANDS.

called Tumrofa. Sam Vincent, one of the Ilhas Desertas, has the best harbour in all these islands; and it is capable of containing the most numerous fleet of large ships, safe all the year round. Sam Vincent has the advantage of excellent air and plenty of good water, but it is uninhabited.

Curious
stones.

240. The island of S. Antam (improperly called S. Antonio) formerly belonged to the Duque Infeliz (de Aveiro.) It was rented by that family to an English gentleman, whose agent, one Stephen Spencer, picked up some stones, washed down from the peak of the island, and sent them to England. The lapidaries gave it as their opinion, that the mountain whence they came certainly contained curious, if not precious, stones. All the Islands contain iron ore, often on the surface.

People en-
slaved by the
Duque d'A-
veiro.

241. The Duque d'Aveiro had partly peopled S. Antam with his own slaves; and, in time, he acquired, or usurped, a kind of property in the persons of the other inhabitants. The poor, ignorant creatures having submitted to his gradual and artful encroachments on their liberties, their children actually came to consider themselves as the slaves of this usurper and his successors. And so completely were they subjugated at last, that the English agent exported and sold a great number of them. On the fall of the Aveiro family, however, S. Antam reverted to the crown: and, not above six months ago (1781) the governor received an order from the court of Lisbon to liberate these oppressed people, who are computed to be about 1000.—The famine which afflicted these islands a few years ago (see § 235, note) appeared first in S. Antam, and was very severely felt in that island, 1000 of its inhabitants having perished by it. In Santiago, 15,000 persons, or about one half of the inhabitants, lost their lives, in the same distressing period.

242. During the administration of the Marquis de Pombal, about 10,000 of the inhabitants of the Cape Verd Islands were sent to build the present fortifications at Bissao, where most of them died.

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ISLANDS.

243. There are at Santiago fourteen Engenhos, or sugar-mills, worked by oxen; but only two of them are reckoned good. They make very strong spirits there; but, from a defect of industry and ingenuity, and doubtless of encouragement and capital, neither their sugar nor spirits are sufficiently cheap for exportation.

Sugar-mills.

244. The late governor, Joaquim Salene Saldanha Lobo, had a scheme for fitting out vessels at the Cape Verd Islands, for the whale fishery on the Southern coast of Africa; and another for extracting from the Semente da purga* an oil which is excellent for burning, and is free from any bad smell.—The gathering of Orzella, or Orchella, on the coast of these islands, costs not 800 reas per quintal. The medium price of that quantity, at Porto Praya, is 3000 reas, and at Lisbon 19,200 reas†.—In these islands, they might raise great quantities of very good cotton, and also of indigo which grows wild every where. But the inhabitants do not cultivate more of either, than what is necessary for the cloths they manufacture, for their trade to the continent of Africa. Colonel Bolts has samples of the following kinds, the first of which is in the greatest demand on the continent, and the rest in the order of the numbers. The prices are those at which they may be respectively bought per piece, at Porto Praya.—1. Pano de agulha, all cotton, about 2500 reas.—2. Pano quadrado, all cotton, about 2000

Whale-fishery, Orchella, manufactures:

* Ricinus—Pignon d'Inde. It is believed to be the same plant from which the Castor oil is extracted in the West Indies.

† 4800 reas are equivalent to a moidore, or about 27 shillings sterling.

C H A P. X. reas.—3. Pano da ley, all cotton, about 1000 reas.—4. Pano de fio de laa, cotton and worsted, 4 to 5000 reas.—5. Pano de retros, cotton and silk, 6 to 12,000 reas.—6. Pano de vestir, 3000 reas.

ST. THOMAS.

245. The island of St. Thomas (called by the negroes on the coast Poncas) was discovered by the Portuguese, in 1465, first settled by them in 1467, and here they have raised a colony which is, or was, very flourishing. Its situation (under the line, and in about 27° of longitude East from Ferro) appeared to the Dutch so commodious for the trade of the neighbouring coasts, that they took it in 1610, and again 1641; but it was both times retaken by the Portuguese, who soon repaired the almost incalculable damage their enemies did on abandoning it.

246. The chief products are sugar and ginger*. Of

Cinnamon.

* I do not know that the products of any one of the countries, which I have found it necessary to sketch, have ever been explored and distinctly enumerated. That they have not, would appear from the new discoveries always made, even in the most frequented parts of Africa, when naturalists happen to visit them. Of this we have an instance, in the following extract from the evidence of A. P. How, Esq. who was in Africa, in 1785 and 1786, in the *Grampus* ship of war, employed as a botanist, by the British government.—“The witness has seen *cinnamon* trees at St. Thomas, at the sea side, about 20 feet high; and, from what he heard, they grew inland to a higher size. From the bark brought down, he concludes there must be a great quantity inland. The cinnamon and cassia trees are of different genera; the one belonging to the *Laurus*, the other the *Cassia*; but their genera are not quite established. The leaf of the *Laurus* is oblong, nerved, shining, simple. Of the *Cassia*, the leaves are bipinnate, not unlike the *mimosa* or sensitive plant. The witness is not positive that it is the same cinnamon which grows in India; but the bark, leaves and whole structure of the tree are the same as those brought from thence to Kew gardens. He has never been at Ceylon; but has seen the tree, both at Bombay and Cambay, in private gardens, brought as presents from Ceylon. The African cassia is not unlike that which has been seen in the East Indies.”—See Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons, 1790, p. 226.

brown

brown sugar, the common crop is from 6 to 700 charges, of which near 100,000 roves, each 32 Portuguese pounds, are annually sent to Portugal. The other products and manufactures of St. Thomas, are different kinds of cotton stuffs, proper for the Portuguese trade on the coast, fruits, particularly that called *cola*, a nut, in taste like a chefnut, which is advantageously bartered in Angola and Congo, whence it is sent to a great distance inland. Indian corn, millet, cassada, figs, bananas and other tropical produce, grow here in plenty. The sheep and goats are excellent; but the beef is smaller, and not near so fat, as in Europe.

247. The Portuguese carry to St. Thomas, linens, camblets, ferges, brandy, wine, olives, olive-oil, capers, fine flour, butter, cheese, salt, hatchets, bills, copper-kettles and plates, sugar-moulds, pitch, tar and cordage.

CHAP.
X.
ST. THOMAS.

Imports.

248. Of the three first, the Portuguese make so little use as scarcely to claim an exclusive property in them. Ships of all nations occasionally touch at them for wood and water, and to catch turtles. But at Annabona, the Portuguese trade in cotton, which they gather there in considerable quantities. They also raise hogs, goats, poultry, and fruits.

PRINCE'S
ISLAND,
FERNANDO
PO, ASCEN-
SION AND
ANNABONA

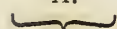
249. Except Ascension, which is covered with sand and rocks, all these islands offer to Portugal an excellent opportunity of imitating the liberal and humane example of colonization in Africa, which has lately distinguished Great Britain and Denmark.

Eligible for
colonies.

250. The Portuguese had the advantage of trading to, and establishing themselves in, Africa, earlier than any other

General re-
flections on
the Portu-
guese settle-
ments in
Africa.

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X.



British pro-
gress in Afri-
ca might ex-
ceed Portu-
guese.

modern European nation; and that too at a time when they were actuated by a spirit of enterprize which perhaps has never been exceeded in any people. Their power has, indeed, undergone a great, but gradual, declension, especially on the *continent* of the East of Africa. Yet such remains of it are still visible that a respectable modern writer scruples not to say, that they still possess more valuable territory in Africa, and have brought more of the natives to live in the European manner, than all Christendom besides. Hence he concludes, that other nations, and the British in particular, who can furnish Africa with manufactures of their own, might make *at least* as great advances in the inland trade of that continent, as the Portuguese, under the disadvantage of purchasing most of the goods they carry to it, from other nations. "*But this,*" he observes, "*depends on quite other measures than what have ever yet been taken.*"

S P A N I S H.

CANARY
ISLANDS*.

251. The Canary Islands, as well as those of Madeira and Cape Verd, were known to the ancients. But their accounts of them are indistinct and confused; for they appear to have confounded many islands together, under the general name of the fortunate islands. The Canaries were first known to the Europeans, in the middle ages, between the years 1326 and 1334, by means of a French ship driven among them by stress of weather. In 1403, they were granted by Henry III. King of Castile, to John de Betancour, a Frenchman.—The subsequent conquest of them by

* This sketch is an abridgement from Glas's History of the Canary Islands, London 1764.

the Spaniards, as well as their civil history since, are foreign to our purpose.

C H A P.
X.

CANARIES.

252. Of the Canary Islands, which are seven in number, Tenerife is the most considerable. It is about 36 leagues in circumference. The latitude of it's centre is $28^{\circ} 30'$ N. longitude $16^{\circ} 25'$ W. from London.

Tenerife.

253. From the varieties of it's soil, climate and exposure, all the valuable vegetable productions, of temperate and tropical countries, thrive in it.—It's animals are camels, horses, asses, mules, cows, sheep, goats, hogs, rabbits, fowls, geese, ducks, &c.—The island rises on all sides towards the Pike, in it's centre, like a hanging garden, till within a league of the clouds, which are not above mid-way up the Pike. But there are no houses any where above three leagues from the sea. The first league from the shore produces vines, the next corn, the third woods of chefnut trees, &c. interspersed with some corn. Beyond these woods, are the clouds which, in fine weather, come down in the evening, and rest on the woods till morning, when they retire about a league. Where the clouds rest in the day, there are many pine-trees, beyond which grows no grass or vegetable, except a shrub called *retama*. The Pike itself is, properly speaking, a volcanic mountain, of a conical form, situated on the summit of a very high Island. It is visible in approaching it 40 leagues, and in departing from it 50*.

Productions.

Pike.

254. Santa Cruz, the chief town of Tenerife, may be reckoned the capital of all these Islands; for, though the episcopal see and the supreme courts of judicature are at Palmas, in Gran Canaria, the Governor General of all the

Towns,
courts, &c.

* The height of the Pike above the sea, according to Dr. Heberden, is 15,396 feet; according to M. Borda, 12,340 feet.

C H A P.
X.

CANARIES.

Population,
manufac-
tures, wine,
sugar.Gran Cana-
ria.

Locusts.

Proportion of
arable land.

Wine.

Canaries, resides at Santa Cruz, which is the centre of the trade of these Islands with Europe and America, and contains about 7000 inhabitants. Besides Santa Cruz, there are in Tenerife several other considerable towns and villages; for that small part of the country which is inhabited at all, is extremely populous, the island being computed to contain no less than 96,000 souls. In the large village of Ico, there is a silk manufacture, especially of stockings, which are sent to the Spanish West Indies.—From the whole Island, 15,000 pipes of wine and brandy are annually exported.—The Count of Gomera has about 1000 negro slaves employed in Tenerife, in making sugar; which, however, he does not find a profitable business. There are very few other negro slaves in Tenerife, and still fewer in the rest of the islands.

255. This island is about fourteen leagues in length and nine in breadth; and, for the excellence of it's air, water and productions, well deserves the name of *the fortunate island*. But this must be understood with an exception, for the S. E. wind, which is hot and stifling, and comes fraught with clouds of locusts that destroy every thing green. This calamity, however, happens but seldom, and does not last long; for the earth soon recovers it's verdure. Gran Canaria is well watered, and almost any thing planted in it will thrive. Though it be so mountainous, that not above one seventh of it's surface is fit for cultivation, it contains more arable land than Tenerife, Palma, Gomera or Ferro.

256. Much sugar was formerly made in Gran Canaria; but sugar-canes have been abandoned for vines, which are found to be more profitable. The Canary wine is good; but not equal to that of Tenerife. The prohibition of exporting provisions from this island, and fixing a price on them, is a great check to it's industry, and tends to produce scarcity,

scarcity, the very evil these restrictions are intended to prevent. Palmas, the capital of Canaria, is a well built town, containing about 6000 inhabitants. The population of the island is estimated at 40,000, an uncommonly great proportion of whom live to extreme old age.

C H A P.
X.

CANARIES.

Population.

257. Palma is about 8 leagues in length, and 6 in breadth. It is very mountainous, and, except the Pike, placed, as it were, on the top of Tenerife, there is higher land in Palma than in that Island. It's produce is much the same with that of the other islands; but it yields much more sugar than any one of them. Palma abounds so much with fruits, that the inhabitants, not being able to consume them, and having also plenty of sugar, preserve great quantities as sweetmeats which they export.—When corn is scarce, they make bread of the roots of a species of fern, which, Mr. Glas says, is not much inferior to wheat bread.—Among the mountains of Palma are pines fit for malts; but the difficult conveyance of them to the shore, renders them too dear, though the labour itself be cheap.—The island contains about 30,000 inhabitants.

Palma.

Produce.

Fern-bread.

258. Lancerota is 5 leagues long and 3 broad. The latitude of it's centre $29^{\circ} 8'$ N.—Fuerteventura is 27 leagues in length, and 5 in breadth. The air of both these islands is excellent, as is proved by the longevity of their inhabitants. Both of them are almost destitute of trees, owing to the violence of the N. & N. E. winds. And, what is a more serious want, neither of them have almost any other than rain-water, which is preserved in tanks, or cisterns, as in the West Indian island of Antigua. But they have plentiful rains, and excellent herbage, especially in the spring and summer; but it is sometimes scorched by the autumnal heats, when the cattle, which had before been fat, lose their flesh.

*Lancerota and
Fuerteventura.*

C H A P. X.
 CANARIES.
 Produce.
 Orchella.

flesh. These islands produce wheat, barley and Indian corn, not only sufficient for their own inhabitants, but to afford a very great supply to Tenerife and Palma. The soil is light, and is ploughed by a camel and two asses, which form no despicable team; for the asses are uncommonly large, and formerly ran wild, in such numbers in Fuerteventura, and became so troublesome, that the inhabitants were obliged, at one time, to destroy 1500 of them.—On the shores of both islands, abundance of Orchella grows among the rocks*. This weed is well known to dyers, for giving

* Orchella—*Lichen Roccella* (Linn. Sp. plant. ed. 2. p. 1622, No. 71.) Muller says that the dye of Orchella, is prepared by the urine of men and foda, and that women's urine destroys it's effect; also that the colour is not durable in the air or the sun. (Linn. Nat. Syst. nach Houttuynischen werk Vol. XIII. Part 2. p. 528.)—M. Hellot says, that 20,500 quintals of it are annually exported from the Canaries. (L'Art de la Teinture des Laines, Paris 1750.)—It was sold as high as 700 guineas per ton, during the American war, but is now about £170 per ton.—Dr. Gosselin has lately discovered it in the Island of Guernsey. (Dickson's Fascic. 3. Plant. Cryptogam. Britann. 1793.)—Another species, the *Lichen Tartareus* (Linn. Sp. plant. ed. 2. p. 1608. No. 14.) has been long used in Sweden, and in Scotland, for dying red, in a domestic way, (See Linn. & Kalm's Westgotha Resor) where the process is described; also Sowerbys Engl. Bot. p. 156. where he says, that the Lich. Tart. is prepared with vol. alk. and allum, and communicates a purple colour to wool, but not to vegetables.—J. P. Westring, M. D. has made experiments for dying different colours, with a variety of Swedish Lichens. The ability and industry of this learned gentleman promise many valuable discoveries. See his Memoirs in the Acts of the Roy. Acad. of Sc. at Stockholm for 1791, p. 113, 293, where he says, that from 8 to 900 Skd. or about 128 tons of *Lich. Tart.* has been yearly exported from Sweden since the year 1770; but this appears too much for the first 10 years. It's price has varied from 15 to £30 per Ton, and is now £24.

In 1785, an eminent merchant of Gothenburg, having smoothed his way, by means of his *MERCANTILE influence*, obtained an exclusive privilege for exporting this article. How far such privileges are consistent with the public good, see § 116 *et seq.* Qu. XXV § 142, and § 165.—But praise to Heaven, a liberal and patriotic government has since taken place in Sweden. The *instruments of corruption*

giving a colour, thought by some to be the Gertulian purple of the ancients.—It is remearable that till within the last sixty years, Lancerota produced no vines: but a volcano which then broke out, covering a considerable extent of ground with dust and pumice stones, so improved it that it has ever since yielded grapes of which a wholesome wine is made. But it is inferior both in quantity and quality to the wine of Fuerteventura.

C H A P.
X.
CANARIES.

259. The two islands export to the rest of the Canaries, wheat, barley, Indian corn, cattle, cheese, fowls, goat-skins, Orchella, salt and salt-fish. Their wheat sells for one fifth more than any European wheat. Formerly they exported camels to Jamaica, but that trade was prohibited.—The largest town in these islands contains not above 200 houses; and the population exceeds not 10,000 in Fuerteventura, and 8000 in Lancerota.

Exports.

Wheat better
than Euro-
pean.

260. A small mountainous island, not above 17 leagues in circumference. It is blessed with excellent air and water, corn sufficient for it's inhabitants, with every other necessary, and many of the luxuries, of life, in such plenty that, if the colonists were encouraged to manufacture their own wool and silk, they might live almost independent on the rest of mankind. For their island also furnishes every material for building, except iron, the only article they would find it necessary to import. In addition to the animals common to the other islands, Gomera has plenty of deer, and produces more mules than any of them. But it is also the only one in which there are any snakes, which are, however, removed, and the present administration seems seriously intent on the encouragement of agriculture, and the real and lasting interests of the nation.—I acknowledge that as things now stand in *Europe*, monopolies may, in certain cases, be unavoidable. In all cases, however, they should be retained in the hands of the government, who have, or ought to have, the same interests with the nation.

Gomera

might be al-
most inde-
pendent of
the rest of
the world.

C H A P. X. ever, quite harmless.—In Gomera are reckoned 7000 inhabitants.

CANARIES.

Hierro or Ferro.

261. Ferro is about 15 leagues in circumference. It abounds with flowers, from which incredible numbers of bees extract great quantities of honey. But the wine is so poor, that the inhabitants are obliged to make brandy of the most of it. Water is extremely scarce; but instinct has taught the sheep and goats, as well as the hogs, to dig up fern-roots to quench their thirst. The inhabitants are supposed not to exceed 1000.—Geographers very often reckon the longitude from the meridian of Ferro.

General observations, on the Canaries.

Climate.

Soil.

262. The principal differences in the climates of these islands, arise from their different elevations above the sea. For eight months in the year, the summits of them all, except Lancerota and Fuerteventura, are covered with snow. Yet, in their vallies and shores, the cold is seldom so great as to render fires necessary.—A very great proportion of the surfaces of all the Canaries is covered with lava, calcined stones, and black dust or ashes, formerly emitted by volcanoes, the remains of which are still very visible in all the islands, and some of them, among which is the Pike of Tenerife, are not yet extinguished.

Population.

Humane policy of Spain.

263. The present inhabitants of these islands, who amount to near 200,000, are descended from a mixture of the Spanish conquerors and the aborigines, on whom the government of that period conferred equal privileges. In consequence of this wise and humane policy, the Spaniards easily incorporated with the natives; so that their posterity have long formed but one people*. Hence more good soldiers

* “How the Spaniards,” (says Mr. Glas, p. 344.) “came soon after, in America to act in a quite contrary manner, is hard to conceive. Yet the Dutch, French and

soldiers and sailors may be raised in the Canaries, than in any other Spanish colonies, containing thrice their numbers.

C H A P.
X.
CANARIES.

264. The present inhabitants of the Canaries are strong and well made, but more swarthy than the natives of Spain. The common people wear coarse woollen cloths, of their own manufacture, except on holidays, when they appear in coarse English broad cloth. The gentry, though few of them are rich, are rather proud, but polite and hospitable. Some of them are tolerably well educated and informed. The Canarians are blind to the impositions of their priests and lawyers; but they are extremely averse to war, because *they plainly see*, it ruins their commerce. In the war which ended in 1763, they strenuously endeavoured to procure a

Character of
the Canari-
ans.

Blinded by
priests and
lawyers, but
averse to war.

and English, far from following the good example of the Spaniards, in the Canaries, have erected, in the sugar islands in the West Indies, the most absurd and barbarous governments that ever existed in any part of the globe, and which are by many degrees worse than the Spanish governments in America." ("There are but few negro or other slaves in the Canaries; but, if a master treat one of them with injustice or cruelty, the slave may oblige him to sell him immediately. The same law, if I am not mistaken, takes place in the Spanish West Indies," p. 353. Mr. Glas, was not mistaken; for this and several other excellent and *efficient* regulations respecting slaves have since been proved to obtain, in the Spanish West Indies. See the Report of the British Privy Council, part VI. article "Spain.") "What improvement or obedience," continues our author, "can be expected in a country where all the labouring people are slaves, and have no other principle to excite them to obedience and industry but the fear of punishment? which, after all, has never yet brought their labour to any degree of equality with that of free indigent people, who have the sole disposal of the fruits of their labour."—I should rejoice in being able to repel Mr. Glas's charge of cruelty against the sugar planters. But I have the best reasons to believe, it is but too well founded. I must add, however, that the humanity of the French to their slaves (notwithstanding their boasted *code noir*) does not much exceed that of the English, and that the Dutch are still more brutally cruel than either. The Spaniards, Portuguese and Danes are undoubtedly the best masters of slaves.

- C H A P. X. neutrality for their islands.—The intercourse between the sexes, before marriage, is much restrained. Hence their love is romantic, and their matches are disinterested. Yet
- CANARIES. Marriages. they form more unhappy ones than in countries where the parties are better acquainted, previous to their union.—
- Religion. Their ideas of religion are so narrow, that it is extremely uncomfortable for any but catholics to live among them, except in Tenerife, where there are indeed a few protestant merchants; but the trade with protestant countries is chiefly carried on by Irish merchants of the catholic communion. The bishop resides in Gran Canaria, and has an annual income of about £6000 sterling. In each island is an office of the inquisition who, till very lately, exercised their power, and sometimes very much abused it, independently on the civil magistrates.
- Inquisition. Diseases. 265. The most prevalent diseases are the spotted fever, the palsy, and the flatos, a windy disorder, affecting the stomach, bowels and head. There are also a few lepers. All the Canarians are very much subject to the itch: "The cause of which," says Mr. Glas, p. 204, "I know not. But it is certain, that people who dwell in countries remarkable for the purity of the air, are more subject to the itch than those who live in places where the air is moist and damp."
- Commerce. 266. The Canary Islands import from Great Britain, woollens of various kinds, hats, hard-ware, pilchards, herrings, wheat, when scarce, &c.—From Ireland, beef, pork, butter, candles and herrings.—From North America, boards, staves, beef, pork, hams, rice and wheat, in times of scarcity.—From Biscay, bar-iron.—From Holland and Hamburgh, linen of all sorts, cordage, gun-powder, flax, &c.—From Malta, cotton manufactures; but from every other

other place, cottons are subject to a duty amounting to a prohibition. The Maltese are excepted, because they maintain a perpetual war with the Turks and Moors.—The exports have been already mentioned.—The manufactures of these islands are taffeties, knit silk hose, silk garters, quilts and bed covers.—In Gran Canaria and Tenerife, they make coarse linens and gauze of Dutch flax. White blankets and coarse cloths are fabricated in Gran Canaria, from the wool of that Island. A very coarse cloth is also made, from native wool, in the other islands. In order to encourage the silk manufacture in the Canaries, the exportation of their own raw silk is prohibited.

C H A P.
X.
CANARIES.

Manufac-
tures.

267. The king's revenue consists of (1) The royal third of the church tithes.—(2) The monopoly of tobacco and snuff.—(3) Annual acknowledgement of the nobility for their titles.—(4) A duty of seven per cent. on imports and exports.—(5) Duty on the West Indian commerce of the Canaries.—The annual revenue of all the Islands, after paying the expences of collection and of the internal government, brings into the treasury of Madrid about £50,000 sterling.

Revenue.

268. It may be remarked that this sum exceeds the *clear* revenue which ever came into the treasury of Great Britain, from all her American and West Indian colonies, in the infinite ratio of *something* to *nothing*. For I do not know that Great Britain ever received any revenue from either of them, except the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty on sugar, and some other enumerated articles, *granted* by Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands to King Charles II. a tax which now very much oppresses those poor, old colonies, while the Ceded Islands and the opulent colony of Jamaica, pay no such tax. I need not tell the intelligent reader, that all the British taxes on sugar, &c. like those on wine, tea and other fo-

reign . .

C H A P.
X.

CANARIES.

reign articles, are ultimately paid by the British consumers; not to mention the monopoly-price, often exorbitant, which West Indian produce costs them. For it is well known that sugar, &c. is generally much dearer in Great Britain than in France, or any other country in Europe, even in those that have no sugar colonies. And all this, exclusive of the enormous and endless expense of defending her colonies, by which Great Britain has incurred a very great part of her national debt.—Lord Sheffield, indeed, in his Observations, affirms, that the expense of defending the sugar islands, by sea alone, during the American war, cost Great Britain more than the fee simple of those Islands is worth. The only advantage which she ever derived, from her expense of blood and treasure, was the comparatively insignificant monopoly of the trade of her colonies. But the only effect of monopolies, even when reciprocal and apparently equal, is to enrich speculating individuals, at the expense of the nations and colonies which stand in this unnatural and impolitic connection. Of the truth of this observation, the Canary islands, as well as those of Madeira and Cape Verd, appear to afford examples, which ought to be viewed as beacons to warn the undertakers of new colonies in Africa, of the dangers to be dreaded from what a great author calls, “the mean and malignant *expedients* of the mercantile system.”—Read Smith’s Wealth of Nations, B. IV. C. VII.

F R E N C H *

ISLE DE
BOURBON.

269. The Isle de Bourbon, called originally Mascarenha, after it’s Portuguese discoverer, lies about 120 leagues to the

* From Geographie naturelle, &c. de M. Robert, 1777. Tableau de Commerce, 1787, and Walter’s Neueste Erdkunde, &c. New Account of Asia, Africa, &c. 1785.

east of Madagascar, in the 21st and 22d degrees of South latitude. In circumference, it measures about 40 leagues. M. de Flacourt, Governor of Fort Dauphin and the other French settlements in Madagascar, took possession of this island, for his king, in 1654, and gave it the name of Bourbon. But his nation made no considerable settlement upon it till 1672. The Isle de Bourbon and the adjacent Isle de France have since been fortified, as stations of refreshment for the French East India ships*.

C H A P.
X.
ISLE DE
BOURBON.

270. The air of Bourbon is salubrious, and the soil very fertile, and well watered with springs and small rivers, abounding with fish; so that, upon the whole, it is a charming habitation. Besides supplying it's inhabitants and the shipping with provisions, this island exports tobacco, coffee, white pepper, aloes, ebony, silk, coral, tortoise-shell, Benzoin and some other gums. Exports.

271. But of all it's productions, the most valuable is it's cotton, which of late, since the spinning Machines, and particularly those called mules, were invented and improved; has been spun at Manchester as far as to 300 hanks, (each 840 yards) and even more, in the pound, when common Surat cotton was only brought to 20 hanks. This striking disproportion arises chiefly from a difference in quality; but is also much owing to the Bourbon cotton being very clean, and that of Surat so full of motes and dirt, (sometimes to half the weight) that it's staple is broken in the violent operations necessary to clean it†. In short, I have

Bourbon and
com. Surat
cotton com-
pared.

* Colonel Bolts, who revised this sketch of the Isle de Bourbon, and the Isle de France, says that at the former there is only a roadstead; but that the Isle de France contains two good harbours.

† This prodigious difference, as far as it depends on the first preparation, might be

C H A P. X. have known the price of Bourbon cotton as high as 9 shillings per pound, when that of Surat was selling at 9 pence. (See § 64.)

ISLE DE
FRANCE.

272. This island, called also the Mauritius, is considerably less than Bourbon. Their air and climate are very similar. The soil of both is equally well watered; but that of the Isle of France is the most stony, though by no means infertile. There is no noxious animal in either, unless we reckon rats such; but with them both islands are so much infested, that the soldiers in the garrisons are sometimes turned out to hunt them*. The station for the French Indiamen is

be avoided, if the cotton were cleaned by the producer, before the hard packing has incorporated the dirt and motes with it. I have indeed repeatedly proposed to the cotton merchants to send out cleaning machines to several places, and particularly to Surat, from whence so much dirt is imported at so very dear a rate, and the cotton so much injured by cleaning. But I could never get them to listen to this proposal. Indeed I have been well informed that cotton has been thoroughly cleaned in the West Indies, by hand-picking, which though a tedious operation, was done at about 2d. a pound; but that, in England, it brought not one farthing more, than if it had not been hand-picked. This is far from being the only instance in which merchants discourage producers from attempting improvements. (See § 138.)

I have not mentioned health, that being a matter of little consideration among most manufacturers. I never understood that the operations on cotton, previous to it's being shipped for Europe, are injurious to health, as they are all performed in the open air, or in sheds, and the people are not, as in Europe, constantly confined to any one of the operations. It is, indeed, allowed that even those negroes, in the West Indies who plant, weed, gather, ginn, clean (*partially*, by beating it with rods, on wooden frames) and fleece, or pack, the cotton, are generally very healthy.—It is, however, a melancholy truth, that the poor people employed in cleaning and carding cotton in Manchester, seldom live to above 30 years of age. The method of spinning certain coarse numbers, (or sorts) of cotton yarn, in damp cellars, has also proved to be extremely injurious to health.

* The garrisons in some of the West Indian Islands might find similar employment. But premiums are there given for killing rats and monkeys, both which are very destructive to the sugar-canes. In Barbadoes, they give 2d. a piece for rats' heads,

is Fort Louis, which is well fortified. According to an enumeration, in 1776, the Isle de Bourbon contained 6340 whites, and 26,175 black slaves, chiefly employed in agriculture. The population of the Isle de France then amounted to pretty nearly the same numbers of whites and blacks respectively.

C H A P.
X.

ISLE DE
FRANCE.

Population.

273. The productions of these two islands are much the same. But I have great reason to believe, that a very material improvement has, by this time, taken firm root in both. For, during my stay at Paris, in 1787, I was informed that M. Ceré procured from Ceylon, and planted in the Isle de France, of which he was governor, 3000 cinnamon trees, and 10,416 clove trees, 18 of which last soon advanced in growth; also 18 nutmeg trees, 10 of which have since produced 1088 fine nutmegs, so ripe that the wind shook them down. From these plants, 60 others have been produced, besides 20 which were partly distributed in the Island, and partly sent to the neighbouring Island of Bourbon, and to Cayenne, in S. America. In 1784 there were in the nursery 124 more young plants, of which 20 were ready to be sent abroad. In June 1785, 10 young trees, in the Isle de France, yielded 800 nutmegs, and 9 others had about 500 far advanced. The same year 24 were sent to Bourbon and 260 were planted in the nursery.—In 1786, the Dutch, in the true spirit of monopoly (see § 112 note) sent a vagabond to the Isle de France, to destroy these plantations, by corrupting the nursery men. But prudence, or rather cunning, is not always combined with villainy. The plot was timely discovered, and doubtless

Spices.

heads, and 5 shillings for those of monkeys. A friend of mine tells me he once received, in behalf of a black watchman, 15 shillings cur. for rat's heads.

Y

would

C H A P.
X.

would have drawn a deserved punishment on the fellow who was charged with it's execution, if he had not made his escape.—It is no wonder, however, that the Dutch are jealous of their monopoly of spices; for, when I received the foregoing information, I was assured that their trade in these articles brings them in 18,000,000 of livres Tournois, or about £750,000 ster. annually.

MADAGAS-
CAR.

Former flour-
ishing esta-
blishments
there.

274. "The French," says the compiler of the *Atlas maritimus et commercialis**, "have carried the discoveries in Madagascar to the highest perfection, both on the coast and in the inland parts. The following brief account, by one of their governors, seems the best yet published."—"Our people have had a settlement on this island, ever since 1622, and we have now, not only a peaceable possession, but several well fortified houses, on the coast, and flourishing plantations within the land. Our principal strength is at the southernmost point of the east side of the island, called Fort Dauphin, with a good garrison. It is situated in lat. 25° 6' S. We have since reduced a considerable part of the island, the natives being, at peace with us, and very much pleased with our religion also; so that several of them are converted to the Christian faith."

Colony at-
tempted in
1767.

275. About the year 1654, the chief seat of their power was transferred from Fort Dauphin to the *Isle de France* and Bourbon. But they have still retained possession of the former; and have made several attempts to extend, or to regain, their acquisitions in Madagascar. In 1767, a colony was attempted on that island, under M. de Maudave.

* Printed, London 1728.

“ But it was soon perceived that this enterprize was founded on false principles; and it was abandoned, from the impossibility of affording the advances of every kind, which M. de Maudave required for the new colonists*.” That the enterprize was founded on false principles, is far from being improbable; and, from the minister’s own words, just quoted, we may safely infer that it was given up from false œconomy. We shall make this inference with the more confidence, when we consider the feeble support given by the court of France to their next attempt to make an establishment on Madagascar.

C H A P.
X.
MADAGAS-
CAR.

276. The attempt alluded to was made in 1772, under the conduct of the Count de Benyowsky, a Polish nobleman who, whether we consider the vigour and capacity of his mind, or the astonishing variety and danger of his adventures, must certainly be ranked among the most extraordinary characters that any age or nation has produced. My limits will not contain the minute particulars of the expedition, and, if they could, I am not sure that I should insert them; rather wishing to stimulate than to gratify the reader’s curiosity, relative to that interesting piece of biography, the Memoirs of the Count de Benyowsky, translated from the Count’s own MSS. and from authentic, official documents, chiefly by the editor, the learned and ingenious Mr. Nicholson.

Benyowsky’s
noble enter-
prize, in 1772

277. I must therefore content myself with stating a few principal facts, relative to this extraordinary enterprize. In

Is not pro-
perly fitted
out.

* See the letter from the French minister M. de Boynes, to Mess. De Ternay and Maillart, dated March 19, 1773, in “Memoirs and Travels of the Count de Benyowsky,” 2 vols. 4to. from the text of which, together with the preface of the able editor, and the documents and vouchers annexed, this short sketch is chiefly compiled.

C H A P.
X.

MADAGAS-
CAR.

1772, the Count prevailed on the court of France to enter into his views; and he was accordingly placed at the head of the expedition, with a corps of 300 volunteers under his command. But his present supplies of every kind were evidently less calculated to insure success, in an undertaking of national magnitude, than to inspire the Count with confidence in the fair ministerial promises he received, of ample future support. In the mean time, the ministry, thought proper to refer him to the government of the Isle of France, who were ordered to furnish him with ships and provisions, and, in every respect, to co-operate with him in the undertaking.

Opposed by
the govern-
ment and
merchants of
the Isle de
France.

278. In September 1773, the Count landed on the Isle of France, there to experience a succession of the most mortifying disappointments. Whether he there betrayed any symptoms of that ambition which, though it does not appear to have been ill directed, was certainly an ingredient in his character; or whether, as seems far more probable, a vile spirit of intrigue, which, as I myself have experienced, was perfectly characteristic of the former French placemen, tinged the characters of the governor and intendant, I shall not presume to decide. Neither shall I attempt to appreciate the degree of influence which the evident aversion of the jealous traders of the Isle of France to any establishment at Madagascar, had on the minds of the government of that colony. I shall only mention the simple fact, as established by the proofs before me, that they were, from the beginning, extremely adverse to the views of the Count.

Lands at last
in Madagaf-
car.

279. After great delay, and a tardiness scarcely distinguishable from the most insulting opposition, and which, in the servants of an arbitrary government, seems unaccountable

able on any supposition favourable to the French ministry, the Count finally took leave of his dilatory coadjutors, on the 2d of February 1774; and, on the 14th, he arrived, with his troop, not 300 effective, in the Bay of Antongil, on the N. E. coast of Madagascar.

C H A P.
X.
MADAGAS-
CAR.

280. Before the 5th of September, the Count had constructed all the necessary works on the lands which he had purchased, including a respectable fort and a road 6 French leagues (about 21 English miles) in length, and 24 feet in breadth. His means were certainly very slender, and, unaided by his address among the natives, would have been quite inadequate. They were, however, greatly superior to those with which, as we shall hereafter see, Mr. Beaver lately performed similar wonders at Bulama.

Builds fort
and makes
road.

281. On the last mentioned day (September 5th 1774) he began to distribute grounds among his troops, for the commencement of a vigorous cultivation, on which he seems all along to have been intent.—From the 14th to the 16th of February 1775, he was again employed in distributing lands of a superior quality; for they naturally produced sugar-canes, cotton, indigo and tobacco.—He had already found means to engage about 6000 of the native blacks, whom he found both willing and expert labourers, to join the harbour with the neighbouring river, by a canal, above an English mile and a half in length, a work which they actually performed in four days; and, on the 9th of March, we find him agreeing with two chiefs, for about the same number of their men, to make a road towards Angontzi, 63 English miles in length.

Distributes
lands and
digs a canal.

282. Among his other difficulties, the Count unfortunately had to struggle with the hostility of some of the chiefs. Their jealousy of independence, was originally excited by

Opposed by
some chiefs,
supported by
others.

that

C H A P.
X.MADAGAS-
CAR.Cloaths his
troops in the
country clothNot support-
ed by the
French mi-
nistry.

that perfidy and tyranny, which, the Count *officially* observes, ruined all the former French settlements in this island; and which appears, on this occasion, to have been inflamed by emissaries from the Isle of France. The Count, however, was not unprepared to meet his enemies. After various skirmishes, which he could not possibly avoid, and in which his troops, or rather his allies, conducted by himself and his officers, were generally successful, we find him (April 2d 1775) at the head of 22,000 armed natives. An engagement seemed unavoidable, when the Count proposed a negociation, in which he succeeded so compleatly, that the adverse chiefs took the oath of friendship, and the day ended in festivity.—On the 14th of October, he purchased from the King of the North, the Island of Nossebe on the N. E. coast, in S. latitude $13^{\circ} 15'$.—November 21st. Having yet received no effectual supplies, and his remaining brave fellows being almost naked, he collected a number of the native women to spin and weave cotton cloth; and having succeeded in tanning leather, he set his shoe-makers and taylors to work, and, in a short time, compleatly clothed his troop.—On the 17th of November, the storekeeper died, leaving all his account-books *blank*. He was a man of bad character, appointed by the government of the Isle of France, with a view to discredit and embarrass the undertaking.—With a similar intention, they sent the Count, on the 27th of December, only four recruits, and these were notorious vagabonds.

283. On the 14th of March 1776, he had yet received no order whatever from France.—August 23d, he observes that the island enjoyed perfect tranquillity; that the chiefs of the whole east coast were united to the establishment; that the west was ready to join in the common interest; that agriculture

culture had every where been increased; and that nothing but support was wanting to improve this happy juncture.

284. A circumstance must now be noticed, which explains, in a certain degree, the conduct of the French ministry, and which, with some, may serve to justify it.—An aged negress, fifty years before, had been stolen from Madagascar, and sold as a slave in the Isle of France, together with a princess of the royal family of Ramini, the greatest and the most ancient in Madagascar, and which, in this long interval, had become extinct. The Count brought back this negress to her native country; and, whether by his concurrence or not is uncertain, she reported that he was born by the princess—the son of her sorrowful exile. The remembrance of beloved kings, and sympathy with the supposed offspring of their unfortunate princess, were easily excited in the minds of a people naturally susceptible of tender impressions; and the chiefs, formerly subject to the Ramini family, now wearied out with their dissensions, were ready to acknowledge the Count, as their Ampanfacabe, or supreme chief.—Had this circumstance been known much earlier, the conduct not only of the Count, but of the French ministry, and the government of the Isle de France, would have been almost divested of mystery. It would then have been apparent, that the Count entertained an ambition, which might have called for the vigilance and direction of the other parties. But still it would not have been clear, that his ambition was of that mischievous kind which ought to be violently counteracted, far less totally repressed; for it really does not appear, that he had any views incompatible with the peace and happiness of mankind.

285. This extraordinary affair (if then first known to the
Count

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The Count
reported to
be the son of
a Madagaf-
car princess.

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X.MADAGAS-
CAR.Acknow-
ledged such
by several
chiefs.Interrogated
by commis-
sioners from
France.Interesting
particulars.

Count) was noted in his journal, February 2d 1775, when he mentions his determination to take advantage of it, and to conduct that brave and generous nation to a civilized state, and the establishment of a solid and a permanent government, founded on national liberty. At the same time, he laments the blindness of the French minister to the true interests of his country. Several of the chiefs, soon afterwards, actually chose the Count as their Ampanfacabe, made their submission, and swore allegiance.

286. On the 22d of August 1776, two commissaries, Mess. de Bellecombe and Chevreau, arrived from France to take cognizance of the Count's proceedings. They digested their business into 25 queries, to which the Count's replies were so perfectly satisfactory, that they gave him a discharge for his past conduct, and accounts, certifying that he had advanced to the French treasury, 415,000 livres*. This done, the Count, on the 28th, delivered them his resignation, with which they sailed for the Isle de France.

287. The queries and answers, I think, may fairly be considered as forming an authentic official document; and it contains very interesting information. Among many other important particulars, the Count states to the commissaries, that the subsidies he received from the chiefs in

1776,

* The only statement of receipts and disbursements, inserted in the work before me, is that which the Count transmitted to the French ministry on the 22d March, 1775, viz.

	<i>Livres</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For levying and transporting the regt. of Benyowsky, and supplies for trade.....	342,649	12	5
Bills of exchange, drawn to the amount of.....	113,000	10	3
Total received	455,650	2	8

EXPEND-

1776, in sugar, indigo, cotton, &c. amounted to 940,000 livres, and that they can raise 123,000 warriors; that they willingly grant lands to the French, who would be welcome and safe throughout the whole island, provided no impolitic and *impracticable* attempts were made to deprive the natives of their liberties, of which M. de Laly and other French officers had given them too much reason to be jealous; that they are industrious, and example would make them more so, are imitators and disposed to learn trades, being already tolerable goldsmiths, potters, turners, carpenters, weavers, &c. but their “most respected business is the manufacture of iron and steel. They are very expert in fusing the ore and in forging utensils;” (See § 71) that their houses are of wood, sometimes covered with

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EXPENDITURES.	<i>Livres</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>For the troops</i> , in 1772, 1773, 1774 and to 20 March 1775	141,432	0	0
For H. M's ships, the <i>Postillon</i> and <i>Coureur</i>	396,864	6	4
<i>For the colony</i> . Building the governor's house—roads, canals, forts, &c.....	315,916	11	8
Supplies to the Isle of France, in rice and slaves.....	245,412	0	0
Provisions to several of H. M's ships.....	41,423	11	7
	1,141,048	12	7
Deduct the sums advanced	455,650	2	8
	585,398	9	11
And also the sums advanced by myself.....	245,000	0	0
Neat profit*.....	340,398	9	11

* This sum is not neat profit. The result of this account is, that the colony cost the French Liv. 455,650 2 8 and Liv. 245,000 (which he advanced) making together Liv. 700,650 2 8. This is not equal to the whole charge or Liv. 854,212 18. But the colony paid the difference, Liv. 153,562 15 4, and also supplied the I. de France and the king's ship's with Liv. 286,835 11 7. This last sum is the only return, and if taken from the whole sum advanced, will leave Liv. 413,814 10, or the balance due to the French government, at this period of the undertaking.—Note of the editor.

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leaves, all neat, and those of the Rohandrians, elegant; that they raise good crops of rice, have vast numbers of oxen, sheep, goats and poultry, and trade considerably, in produce with the Arabians, &c. that the whole east coast affords very few slaves, a trade in whom it would be necessary to prohibit; that, in ten years, a colony might be established in Madagascar, on the plan stated below *. For other particulars, I must refer to the work itself.

288.

* The Count, in his answer to the 25th query of the commissaries, states his plan, the substance of which is, that, if the king supply 600 men, and 200 men at the end of each of the two following years, permitting him to chuse husbandmen in the troop, to marry with the women of the country, unrestrained on account of religion; and also to import annually 200 foundlings, 12 or 14 years of age, and likewise Malabar and Chinese families: in this case, a colony would, at the end of three years, be formed, which, connected with all Madagascar, would begin to have some value. The expense would not exceed a million (of livres) per year, exclusive of the expense of a vessel of 600 tons, another of 200, and 6 galliots, for transports and the communication of posts.—At the end of three years, the colony would support itself, and increase, by the product of its united capital of Liv. 3,000,000, till the *tenth* year, when it would be sufficiently strong to fear no sudden revolution, and be able, by its commerce (which the Count seems all along to view as a secondary object, to be promoted by no other means than the cultivation of the country. See particularly, vol. 2. p. 249, 254) to reimburse the expenses of its establishment.

The Count's estimate at p. 347 vol. 2. differs from the above; probably because he had not sufficiently considered it. The title of the paper, of which it is a part, shows what were his views, and makes it probable, that the paper, itself was never presented officially to any minister; for it is not dated.—“Reflections upon the project of a colony at Madagascar, in case *any power* should adopt *the system of civilization, founded on the basis of an alliance.*” Of the estimate, which forms the first article, the following is an abstract.—The colony of Madagascar may be formed, in ten years, with Liv. 3,000,000 and 720 military sent the first year; 200 yearly for the 2d and 3d years; and 150 yearly for the 7 following years; exclusive of an annual importation, for the whole 10 years, of 120 European husbandmen, 30 creoles, and 50 natives of India or China. In all, about 4170 persons who, says the Count, “*will annually produce 600 children, the total of whom, at the end of the tenth year,*”
will

288. But the Count, on quitting the French service, does not seem to have abandoned his prospects in Madagascar. Several chiefs, he tells us, required him to assume the government. Accordingly, a congress was summoned, and on the 9th of Oct. 1776, the Count actually saw above thirty princes and chiefs, and at least 50,000 of their people prostrated before him, as their liege lord. The oath (or rather engagement) indited by the chiefs, in their own language, having been thrice read aloud, was signed, in name of the nation, by Hiavi, King of the East; Lambouin, King of the North; and Raffangour, Rohandrian of the Sambarives. Instead of an appeal to Heaven, it contained this remarkable sanction, “Curfed be our children who shall not obey our present will.—*May the most horrid slavery confound them.*” They acknowledge, however, and adore one God, the Creator and Preserver of all things; for Raffangour, an aged chief, opened this meeting, with a short, but truly eloquent speech, which began thus, “Blessed be

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MADAGASCAR.

The C. resigns his Fr. commission and is declared Ampanfacabe.

Singular sanction of the chief's oath.

Natives acknowledge one God.

will amount to 6000 creoles, and 3370 Europeans, a sufficient number to fix the epoch of a colony.” These last are the Count's own words, which I have inserted, because they *imply* an approbation of the soil and climate, which more effectually convince me of their general excellence, than the *direct* encomiums he often bestows on both. The mortality of his troops proves nothing against the climate; for, I apprehend, if they had been landed on any coast in the world, and had experienced the same severe labour, and equal hardships, of every kind, the very same mortality would have ensued.—For want of time and room, I have omitted many facts; but the Count's bill of mortality I really have forgotten; and the page, where it should have stood, being printed off, I hope to be excused for inserting it here. His corps originally consisted of 300 men levied in Old France (p. 96) and he appears to have received some few recruits from the Isle de France. In 1774, there died 113 of his men, in 1775, only 11 (Vol. II. p. 289.) In particular, on Oct. 3d 1775, there was not a man sick. The state of health, in 1776, does not appear.—The Count lost his only son in Madagascar, he and the Countess narrowly escaping.—But the first hardships experienced there, have seldom been exceeded.

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Zahanhar (God) who has returned to his people. Blessed be the law of our fathers, which commands us to obey a chief descended from the blood of Ramini. Our fathers and ourselves have experienced that disunion is the punishment of God." &c. (See Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 264.) The Count seems to have borne his new dignity with moderation; for, instead of grasping at the extensive power exercised by former Ampanfacabe's, he proposed a constitution, which seems to have been well calculated to promote the happiness of a people imperfectly civilized, and in which the chiefs unanimously acquiesced.

Chiefs em-
power him to
treat with
France, &c.

289. On the 23d of Oct. the same three chiefs, in name of the "kings, princes, chiefs and people of the north and eastern coasts of Madagascar," signed full powers to the Count, as their Lord Ampanfacabe, to go to Europe, and from treaties of alliance and commerce, with the King of France; and, in case he should not accept the offer, with any other European king, or nation. The Ampanfacabe, on his part, engaged them to acknowledge, in his absence, Raffangour, the president of the new supreme council, or, he failing, the Chief Sancé, a mulatto.

He embarks
for France.

290. On the 14th of Dec. 1776, the Count, having assisted the French commandant at Louisbourg* with his advice, embarked on board a French ship, for the Cape of Good Hope, on his way to Europe; the native chiefs and he shedding tears of affection and regret, and mutually blessing each other, in the name of Zahanhar.

The French
minister's
instructions,
&c.

291. Here the Count's journal ends, and, before we notice his few remaining transactions, of which we have ac-

* This place is often mentioned in the Count's journal, being the name of the town he founded, as appears by one of the *plates*, where it would appear also, that he first imposed the name, a circumstance not mentioned, I think, in the journal.

counts, it seems but fair to insert a few particulars, from the annexed letters of the French ministers.—From that of the minister, M. de B. to Mess. de T. and M. Governor and Intendant, of the Isle de France, dated Mar. 19th 1773, it appears, that the chief end originally proposed by forming this colony, was the supply of the I. de France, with provisions. The Count had a duplicate of this letter, as containing instructions for him, as well as M. de T. and M. and he is strictly ordered to employ mild negotiation *alone*, with the Malgachees, or natives.—The subsequent letters are addressed to the Count, by the minister M. de S. In that dated Versailles, July 17th 1775, M. de S. admits, that all former attempts have been attended with great violence to the Malgachees. He enjoins pacific measures towards them, the preservation of the Count's own people, and the strictest œconomy.—March 30th, 1777, M. de S. repeats his pacific injunctions; because the chief objects are agriculture and commerce, which, depending on the exertions of the natives, they must, therefore, be conciliated and civilized.—April 6th 1777, The same injunctions are repeated; and M. de S. expresses his disapprobation of the Count's acrimonious contests with the administration of the Isle de France.—These two letters, dated in 1777, the Count could not have received, in Madagascar, which he left in 1776 (See § 290.)—The last ministerial dispatch to the Count, *is not dated*; but it ends with a paragraph, which somewhat elucidates the conduct both of the Count and of the ministry.—“ I have read with pleasure,” says M. de S. “ your reflections respecting *the colony at Madagascar*. I think with you, that the slave-trade would be it's ruin, and that all the views ought to be directed to trade and agriculture. I had already consigned these truths, in the particular instructions of Mess. de Bellecombe and Chevreau (the commissaries, see § 286) “ so that you will

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ragraph.

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will not have had any difficulty in bringing them to approve your principles, which do not differ from mine. I do not much differ from you, with regard to the Europeans; but this question will not be entirely resolved, *till I can positively assure you, that His Majesty intends to have a COLONY in Madagascar.*—The only comment which this paragraph seems to require, I have anticipated, in § 278. But, however inconsistently M. de S. *talks* of the Madagascar colony, it would be wrong to accuse *him* of having TALKED, *for seven years*, about prohibiting the slave-trade; while another European minister, without talking about it at all, has actually adopted an effectual plan for its abolition, as will be seen, in the 2d part of this work.

The Count's
Decl. and
Propof. to
His Britan-
nic Majesty.

292. But, to dismiss ministerial *manœuvres*—the last papers in the Count's Memoirs are “*A Declaration*,” &c. and “*Proposals*, &c.” to the ministry of His Britannic Majesty, *to be presented at London, Dec. 25th 1783.*” But whether or not they ever *were* presented, does not appear. In these papers, the Count respectfully represents, *inter alia*, That, having succeeded in forming a colony for France, in Madagascar, the French ministry sent orders to him to change the system of alliance agreed upon, into an unlimited submission of the chiefs and people of the island, a violation of treaty which induced him to renounce the service of France: (To this change of system, the Count alludes in his answer to the 25th query of the commissaries.) That the chiefs and people, having conferred on him the charge of supreme judge and chief of the nation, had empowered him to form connections in Europe, for trade or friendship: That, having since been violently persecuted by the French ministry, he had entered into the service of His Imperial Majesty, in hopes of obtaining his assistance for Madagascar; but, that the emperor not being disposed to promote his
views,

views, he had, two years before, regularly quitted his service. And, now, in the name of an amiable and worthy nation, he proposes and submits to His Britannic Majesty, to acknowledge him *Suzerain* (Lord Paramount) of Madagascar; the interior government, and all the regulations of civilization, police, cultivation and commerce, remaining independent; the chiefs and people being only vassals to His Majesty. In this quality, they engage to furnish His Majesty with 5000 men, to act in India, under their own officers, subject to the orders of His Majesty's Generalissimo, and 2000 seamen, to serve in India, on board the British men of war, which they oblige themselves to victual, &c. &c. (The Count, in his answer to the 22d query of the commissaries, states, that the islanders are accustomed to navigation.)

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CAR.

Offers 5000
soldiers and
2000 sea-
men.

293. Being ignorant of the fate of the Count's "Declaration" and "Proposals," and whether they ever came before the British ministry, I must now turn to Mr. Nicholson's well written preface, where the Count's remaining transactions, together with his final catastrophe, are recorded. The substance of both is as follows.

294. The Count and his family, with some associates, arrived at Baltimore in Maryland, July 8th 1784, in the Robert and Ann, Capt. M'Dougall, from London, with a cargo, suited to the Madagascar market, worth near £4000 ster. This seems to have been subscribed in London; for Mr. Nicholson tells us, that the late celebrated Mr. Magellan, with a spirit of enterprize worthy of his name, contributed a very considerable sum*. A respectable house in Balti-

The C. sails
from London
to Baltimore.

* I have been told that Mr. Magellan was lineally descended from the famous Portuguese navigator, who discovered the Straits which bear his name.—The Count left with Mr. Magellan, the MSS. of which Mr. Nicholson formed the Memoirs. See Preface, p. 2.

C H A P.
X.MADAGAS-
CAR.from Balti-
more to Ma-
dagascar;

more, furnished the Count with a ship of 450 tons, carrying 20 guns and 12 swivels; the ship and stores amounting to above £4000 ster. exclusive of the goods brought from London. On the 25th of Oct. 1684, the Count sailed for Madagascar, leaving his family in America, on account of the pregnancy of M^{me}. de Benyowsky. Every one on board was, by agreement or oath, subject to his absolute command; though the captain and supercargo were to assist him, and to bring back the ship. He did not put in at the C. of Good Hope, probably for the same reason which, as we shall soon see, induced Colonel Bolts also to pass by it, namely, the fear of alarming the commercial jealousy of the Dutch.

lands in
Madagascar,

295. The Count first touched at Sofala, where he remained some time, for refreshment: and, on the 7th of July, 1785, anchored in Antangara Bay, 10 leagues SW. of C. St. Sebastian, in Madagascar, and the cargo having been landed there, the Count intending to go over land to Antongil Bay, whither the ship was to proceed. It appears, by letters, that the Count's old friend, the King of the North, came to pay his respects, and the chief of the Seclaves, his former, enemy, with a body of men encamped near the Count, who proposed to him the usual oath, which the chief declined. The master's protest states, that, on the night of the 1st of Aug. a firing was heard and seen on shore, at the Count's encampment; that at day light neither white men nor effects were to be seen; that their own danger, and the probability that the Count and his party were cut off by the natives, compelled them to set sail for the Island of Joanna; and that at Oibo, on the opposite continent, the supercargo sold the ship.

296. A letter from a man on board, states that the writer and another person, *though not convinced that the firing was from the natives, were forced to sign the protest.* A letter from an officer, brought prisoner to the I. de France, after the destruction of the Count's party, confirms the preceding, "as far" says Mr. Nicholson, "as relates to the destruction of the Count and his party, *by the French.*" The writer mentions the firing in the night; but, contrary to the protest, affirms that the ship sailed away in sight of those on shore, who could not overtake her in the country boats. From this letter, it appears, that the Count, at the head of a body of natives, commenced hostilities against the French, by seizing their store-house at Angoutzi. Here he began to build a town in the country manner; and thence detached 100 men to seize their factory at Foul Point, who desisted, on seeing a frigate at anchor there. On being informed of these transactions, the government of the Isle de France sent a ship with 60 regulars, who landed and attacked the Count, on the 23d of May 1786, in a redoubt he had constructed, mounting two cannon, and where he, with two Europeans, and 30 natives, waited their approach. The blacks fled, and Benyowsky, receiving a ball in his breast, fell behind the parapet, whence he was dragged by the hair, and expired in a few minutes.

297. The last mentioned letter, Mr. Nicholson observes, "in many respects, seems to want explanation;" like the protest and the other letters, relative to the Count's unhappy end. From such materials, it was impossible even for the abilities of the editor, to extract a consistent account; nor would the Court of France have derived much credit from a fair statement of a transaction which, I have good reason to believe, could not bear the light. The to-

C H A P.
X.MADAGAS-
CAR.

is attacked,

and killed,

C H A P.
X.
MADAGAS-
CAR.

by order of
the French
ministry.

tal concealment of deeds, of which the witnesses are necessarily numerous, cannot be effected, even by an arbitrary ministry; and, to their machinations, the destruction of the brave Benyowsky, was universally attributed, when I was at Paris, in 1787. But this did not satisfy my curiosity, respecting the fate of so distinguished a friend to Africa. I made particular enquiry, and was assured that the ministry ordered out a frigate to secure the Count, alive or dead; but the particular minister who issued the order was not mentioned. This information I received from Monsr. Hall, one of the first painters in Europe, a near relation of the commander of the frigate, who, of course, was obliged to execute, and, I have not a doubt, *did* execute his orders. This was what I chiefly wished to know; and it would have been indelicate to trouble a gentleman, so connected, with minute questions. He said, however, that the Count aimed at the sovereignty of Madagascar, independent of the French; but he was far from impeaching him, in other respects, and candidly admitted, that he possessed consummate bravery and ability.

Circum-
stances de-
scriptive of
his character.

298. These qualities shine conspicuous in every page of the Count's history; which also exhibits marks of other virtues, more to be regarded, than the vague assertions of persons, who have *obvious reasons* for wishing him to be thought the tyrant and the robber. But a very different character appeared, in his earnest and successful endeavours to induce some tribes of the natives, to abandon their criminal practice of sacrificing deformed children, and those born on unlucky days—a reform, however, of which M^{me}. de Benyowsky ought to share the praise. The detestation with which he speaks (p. 352) of the “avidity, injustice and oppression of the usurpers and tyrants,” who conducted
former

former attempts in (or rather *on*) Madagascar, and his resigning, rather than violate a treaty, by attacking the liberties of the natives—if these circumstances account, as they partly do, for the number of his enemies, his friends may also insist on them, as marks of a noble, humane, and generous disposition. They may insist, still more strongly, on the attachment of his officers and men (“*my poor fellows*,” p. 201) in the most trying conjunctures, and even when he appeared to be dying of a tedious illness (p. 283) and when nothing but an ardent affection to their leader, not to say an admiration of his virtues, could have kept them within the limits of discipline.—In short, Mr. Nicholson, who had all the letters and documents before him, declares, that he has “not yet seen any thing against the Count, which will not bear two interpretations, or which has not been written by men who contradict each other, and had an interest in traducing him.”—I must add; that, for aught I ever heard to the contrary, the Count de Benyowsky, deserved a better fate. Nay, I am clearly of opinion, that his conduct in Madagascar, deserves no small portion of admiration, and even of respect: and, all things duly considered, I see no reason, why a monument might not be erected to his memory, inscribed *MAGNIS TAMEN EXCIDIT AUSIS*.—But, after all, I wish my readers to peruse the “*Memoirs*,” and to *judge for themselves*, of the character there exhibited; especially as I have only examined that part of the work which relates to Madagascar. In order to assist persons, in forming their conclusions, who may not have time to read this instructive piece of biography, I have inserted the dates in this epitome.

299. Some may think, that I have commented rather too freely on the conduct of the French ministry. Far, far be

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C H A P.
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MADAGAS-
CAR.

The conduct
of the French
Ministry
seems unjusti-
fiable.

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CAR.

it from me, to imitate the immediate destroyers of Benyowsky, whoever they were, by insulting the mighty *fallen* (See § 296 at the end). But it was absolutely necessary that the failure of this colonial enterprize should be traced to its true source, and not attributed as usual, to the *climate*, the constant excuse for European perfidy and violence, within the tropics, especially in Africa. The benevolent professions of the ministry towards the natives of Madagascar, may have once been sincere†; but ministerial benevolence is evanescent, and, in modern practice, must always give way to expediency. It was *expedient* for the French ministry, to *change their system*, respecting Madagascar. It is also expedient, or *convenient* (see Johnson's Dict.) that, if possible, a distinction should be established between the *minister* and the *man*. Accordingly it is allowed, by *some*, that certain ministers, whose plans have been pernicious to mankind, were yet very good sort of men; and my opinion of M. de S. though as good as it should be, upon the whole, would be much improved, were it possible for me to conceive, that an *arbitrary* minister could deviate into *evidently* crooked paths, without carrying the man along with him. Benyowsky showed the minister what he should have done, rather than violate a sacred principle.—The Count dared to be consistent, and *resigned*: but he was a *soldier*, not a *minister*.—Yet I sincerely wish it were credible, that the French ministry were not concerned in the foul treatment of Benyowsky. But truth and Africa are more dear to me

† I am sorry that I happened to omit, in its proper place, that M. de S. in his dispatch to the Count, of April 6th 1777 (and which the Count could not have received in Madagascar) expresses much concern that he should have lost so many men in filling up a marsh, a circumstance which the Count also mentions in his journal.

than

than the reputation, either of the Count or the Ministry: and I fear that their conduct to him cannot be even *politically* justified, without impeaching their wisdom.----The American troubles were coeval with the Madagascar colony. The ministry dropped the substance, and snatched at the shadow. Neglecting Madagascar, with her valuable and increasing productions * and her three millions of docile and ingenious people, † they lurked behind the mask of *professions*, for, what they thought, an opportunity of humbling Great Britain. The consequences to France have been already hinted at. But Britain, disencumbered of her *financial* burden, and having her strength concentrated, rose superior to the blow, and has since resumed, and, if undisturbed by war, was long likely to maintain, her respectability among the nations. Her astonishing restoration, I think, ought, in candour, to be partly ascribed to the distinguished ability and industry of the statesman who has

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MADAGAS-
CAR.

* Having, under the preceding articles, enumerated the most valuable productions of the continent of Africa, it did not seem necessary to dwell on those of Madagascar, which are very much the same. But, as the natives are far less harassed by the slave-trade, and upon the whole, more civilized; the produce of their labour is proportionably more abundant. This is evident from the great quantities and value of provisions, &c. exported and supplied to shipping, by the Count. See the statement of charge and discharge above inserted.

• A respectable merchant in London, of great experience in the French East India commerce, assures me, that the cotton of the east coast of Madagascar is fully equal to that of Bourbon; and that a great part of the cotton which comes to Europe, under the name of Bourbon cotton, is either smuggled from the East Indies or brought regularly from Madagascar into Bourbon, where it is stored and repacked for exportation to Europe. For an account of the Bourbon cotton see § 271.

† See Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 397. This, however, can be but a vague conjecture respecting the population.

since

C H A P. X. since conducted her finances.—What should I say more of
 { statesmen and of their abilities or infirmities, but “Alas!
 poor human nature?”

D U T C H.

C. OF GOOD
 HOPE.

Van Riebeck
 proposes a
 colony there.

300. The Dutch East India ships began to frequent the Cape, about the year 1600; but it was not till 1650, that Van Riebeck, a surgeon, first discovered the advantages that would result from forming a regular colony there. On returning to Holland, he presented a memorial on the subject, to the directors of the Dutch East India company, who approved of his proposal, and ordered four ships to be equipped for the Cape, with some artificers, a few colonists, and the necessary tools and stores. Van Riebeck was appointed admiral of this fleet, and governor of the new colony; trusts which he fulfilled with such fidelity and success, that he well deserves to be recorded, as founder of that important establishment.

Liberality of
 the Dutch E.
 India co.

301. In executing this design, the directors acted with a degree of wisdom and disinterestedness, too seldom found in the representatives of joint stock companies, and for which, in many other instances, the conduct of their predecessors and successors have not been very remarkable. They authorized Van Riebeck, to purchase territory from the natives, which he did, with goods to the amount of

* This sketch of the colony at the Cape is compiled from Mortimer's Dict. of Trade and Comm. 1776.—Menzel's Beschreibung von Cap de Bonne Esper. 1785.—Das merkwürdigste aus den besten Beschreibungen von Cap 1787.—Tableau de Commerce, 1787.—Forster's Voy. round the World, 1777, and Sparrman's Voy. to the Cape of Good Hope, Perth edition.

50,000 guilders.—In the choice of colonists, their discernment and prudence were conspicuous. They suffered no *thieves* and *strumpets* to poison the infant society with the vices for which they had been expelled from Europe. But, by advantageous promises, faithfully performed, the company induced laborious peasants, and honest artificers to emigrate to the Cape*. They defrayed the expenses of the voyage; and provided the colonists with subsistence, tools, implements of agriculture and cattle. To each, they gave a portion of land, on condition that, in three years, he should have cultivated enough to enable him to support himself, and to contribute to the defence of the colony†. They also agreed to bring back to Europe, *gratis*, those to whose constitutions the climate might be unfavourable, and who had full liberty to dispose of their effects to the best advantage. For the reception of the colonists, the company erected villages, each containing 30 houses, a church, an hospital, a town-house and a public kitchen-garden. To furnish the colony with females, girls from the orphan-houses in Hol-

C H A P.
X.C. of GOOD
HOPE.Their choice
of colonists.

* Since I wrote § 128 and 129, I have heard it objected, that, in time of war, it would be improper to encourage colonization; as the people who might be expected to become colonists, are wanted for the armies.—The objectors, however, would do well to recollect, that, of all people, those who are disposed to become soldiers are, generally speaking, the most unfit for any new colonial undertaking; and that such being taken off by the war, a greater proportion of sober and industrious persons will be left, from among whom to make a prudent selection. Besides, that the war itself, and the general posture of public affairs, have disposed many worthy people, throughout Europe, to embark in any undertaking, likely to afford them more peace and security than they expect to enjoy in their respective countries.

† The company, however, at present, never part with the property of the land; but rent it at the annual rate of about 25 dollars, for every 60 acres.

land,

C H A P. land, were sent out, with superintendants to educate them
 X. at the Cape; and, on their marriage, the company assigned
 C. OF GOOD them small dowries.
 HOPE.

Expense very
 great.

302. The expense incurred by the company, in establishing this colony, has been immense—not less, it hath been computed, than a million of guilders annually, for the first 20 years; and in, 1713, above sixty years after it's first settlement, it still continued to be chargeable. But seldom has the property of a joint-stock company been so beneficially employed; for all difficulties are *now* surmounted, and the colony amply repays the expenses of it's establishment.

Difficulties
 very discour-
 aging.

303. Those difficulties were of a kind which nothing short of cool, Dutch perseverance could have overcome. This extremity of Africa consists of black and barren mountains of granite, without any volcanic productions. The cultivated spots near the town, are of stiff clay, with a little sand and small stones; but towards False Bay, the arable soil is almost entirely sandy. The colony of Stellenbosch is said to have the best soil of any at the Cape, but even that produces no very extraordinary proofs of *natural* fertility*.—Lions, leopards, tyger-cats, hyænas, jackals, and several other wild beasts, infest the Cape, now and then, even to this day.

Climate.

304. Yet this country is not without it's advantages.—The air and water, as in most other mountainous tracts, are good, in the same proportion as the soil is bad. Though the summer heats are sometimes excessive, the winters are so mild that ice is scarcely ever seen about the town. But,

* The Dutch have, strictly speaking, four colonies in this part of Africa, namely the Cape, properly so called, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and Waveren. The farms in many places are very much scattered.

on the mountains, especially far inland, there are hard frosts, with snow and hail storms. The climate, however, upon the whole, is so salubrious, that the inhabitants are rarely troubled with any disorders more serious than colds, caused by the sudden changes of air, from the strong winds, to which the Cape is exposed at all seasons; and strangers soon recover from the scurvy and other complaints.—The support of so many wild beasts, implies the existence of numerous tribes of milder animals; and accordingly an astonishing variety, from the mighty buffalo and camelopard, to the least of the beautiful genus of antelopes, and many smaller quadrupeds, are common, in this part of Africa. The elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, formerly came within a short distance of the Cape; but they have been so much hunted, and are so seldom seen at present, that the government have issued an order against killing them, within many miles of the town*.—The neighbouring seas and bays abound with excellent fish.—I know not whether the metallic ores of the interior mountains ought to be mentioned as an advantage; as it does not appear, that the colonists can work them with profit, on account of their remote and rugged situation. Some tribes of Hottentots, however, extract both copper and iron from the ores they find in their native mountains. See § 71, 287. But the grand advantage of the Cape, at least that which appeared such in the eyes of the Dutch East India company, was it's convenient situation, as a place of refreshment for their ships; and, in this view, the bare inspection of a map of Africa, shows

C H A P.
X.
C. of Good
Hope.

Animals.

Metals.

A station for
Dutch East
India ships.

* The flesh of the hippopotamus, is eaten at the Cape. In Mr Forster's opinion, it's taste is that of coarse beef, but the fat rather resembles marrow. It's tusks are the best of ivory.

C H A P. X. it's superiority to all other parts of that continent. But it's
 C. OF GOOD HOPE. situation and climate are not *now* it's only excellencies, as a
 port of refreshment; for it abounds with a variety of the
 best greens and fruits, and, in particular, with some of the
 finest grapes and oranges in the world—articles peculiarly
 proper for seamen after long voyages.

Exports. 305. The prodigious expense, and the persevering atten-
 tion which this colony cost, during the uncommonly tedious
 period of it's helpless infancy, began at last to shew their ef-
 fects, in the exportation of a little surplus corn. But, hav-
 ing since arrived at a state of comparative maturity, the
 Cape not only supplies the ships of all nations, which touch
 there, with necessaries and comforts, in abundance, and at
 moderate prices; but supplies all the Dutch, and some fo-
 reign, Asiatic settlements, with great quantities of corn,
 flour, biscuit, wines of various sorts, brandy, butter, cheese,
 and salted provisions.—No country feeds a greater number
 of cattle than this, nor is their flesh any where cheaper or
 better. An ox commonly weighs from 500 to 600lb. A
 farm may make from 1500 to 3000lb. of butter, annually.
 Many feed from 1000 to 6 or 8000 sheep, and a few have as
 far as 15,000, and cattle in proportion.

Farming. 306. The Dutch East India company seem, for some time,
 evidently to have discouraged all new settlers, by granting
 no lands in private property, and by prohibiting the
 farmers from fixing their habitations within a mile of each
 other; though many parts of the country are so barren,
 that less land than a square mile, (640 English acres) would
 scarcely make a proper grazing farm. The company are
 certainly more solicitous, at present, to promote their East
 Indian commerce, than the productions of this flourishing,
 but still improveable, colony: otherwise, not only the cul-
 tivation

Tenure of
 lands.

tivation, but the manufacture, of several valuable articles, might be introduced with advantage. Dr. Sparrman*, who makes this remark, gives several hints for the internal improvement of the colony; but, being merely local, it is unnecessary to insert them, especially as the company, while they continue to attend almost exclusively to commerce, are not likely to put them in practice.

C H A P.
X.
C. of Good
Hops.

307. Still the conduct of the company, or, perhaps more properly, of their predecessors, has been liberality itself, when compared with the extortion and oppression of the Cape Verd company of Portugal. (See § 234.) “We were not a little pleased,” says Forster, “with the contrast between this colony and the Portuguese island of S. Jago. There we had taken notice of a tropical country, with a tolerable appearance, and capable of improvement; but utterly neglected by it’s lazy and oppressed inhabitants. Here, on the contrary, we saw a neat, well built town, all white, rising in the midst of a desert, surrounded by broken masses of black and dreary mountains; or, in other words, the picture of successful industry.” The town contains many store-houses of the Dutch East India company, and tolerable fortifications. Here, as in other Dutch towns,

Dutch and
Portuguese
policy con-
trasted.

Cape town.

* I cannot help transcribing from Dr. Forster’s voyage, which lies open before me, his account of my friend and fellow traveller, which I can pronounce to be equally liberal and just. “We were fortunate enough,” says he, “to meet with a man of science, Dr. Sparrman, at this place, who, after studying under the father of botany, the great Linné, had made a voyage to China, and another to the Cape, in pursuit of knowledge. The idea of gathering the treasures of nature, in countries hitherto unknown to Europe, filled his mind so entirely, that he immediately engaged to accompany us, on our circumnavigation; in the course of which, I am proud to say, we have found him an enthusiast in his science, well versed in medical knowledge, and endowed with a heart capable of the warmest feelings, and worthy of a philosopher.” Voyage round the World, Vol. I. p. 67.

C H A P.
X.
C. OF GOOD
HOPE.

Mortality of
men kidnap-
ped by Dutch
Soul-mongers.

No toleration
at the Cape.

their genius manifests itself in rows of trees and canals; though experience proves the noxious effects of stagnant water; especially in hot climates, and most fatally at Batavia.—The company's slaves are lodged and boarded, in a spacious house.—The large hospital for the East Indiamen, is generally pretty much crowded. For these ships sometimes carry 6, 7 or 800 men, to supply the regiments in India; and their confined situation, and short allowance of water and salt provisions, make such havock among them, that it is not very uncommon for an Indiaman, so freighted, to lose, between Europe and the Cape, 80 or 100 men, and to send 2 or 300 to the hospital. It is a lamentable fact, that the facility with which the Zeelverkoopers (Soul-mongers) inveigle these unfortunate people, makes the company's servants more indifferent than they should be about their preservation*. They are plentifully supplied, however, with an antiscorbutic diet, which, with the air of the place, certainly contributes more to their recovery than their doctors, who drench them *all*, indiscriminately, with the *cheap* contents of two or three huge bottles.

308. Toleration, which has been so beneficial to Holland, is unknown at the Cape and at Batavia. In 1772, even a Lutheran clergyman was not tolerated at the Cape; but the chaplains of Danish and Swedish ships, now and then offici-

* I wonder that the Slave-mongers, in their distress for pretexts to justify their traffic, have never mentioned the Dutch Soul-mongers, whose practice would have afforded them this notable argument.—The Soul-mongers kidnap men in Holland: *ergo* the slave-mongers may lawfully steal or carry off men, women and children in Africa, and murder them, if they resist. But this argument will scarcely satisfy those who reason on *different* principles, and who will never be convinced, that many thousands ought to be *actually* murdered in Africa, *because* some hundreds are *virtually* murdered by the Dutch Zeelverkoopers. See § 20.

ated

ated there. As in most other European colonies, no attention whatever is paid to the religion of the slaves. A few of them, however, who are believers in Mahomet, meet weekly, in the house of a free Mahometan, and read or chaunt some prayers and chapters of the koran.

C H A P.
X.
C. OF GOOD
HOPE.

309. The governor depends immediately on the East India company, and presides over a council composed of the second, or deputy governor, the fiscal, the major, the secretary, the treasurer, the comptrollers of provisions, and liquors, and the book-keeper; each of whom has the charge of a branch of the company's commerce. This council manages the whole civil and military departments. The deputy governor presides over the court of justice, which consists of some of the members of the council. But no two relations can vote in either. The governor has a fixed salary, house and furniture, a garden and a table. He receives, besides, 10 dollars for every leagre (108 gallons) of wine, exported to Batavia. The company gives 40 dollars for each leagre, of which the farmer receives but 24. Of the remainder, the governor is paid two-thirds, said to be worth 4000 dollars annually, and the other third goes to the deputy, who directs the company's whole commerce here.—The fiscal is at the head of the police, and sees the penal laws executed. He is also appointed by the mother country, to whom alone he is accountable, as a check on the company's officers. The major commands the garrison.—The designations of the other officers are descriptive of their departments.

Government
and revenue,
sketched by
Forster.

310. The above is the substance of the account of the government of the Cape, given by Forster, whose work was published in 1777. But it would appear that some change in it has since taken place; for the author of *Das Merkwürdigste*,
printed

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HOPE.

printed in 1787, says the government of the Cape is divided into the eight following departments—1st. The Great Council for the company's political and commercial business. It also sometimes represents the States General, and corresponds, at all times, with Holland and Batavia.—2. The Great College of Justice, a deputation of No. 1. and the three burgomasters of the Cape town. This court is independent on the company; but, from it an appeal lies to the similar superior courts in Batavia and Holland.—3. The lesser College of Justice, also a deputation of No. 1. for deciding smaller matters.—4. The Matrimonial Court, which takes care that regular marriages are observed.—5. The Charity College, which has the charge of orphans, and the females cannot marry, without their consent.—6. The Church College, which regulates the concerns of external worship.—7. The Civil Court.—Every colony at the Cape has its own Burgher Council, chosen from among the most respectable citizens, and changed every second year. This council decides small matters between man and man; and, upon the whole, is represented as somewhat similar to the corporations in England.—8. The Military College, which conducts all military affairs, including the militia.—Of the revenue and expenditure of the Dutch at the Cape, Menzell gives the following statement :

	<i>Guilders</i>
A tax on produce, yielding, <i>communibus annis</i> ,.....	206,617
Duties on imports from Holland and Batavia.....	206,500
25 per cent. on all cash sent to the Cape from Europe.....	54,520
	<hr/>
	467,637
Annual expenditure, civil and military, is estimated at.....	361,330
	<hr/>
Clear annual revenue of the company.....	106,307
	But

But Kolben states the clear annual revenue, which the Dutch East India company derives from the Cape, at above 300,000 guilders, annually. He appears, however, to include the profits of that part of their East Indian trade, which is connected with the Cape.

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HOPE.

311. There are 700 regular troops in this colony, including the garrison, of 400. The fencible white men form a militia of between 4 and 5000, of whom a great number may be assembled in a few hours, by signals of alarm. Hence we may estimate the whites of all ages and both sexes, at between 16 and 20,000. But a part of the colonists are so very far scattered, as to be able to afford little protection to one another, and to the community. There are in the colony five or more slaves to one white man. These slaves are chiefly from Madagascar, with a mixture of Malays, Bengalese and some negroes.—The greater part of the colonists are Germans, with some French protestants and Dutch. They are industrious, hospitable and sociable; but fonder of good living, than of acquiring knowledge, for which they may plead the plenty of good cheer, and the extreme scarcity of good schools. Such colonists as can afford the expense, generally send their sons to Holland for improvement; but the education of their females is too much neglected.

Military and
population.

AUSTRIAN.

312. The Bay of Delagoa, on the east of Africa (lat. about 26° S.) was discovered in 1545, by Laurenço Marquez, a Portuguese. In this bay his nation afterwards formed a settlement, on the river Manyeffa, then the only one in Delagoa, navigable for large ships. They built a fort of which the vestiges still remain; but abandoned it, on the Manyeffa becoming unnavigable by an accumulation of sand:

DEL AGOA
BAY.

Portuguese
settle there

C H A P. sand: and their colony of Mozambique having then ac-
 X. quired strength, they did not find it worth while to renew
 DELAGOA. their settlement in Delagoa Bay.

313. The waters of the Mafoômo, in the same bay, having,
 and Dutch. in time, opened a channel of four fathoms over the bar, the
 Dutch formed a settlement there, which they held till 1727,
 when a strong squadron of English pirates, who had their
 rendezvous at Madagascar, after plundering the Dutch
 warehouses, razed them and the fort to the ground*.

314. Such was then the increasing prosperity of their co-
 lony at the Cape of Good Hope, and its dependencies, that
 the Dutch gave up all thoughts of re-establishing that of
 Delagoa; so that, from that day to this, a large and fine
 country, on the east of Africa, from Cabo das Correntes to
 the most eastern dependencies of the Cape colony, and on
 the west, a much larger tract, from Saldanha bay to Ben-
 guela, have been unoccupied by the Europeans, and aban-
 doned to the peaceable and rightful possession of the *un-
 christianized* Africans.

315. In the spring of 1777, however, an establishment
 was made on the river Mafoômo, on behalf of Her late Im-
 perial Majesty, the Empress Queen, Maria Theresa. The
 circumstances and fate of this colony, as far as I have been
 able to collect them, were as follow:—With a view to re-
 cover the trade of the East, to the Austrian dominions in
 Flanders, Tuscany and the Adriatic gulph, which had been
 lost on the abolition of the Ostend East India company, in
 1727, Her Imperial Majesty granted a charter, in 1775, to
 William Bolts, Esq. a gentleman who had been formerly
 employed in Bengal, by the English East India company,

Large tracts
 unoccupied
 by Europe-
 ans.

Austrian at-
 tempt, under
 Col. Bolts.

* See an account of this settlement and its destruction, in the Dutch *Reisen na
 Indien* I. de Buckoi, and the English *History of the Pirates*.

in whose service he had been extremely ill treated*. His charter contained many advantageous stipulations in his favour, with full powers from the Empress Queen for making commercial and colonial arrangements, with the chiefs of Africa and Asia. He, at the same time, received a commission as Lieut. Colonel.

C H A P.
X.
DELAGOA.

316. Having formed a connection with some gentlemen in Antwerp, recommended to him by the Imperial ministers, Colonel Bolts finally sailed in Sep. 1776, from Leghorn, in a large ship, richly laden and well armed, with some soldiers to preserve subordination among a numerous body of people, from almost all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Before the ship sailed, the mean opposition of commercial bodies had shown itself. It was again manifested at Madeira, and in short, the Colonel was followed to India by such orders from the English East India company to their presidencies, and from these to the Nabobs, under whose names they act when convenient, as were contrary to the rules of friendship between civilized nations, and even to common humanity.

The Colonel
sails Sept.
1776;

is opposed
by commer-
cial bodies;

317. As it would have been extremely imprudent to rely on the accidental good reception of any nation actuated by that pest of society, the jealousy of commerce, Colonel Bolts, instead of touching at the Cape of Good Hope, resolved to push on to Delagoa Bay†. Having arrived there, the security for shipping in the river Mafoômo, the resources he saw in the country, and the facility of treating with the chiefs, through a Mahomedan from Bengal, whom he found settled there, convinced him that it was a proper place for forming an establishment. After a short residence,

arrives at
Delagoa bay;

* See his Considerations on India Affairs, 3 vols. 4to. in 1772. † See § 294.

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DELAGOA.

buys land of
two chiefs ;

builds tem-
porary
houses, &c.

begins a
trade ;

with the help of presents, and the influence he acquired by performing some ordinary operations with an electrical machine, the Colonel was so fortunate as to gain the friendship of Capell and Matôla, the chiefs of the opposite sides of the river, though declared enemies to each other.

318. These chiefs possessed the country all round, could each raise 15,000 men, acknowledged no dependence on any European nation, and had no intercourse even with the Dutch and Portuguese, their nearest neighbours. Colonel Bolts, therefore, in the name of her Imperial Majesty, purchased from them a part of their respective territories on each side the Mafoômo, and commanding it's entrance. The goods agreed for were delivered, and the Imperial flag hoisted, in presence of a great concourse of people, including the crews of two British ships from Bombay, trading for ivory and commanded by Captains M'Kenny and Cahill.

319. The ship remained in the river four months, during which temporary houses and a brick warehouse were erected ; when Colonel Bolts, thinking his presence might, for some time, be dispensed with, resolved to make a voyage in the ship, to the coast of Malabar, which appeared, on several accounts, adviseable and even necessary. By the good will of Capt. M'Kenny, a retreat on board his ship was provided, in case of necessity, for the resident, Mr. A. D. Pollet, who was to remain, in charge of the infant settlement.

320. The Colonel, having arrived on the Malabar coast, bought and fitted out three vessels, with cargoes proper for the trade, as well as the necessities of the infant settlement. One of them remained in the river Mafoômo, as a floating battery, while the others were constantly carrying ivory to Cambay, and returning to Delagoa, with articles suited to the African barter.—By artificers sent from

from Surat, the houses and warehouses were rendered more commodious and solid, and a 12 gun battery was erected on the south side of the Mafoômo. From Surat, the Colonel also sent a *Mullah*, or Mahommedan priest, with his family, in order to convert to his religion, those Africans who were attached to, or connected with, the colony, and whose numbers constantly increased. For, seeing that, from their predilection for polygamy, christianity was not likely to be agreeable to them, he judged (in conformity with the commercial principles on which it was his business to act) that for the purposes of *civilizing*, and then *governing* a rude people, any religion is better than none. Besides, their intercourse with the black Mahommedan crews of the vessels coming regularly from India, seemed to facilitate and encourage the attempt, by giving to precept the advantage of example.

C H A P.
X.
DELAGOA.

sends a Mahommedan missionary to the colony.

321. The natives of this part of Africa are well made, lively, active, intelligent, and imitative. Happily they did not then allow the slave-trade, and Colonel Bolts hopes, this barbarous custom has not yet vitiated them. Elephants' teeth were then their only important commodities; but cowries and sea-horse teeth were also occasionally exported. The Colonel, however, among other important objects, had in view the cultivation of cotton and sugar-canes, which are indigenous there, and grow luxuriantly all about the country. In time too, he hoped to open a trade in gold dust, with the independent inland chiefs, by the river Mafoômo, and particularly with a kingdom called *Quitive*, which, though said to abound in gold, has hitherto been unexplored by the Europeans. Rice and other vegetables grow luxuriantly; though the natives seldom cultivate more than they think they want. By instructing and en-

Natives intelligent.

Wild cotton and sugar, canes, gold, rice, &c.

C H A P.
X.

DEL AGOA.

The colony
thrives.

But, Prince
Kaunitz dis-
avowing it,
the Portu-
guese break
it up.

Col. Bolts
the restorer
of the Aus-
trian East In-
dia trade.

Claims of
Spain and
Portugal ri-
diculous.

couraging them to practise agriculture, all the tropical, and many other productions, might in time have rendered Delagoa almost as commodious a place of refreshment as the Cape, and, in some cases, preferable.

322. But the Imperialists remained only three years in possession of this promising colony. Colonel Bolts, after succeeding in every part of his mission, returned to Europe, where he found that the Empress Queen had died three months before his arrival; and, with her, vanished all his hopes of support or justice. Prince Kaunitz, the minister, on a protest from the court of Lisbon, had disavowed the settlement; and, in consequence, a ship of war, with 300 troops and two field-pieces, was sent from Goa to Delagoa, where the Imperialists were treated in the same manner as we have seen the Dutch were, by the pirates, in 1727, their ships, effects, and men having been seized and carried off.

323. Thus were the extensive views of this able, enterprising and public spirited man, frustrated, by the very court, for whom he acted, while he had the full powers of the Empress Queen in his pocket; and, at the hazard of his own life and fortune, was *bona fide* labouring to promote the Austrian East India trade—a trade which his indefatigable and well directed exertions had so compleatly re-established, that we have since seen eight and twenty India ships assembled at Ostend, exclusive of those at Leghorn and Trieste.

324. The cause of Prince Kaunitz's disavowal of this colony, never transpired. But all Europe is acquainted with the claims advanced by the courts of Portugal and Spain, on similar occasions. The argument of the former is short and simple.—“The natives of the country are *infidels*:
a subject

a subject of the crown of Portugal was the first *christian* who set foot in that country : ERGO that country belongs to the *christian* crown of Portugal." The logic of the court of Spain, in the affair of Nootka Sound, was equally laconic and conclusive.—“ Some Spaniards are settled at California, and on the neighbouring parts of America: ERGO the whole northwest coast of America belongs to Spain.” Our potent casuists never once hint at the original inhabitants. These are savages and *infidels*, whose claims merit no attention from *christians*.

C H A P.
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DELAGOA.

325. But the Spaniards and Portuguese are not the only Europeans who have hitherto disregarded such primitive pretensions, as will appear from the following particulars, which very strongly exemplify *the abuse of commerce*, one material part of my subject. In the year 1672, Charles II. was graciously pleased to *give and grant*, unto the Royal African Company of England, “ all and singular the lands, countries, havens, roads, rivers and other places in Africa, from Sallee, in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope, for and during the term of one thousand years; with the sole, entire and only trade and traffic” (N. B. *in the persons of the inhabitants*) “ into and from the said countries and places.” May it not be doubted, whether Swift himself, that great master of irony, ever penned any thing so consummately ridiculous, to say nothing of its *other* qualities?—But Charles gave and granted to *himself* a participation of the above extraordinary privileges; for he and his brother, afterwards James II. were subscribers to this same company, and were both largely concerned in the slave-trade. Some other monarchs, however, were far from favouring that traffic; for Louis XI. of France, and the renowned Elizabeth of England, *made no secret* of their utter abhorrence of the
slave-

Flagrant abuse of commerce exemplified.

C H A P.
X.
DELAGOA.

slave-trade. But this was not Charles's *only* trade; for Sir. T. Modiford, then Governor of Jamaica, having, by his sole authority, declared war against the Spaniards, his master not only approved of these predatory hostilities; but, in 1668, sent the governor an instruction, empowering him to nominate partners, to participate with His Majesty in the captures,' "they finding victuals, wear and tear." Charles was several years actually engaged in this privateering, or rather *bucaneering*, trade*.—He and his immediate successor appear, indeed, to have been *par nobile fratrum*, and to have left the British nation sufficient reason to remember them, and the *day* when an over-ruling Providence was pleased to remove their family from the throne, and to bless the nation with a constitution which has had considerable influence on the arbitrary governments of Europe, and the radical principles of which, it is to be hoped, they will all gradually adopt, as far as their various circumstances will permit.

Col. Bolts
consulted
about a
Swedish co-
lony.

326. The late Gustavus III. of Sweden, who appeared to favour commerce more than agriculture, having heard of the abilities of *Colonel Bolts*, in colonial affairs, and his great knowledge of mercantile geography, prevailed on him (through his Ambassador at Paris, Baron Stael von Holstein) to go to Sweden, in order to consult with him about establishing a settlement for the convenience of the Swedish East Indian ships. But, when the Colonel arrived at Stockholm, he found the King so deeply involved in the late unfortunate war with Russia, that he could attend to no other

* See Postlethwayt's Dict. Art. Eng. Afr. Co.—Long's Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 626, compared with Vol. II. p. 140.—Edwards's Ditto Vol. II. p. 35, 36.—Hill's Nav. Hist.—Labat Nouv. Relat. de l'Afrique.

busi-

business. After a long and fruitless attendance, the Colonel returned to Paris, having received, by His Majesty's order, about £500 ster. a sum which, though perhaps as much as an almost exhausted treasury could well afford, was, however, very inadequate to the expense he incurred in collecting materials, not to mention the time and labour which the formation of estimates, and the arrangement of an extensive scheme, must have cost him. But though this plan be intimately connected with my subject, and may one day be carried into execution, I do not think myself at liberty to detail its particulars, without the Colonel's express concurrence.

C H A P.
X.
DELAGOA.

NEW PLAN

FOR

EXPLORING AFRICA

327. I have just been informed that the gentlemen of the African association of London, persevering in their design of exploring the interior parts of that continent, which reflects so much honour on this age and nation, have equipped two vessels, for a new expedition, which now wait for convoy; and that they are to be generously assisted, by the British government, with the sum of £6000 sterling. The persons appointed to carry this plan into execution, are a Mr. Park, who is a good natural historian, and a Mr. Willis, on whom His Majesty, on this occasion, has been pleased to confer the rank of consul. Both the gentlemen have the character of being uncommonly well qualified for such an undertaking; and they are to be attended by a captain, 60 soldiers, and proper assistants, of every description. Taking for granted, that

C H A P.
X.

that Goree has been abandoned by the French, they are first to proceed thither, where they will find a town ready built, and fitted for every purpose of health and accomodation, in a hot climate. From this first station, I understand, they propose to sail for Fatatenda, on the River Gambia, beyond which vessels of any considerable burden cannot conveniently proceed. From Fatatenda, it is said, Mr. Park takes his departure for Bambouk, whence he is to convey back intelligence of his arrival to Mr. Willis, who will then follow him thither. Both gentlemen having arrived at Bambouk, Mr. Willis will remain there, to preserve a communication with the ships, while Mr. Park will endeavour to penetrate to the River Niger, or to the city of Tombuctoo. I have been told farther, that the chiefs of the country are to be engaged to assist in the undertaking; but, with a precaution which, I believe, has never before been taken: they are to receive no previous douceurs, and no rewards whatever, till they shall produce certificates, or other proofs, that they have actually performed their engagements; and then they will be paid the rewards stipulated, on board the vessels, or at the places where the goods are secured.—If this be the plan, and I have reason to believe that the above are the principal heads of it, I must say that it appears to me, to be better laid, and consequently, to be more likely to succeed, than any one of the kind that has yet come within my knowledge.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT would give the author great pain, if in delivering his free, but conscientious, opinions on subjects so very interesting to humanity, his language should unfortunately be misunderstood; especially *so* misunderstood, as to suggest the repetition of Colonial attempts, on principles, *merely* pecuniary, mercantile, or, in short, *mercenary*. His meaning is to reprobate such principles. The impolicy and the inhumanity of acting, *exclusively*, on them, in colonial undertakings, he hinted at, in his pamphlet published in 1789, and has endeavoured to show, more at length, throughout the present work. The period indeed seems fast approaching, if it has not yet arrived, when *other* principles will be acknowledged and acted upon; when persons of property, discarding all false commercial maxims, and adopting those of benevolence, which is but another word for *true* policy, will successfully labour to reconcile *self interest* with the *interests of mankind*.

The author would respectfully intimate, that, from the late commencement of the work, and the *tardy* and *sparing* communication of materials which he reasonably expected from persons, who once appeared to favour his undertaking, he, at last, found himself very much hurried, and circumscribed in point of time. These circumstances, which he could not control, have embarrassed him much; and, it is hoped, will sufficiently account for the delay of the publication, beyond the time he proposed; as well as for such inaccuracies as, he fears, may have escaped him. It is hoped, that the candid reader will easily perceive, that his sincere intention, throughout, is to improve, not to offend.—*DELECTANDO, pariterque monendo*, will be allowed to be a more proper motto for a literary essay, than for one intended to promote arduous undertakings.

Perhaps the reader will not be displeased, at finding the subject much more fully treated, than was promised in the proposals; nor at the interpersions of many particulars, perhaps more interesting than known, in addition to such remarks as arose from the author's

ADVERTISEMENT.

own travelling experience. On the extension of the plan, a change of the title became necessary: hence the present one ("An Essay on Colonization," &c) has been substituted for that which was announced in the proposals. The enlargement of the work, also gave rise to its division into two parts, corresponding to the important distinction between the Colonies already established, or attempted, in Africa and its islands, on the principles of *commerce*—and those now forming there (by the British and the Danes) on the principles of *humanity*. (See the Contents).

To the whole, will be subjoined an appendix, consisting of papers and documents, illustrative of the work; also a nautical map, and some other engravings, one of which will include a likeness of a gentleman whose modest and unaffected, but ardent, unwearied, and truly Christian beneficence has long been (and long may it be!) an ornament to the British nation, and to human nature itself.

* * A table of *errata*, &c. will be given in the second part.

AN
E S S A Y
ON
COLONIZATION,
PARTICULARLY APPLIED TO THE
WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,
WITH SOME FREE THOUGHTS ON
CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE;

ALSO
BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS
OF THE COLONIES ALREADY FORMED, OR ATTEMPTED, IN AFRICA,
INCLUDING THOSE OF
SIERRA LEONA AND BULAMA.

BY
C. B. WADSTROM.

PART SECOND.

Illustrated with a Nautical Map (from Lat. 5° 30' to Lat. 14° N.) and other Plates.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

MDCCXCV.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PAUL LE MESURIER, M. P.

LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON,

IN TESTIMONY OF HIS LAUDABLE AND EXEMPLARY ZEAL,

IN PROMOTING THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

OBEDIENT AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

C. B. WADSTROM.

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

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ESSAY

ON

COLONIZATION, &c.

CHAP. XI.

COLONIES ATTEMPTED, OR NOW FORMING, IN AFRICA, ON THE
PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY,

By the British, the Danes, and the Swedes.

328. **H**AVING, in the first part, given brief descriptions of the colonies formed, or attempted by the Europeans in Africa, and it's islands, on the principles of commerce, I now proceed to offer some account of those which the British, the Danes and the Swedes have attempted, or are now endeavouring to establish, in that part of the world, on the principles of humanity, for the noble purpose of civilizing the natives. This, I acknowledge, would be to me a pleasant task, if I were provided with *all* the proper materials, and could promise to describe the rise, progress and present state of those undertakings, with an exactness corresponding to their importance. But, unfortunately, neither my materials, nor abilities, are equal to my inclination, to do justice to a subject, which has long been dear to my heart. Respecting the Danish colony, my information, though it has both novelty and authenticity to recommend it, is by no means so full as I could wish; and of the *internal* history

INTRODUC-
TORY RE-
MARKS.

B

of

C H A P.
XI.

INTRODUC-
TORY RE-
MARKS.

of the British colony at Sierra Leona, and the late attempt at Bulama, I have not been able, with all my assiduity, to collect so many authentic particulars as I expected, which have not already been inserted or touched on in the reports of the gentlemen, who respectively preside over those undertakings. But, of the Swedish attempt, or rather design, I can give a more satisfactory statement.—The reports of the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, and those of the Trustees of the Bulama Association, are really instructive and interesting, as far as they go: but, having been chiefly intended to inform the proprietors of the state of their affairs, and of the proceedings of the Directors and the Trustees, we cannot reasonably expect them to contain more of the *internal* history of those colonies, (my chief *defideratum*) than was consistent with the principal design. The truth is, that, considering the various calamities which beset those infant establishments, and which rendered the keeping of regular journals extremely difficult, I am more surprized at the fulness than the brevity of the *historical parts* of those reports: and their defects cannot I think be fairly attributed to any other causes than those just mentioned. In short, it is but too well known, that early misfortunes checked the colony at Sierra Leona, and overwhelmed, but it is hoped not irretrievably, that of Bulama. The same unhappy events could not fail to obscure the history of both.

The author obliged to abridge his materials.

329. The reports, I am obliged to compress into a compass suitable to my limits. But I mean to retain all the essential circumstances; and to insert in the appendix, the additional ones which I have been able to ascertain, and such remarks as the subjects will fairly bear. Thus, a circumstantial and faithful abridgment of the reports will form the basis of what I have to deliver respecting Sierra Leona and Bulama;

and the additions will most probably, after all, more than occupy the space gained by abbreviation. By way of apology to the gentlemen concerned, I can only express my hope that, in consideration of the intention, they will excuse the liberty I have been obliged to take in abridging their reports, as well as in differing with them in some of their opinions. Subjects in their nature controvertible, necessarily suppose and admit diversity of sentiments. But surely men may entertain different opinions of particulars, whose great, primary motive to action is the same. The more I consider the subject, the more I am convinced that the motive of the gentlemen alluded to, is a conscientious anxiety to promote the civilization of Africa; and I am willing to interpret all their opinions and actions, by the same rule of candour and charity, which I wish to be applied to my own.

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INTRODUC-
TORY RE-
MARKS.

330. Before I proceed to abridge the reports, it seems proper to observe, that, as far as I have been able to learn, the late Dr. Henry Smeathman was the person who first proposed a *specific plan* for colonizing Africa, with a view to civilization*. From his letter to Dr. Knowles, dated July

Dr. Smeath-
man's plan for
colonizing S.
Leona.

* I say, a *specific plan*; for that great ornament of society and friend of mankind, the late learned Dr. Fothergill, had before "suggested the cultivation of the sugar-cane upon the continent of Africa, where it seems to have been indigenous, and thrives luxuriantly (See § 63;) and that the natives should be employed as servants for hire, and not as slaves, compelled to labour, by the dread of torture." See "Some Account of the late John Fothergill, M. D. F. R. S. &c. read before the Medical Society of London, in 1782, by John Coakley Lettsom." Fothergill's Works, Vol: III.

I cannot omit that Dr. J. C. Lettsom, who was born to an inheritance of slaves, after having trained them, by a long course of kind and beneficent offices, to a due regard for social and religious obligations, generously declared them free. As far as I have been informed, the Doctor is the only West Indian who has emancipated any considerable number of slaves; but, in North America, such instances have been nu-

C H A P.
XI.

INTRODUC-
TORY RE-
MARKS.

Mr. Gran-
ville Sharp's
exertions.

July the 21st, 1783, (see § 621, *et seq.*) it appears, that he conceived this noble design, in Africa itself, where he resided four years. In 1786, he published his "Plan of a settlement, to be made near Sierra Leona, &c. intended more particularly for the service and happy establishment of blacks and people of colour, to be shipped as freemen, under the direction of the Committee for relieving the black poor, and under the protection of the British Government." (§ 648, *et seq.*) The principle and object of this plan were so congenial with the benevolent views of Granville Sharp, Esq. that it could not but meet with his *general* approbation. Mr. Sharp had for many years, with great labour and expense, maintained the claims and rights of the enslaved Africans. His exertions in the famous cause of the negro Somerfet, are alone sufficient to immortalize him. After a long litigation, Lord Mansfield, in June 1772, delivered the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, the effect of which is, that *the instant a slave lands on the British shore, he becomes, IPSO FACTO, free*: and the judgment itself was a noble effect of the British Constitution, which, says another learned judge, "abhors and will not endure the existence of slavery, within this kingdom*," Mr. Sharp

merous. Indeed the whole society of QUAKERS, in that country, have, in consistency with their principles, "let the oppressed go free." But, so well had they been prepared for the change, by the care and humanity of their praiseworthy masters, that they still, in general, serve them, and so faithfully, that, even in a pecuniary view, they have no reason to repent of their liberality.

For a very extraordinary proposal, for civilizing Africa, see in the Appendix, Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE A.

* Blackstone's Comm. If it be asked why slavery is endured within the British colonies? the true answer seems to be, that, like some other abuses and usurpations, it *stole* into those distant dependencies, in unsettled times, when the communication

Sharp was not only particularly instrumental in bringing this important cause to a decision; but took care that every oppressed negro, *whose case came to his knowledge*, should enjoy the benefit of it; for many negroes, illegally confined, in order to be clandestinely conveyed to the West Indies and America, have since owed their deliverance to Mr. Sharp's active and spirited interposition. In short, many years before Dr. Smeathman proposed, or probably conceived, his plan, Mr. Sharp's exertions and writings, had distinguished him as the steady assertor of the ancient, noble, unphosphicated principles of the constitution of his country, and the indefatigable benefactor of the Africans, and of the "poor and those who had none to help them."

331. These observations are not the vile flourishes of a sycophant's pen. By every friend to the cause I have the honour to support, they will readily be allowed to contain nothing but literal truth; and Mr. Sharp ought not to be surprised, that merit like his has become known, notwithstanding his ingenuous endeavours to conceal it; for, I am persuaded, he looks not for his reward from men. Neither are

cation with the mother country was comparatively infrequent—as would appear from this remarkable circumstance alone, *That no law explicitly enacting slavery is to be found in any of the colonial statute-books*. Even the West Indian law-makers never ventured on so flagrant a violation of their charters, which expressly stipulate that their internal laws "shall not be repugnant, but as near as may be, to the laws of England." Hence all their slave-laws *suppose* the existence of slavery, and are confined merely to its *regulation*. Thus slavery, which is repugnant to natural law, has, in the British dominions, no shadow of foundation even in *positive* law, the only foundation it can have in any civilized country. In other words, it is in every respect, an illegal, unwarrantable, and indefensible abuse.—See Mr. Sharp's "Representation of the injustice and danger of tolerating slavery," and his "Law of Retribution;" also the Essays signed *Common Sense* in the Morning Chronicle, the Star, and the Diary of Dec. 1791.—So much for West Indian slavery. Another species of *mercantile* slavery I have touched on in § 121, 197, note.

these

C H A P.
XI.

these observations made with a view to detract from the respect due to the memory of Dr. Smeathman, who will ever be gratefully remembered by the friends of Africa, as the man who first laid down a specific plan for it's civilization, and supported it with exertions which, in 1787, caused, or accelerated, his dissolution*. For, on his return from Sierra Leona, finding the "Committee for relieving the black poort," already formed, he appears to have most zealously co-operated with them, as well as with Mr. Sharp, and to have laboured to derive from their benevolence, support to his grand design of civilizing Africa†.

* Mr. Heathcote, a gentleman who was well acquainted with the late Dr. Smeathman, has been so obliging as to promise me a series of observations on the thermometer made by Dr. S. while on the Coast, and which, if I receive them in time, shall be inserted in the Appendix, after the names of the Subscribers to the Bulama undertaking.

† That committee consisted of the following gentleman, viz, Jonas Hanway, Esq. *Chairman*; Montague Burgoyne, Esq. Harley st. B. Johnson, Esq. Liffon Green; Sir Joseph Andrews, Bart. Knightsbridge; George Peters, Esq. Old Bethlem; John Osborne, Esq. New Norfolk st. J. J. Angerstein, Esq. Albemarle st. J. P. Andrews, Esq. Brompton; S. Hoare, Esq. Lombard st. G. Drake, Esq. Bedford Sq. F. Matthews, Esq. Bridge st. Westminster; W. Ward, Esq. Fenchurch st. Richard Shaw, Esq. London Bridge; J. Cornwall, Esq. Portland Place; S. Thornton, Esq. M. P. King's Arm's Yard; H. Thornton, Esq. M. P. Bartholomew lane; T. Boddington, Esq. Mark lane; General Melville, Brewer st.

‡ In 1771, that able geographer, Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. drew up a plan for promoting civilization, by fitting out ships to convey useful animals and vegetables to New Zealand and other remote regions, which are still destitute of many important productions, to which their respective soils and climates are undoubtedly congenial. The proposer generously offered to take upon himself the command of the first ship which should be equipped for such an expedition, the whole expense of which he estimated, at £15,000,—a small demand from humanity on the wealth accumulated by commerce! The celebrated Dr. Franklin, being informed of this benevolent scheme, wrote a paper to recommend it, which was printed and circulated with Mr. D's plan and estimate. It is mortifying to add, that this proposal, so respectable in it's origin, so moderate in it's means and so beneficent in it's end, did not receive the support it merited. But the discerning editors of the Annual Register saw it's value, and inserted it among the "*Useful Projects*," in their volume for 1779, under the title of "*Plan by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple for benefiting distant, unprovided countries.*" This philanthropic hint seems, however, to have had some weight with Dr. F's own countrymen, for in the year 1787, an expedition was fitted out at the expense of several gentlemen in Boston, in North America, for the laudable purpose of discovering channels of liberal commerce, and conciliating civil intercourse with the natives of the great south western coast of that continent, of which the medal, at the end of this work, is a memorial, and was distributed, in silver and copper, among the natives for that purpose.

332. Respect and gratitude are also justly due to those worthy persons who, before Dr. Smeathman proposed his plan, had formed themselves into the Committee just mentioned. But the design of sending them to Sierra Leona appears to have been the suggestion of Dr. S. The memory of the chairman of that Committee will long be revered; and some of the other members (for I have not the honour of knowing them all) have since invariably acted the part of generous, enlightened and conscientious promoters of *the abolition of the slave-trade, and the civilization of Africa*. I allude particularly to the Messrs. Thorntons and Mr. Samuel Hoare.

C H A P.
XI.
SIERRA LE-
ONA.

Comm. for
relieving the
black poor.

The following is an Abridgment of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leona Company to the General Court, held at London, on the 19th of October, 1791. Edit. 2.*

333. In pursuance of the Act of Parliament incorporating the SIERRA LEONA COMPANY†, the following thirteen gentlemen have been chosen Directors for the present year (viz. the year commencing on the 19th of October, 1791.)

HENRY THORNTON, Esq. M. P. Chairman.

PHILIP SANSOM, Esq. Dep. Chairm.

JOHN KINGSTON, Esq.

SIR CHARLES MIDDLETON, Bart.

SAMUEL PARKER, Esq.

SIR GEORGE YOUNG, Knt.

GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq.

WILL. WILLBERFORCE, Esq. M. P.

WILLIAM SANDFORD, Esq.

REV. THOMAS CLARKSON, A. M.

VICKERIS TAYLOR, Esq.

JOSEPH HARDCASTLE, Esq.

GEORGE WOLFF, Esq.

* The next General Court, held on the 30th of Nov. 1791, resolved that £50,000 should be added to the £100,000 capital already subscribed for, (see § 354, note.) At the same time, several Resolutions were passed to regulate the recommendations of, and the ballots for, the new subscribers. An Abridgment of those Resolutions will be inserted in the Appendix, after the list of the original subscribers to the S. Leona Company, with which it is connected.

† An Abridgment of this act will be inserted at the end of the Appendix.

C H A P.
 XI.
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 ONA.

334. In 1786, the humanity of some gentlemen was excited towards the distressed blacks, who then swarmed in London* Above 400 of them, along with 60 whites, mostly women of bad character and in ill health, (see § 301) were accordingly sent out, at the charge of government, to Sierra Leona. Necessity, it was hoped, would make them industrious and orderly; and Capt. Thompson of the navy, who conducted them, obtained, for their use, a grant of land to His Majesty, from King Tom, the neighbouring chief, and afterwards, from Naimbanna, the king of the country. This land, being about 20 miles square, His Majesty was enabled to grant by Act of Parliament (1791) to the Sierra Leona Company; and it was confirmed by a direct grant from King Naimbanna.

Their mortality.

335. From the disorders they brought on board with them, aggravated by debauchery and confinement, these people became very sickly, during their long detention in the British Channel, as well as during their passage, and after their arrival. They were landed in the wet season, unprovided with proper shelter, without order and without industry. From these causes 50 died before they left Plymouth, and 34 at sea; 15 ran away and 86 died on the coast, in the first four months after their arrival. After the first year, however, there was no great mortality†. It was

* Respecting the first rudiments of the colony, the distinguished support it received from Mr. Sharp, the character of the original colonists, &c. I have been fortunate enough to collect several authentic circumstances, which, being too long for a foot note, I intend to insert in the Appendix, together with some other particulars, marking them NOTE A, NOTE B, &c. For, I fear, that, if placed at the foot of the page, careless readers might mistake them for notes of the Directors. See, in the Appendix, "Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama." NOTE B.

† Immediately after the present S. Leona Company was formed, Dr. J. Bell, at the request of Mr. H. Thornton, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, drew up a tract entitled "*General Directions for the Preservation of Health, &c.*" for the benefit of the settlers at Sierra Leona, printed by J. Phillips, 1791." and which was very properly distributed among the colonists.

even

even said by one Green, who was in England in 1791, and who always lived with them, that in the two succeeding years, he did not think above five or six died, out of near 200, living in the same town. By very slight tillage, and a vast increase of poultry, these settlers, though far from being industrious, maintained themselves, and possessed a small and increasing property, when a circumstance, not necessary to be detailed, entirely dispersed them, to the number of 180 or 200, who left their plantations and a great quantity of poultry*.

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their disper-
sion.

336. Mr. Falconbridge, who arrived about a year after, found 48 of them living together. But some had gone to the W. Indies, others to England, and the rest feared they would all be made slaves. Mr. F. brought them to For a Bay, about a mile and a half from their former town†. Sixteen soon joined them from other parts.—Before Mr. F. left them, (in June 1791) they had cleared and planted about four English acres of land; and, on the whole, he thought they would support themselves, as before their dispersion, with very little labour. Of those 64 settlers, 39 were black men, 19 black women, and 6 white women. The men seemed determined to defend themselves, were warmly attached to the society who sent them out, but still in general turbulent and disorderly.

337. The climate is much the same, in point of heat, as that of the West Indies; but there is a very cool sea-breeze

Climate.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE C.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE D.

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on the higher grounds; and, in the mountainous parts, it is believed, the air is very temperate. For a Bay is less healthy than the first settlement; but it may be questioned whether a more healthful spot than either may not be selected.—The information of Mr. Falconbridge confirms the opinion of Lieut. Matthews, in his late publication, as well as that of geographers.—“I believe,” says Lieut. M. “that Sierra Leona, if properly cleared and cultivated, would be equal in salubrity, and superior in cultivation, to any of the Islands in the West Indies*.”

Population
and govern-
ment.

338. The population on the coast, appears to be inconsiderable, and is chiefly on the river side, where are several towns of scarcely more than fifty houses each. A chief, who is a principal slave-trader, generally presides in every town, subordinate to King Naimbanna, who lives on Robanna, a small island, between the English slave-factory at Bance island, and the French one at Gambia island. On Robanna are about fifty inhabitants, dependents of the king, who is of a peaceable disposition, and generally respected and obeyed. His territory is said to reach three days journey up the country, being much more populous inland; but neither the extent of his country, nor the nature of his jurisdiction, seem to be ascertained. His title is elective; but his eldest son, now in England (1791) would be likely to succeed; as the electing chiefs generally follow hereditary succession.

* Voy. to S. Leona, p. 21.—For some similar accounts, which I have collected of that part of the coast of Africa, see in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE E.

339. In religion and morals the natives are wholly uninstructed. Perpetual feuds seem to prevail between families, once hostile, and their descendants; and to carry each other off for slaves is a common retaliation*. They are generally pagans, without priests, worship or stated rites. They are polygamists; but their marriage is not indissoluble, and they give their children no education. They have some superstitions, chiefly about witchcraft; but in general have no religious prejudices, and appear extremely desirous of all European improvements. One of the chiefs sent his son to Bifagos, 300 miles off, to learn to read and write: for there is no schooling nearer than the Portuguese settlements. Mr. Elliot, King Naimbanna's black secretary, was educated in England, through the kindness of Mr. Granville Sharp, and has excited a great desire of education among the king's children.

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morals.Natives desir-
ous of im-
provement.

340. The king sent one son to France for instruction, another is under a Mandingo teacher, a Mahometan. The eldest, John Frederick, just before Mr. Falconbridge went out, had agreed to give 3 slaves to a Guinea captain for a passage to Jamaica, and thence to England, with a view of obtaining useful knowledge. But the king's confidence in Mr. F. induced him, notwithstanding strong remonstrances

K. Naimban-
na sends one
son to Fra.
and another
to Eng. for
education.

* "A vindictive spirit prevailed among most nations before the introduction of Christianity, or civilization. Dr. Robertson observes, that formerly in Scotland, whose present inhabitants are not behind any of their neighbours, in the practice of the Christian virtues, "quarrels were transmitted from father to son, and under the name of *deadly feuds*, subsisted for many generations, with unmitigated rancour." Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 40, edit. 1781. Though the Africans are vindictive to their enemies, Lieut. Matthews observes, that to their friends they are hospitable and kind, and that he received such treatment from them, in the time of the utmost distress, as he could have expected only from his best and nearest friends."

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against trusting him in the company's ship, to send him to London, with a letter requesting Mr. Gran. Sharp to direct his education. The king and his son ardently desire to rescue their country from it's ignorance and wretchedness; and to put an end to the slave-trade, the evils of which they deplore.—The following is an extract of King Naimbanna's letter to Mr. Sharp.

341. “ It has been told that these people (the free settlers from England) would in time drive me by force of arms, back in the country, and take my ports from me. I have received several accounts, from factories and captains of ships, against the settlement, which I took no notice of, as I conceived it was, in my opinion, spite or envy that they had against their living in the country; but have served them in any little request they asked of me, and have endeavoured to keep peace between them and my people, and also among themselves, by settling a great many disquiets between them. It was pleasure to do it, as I thought they would become useful to us all in this country, by teaching us things we know not; and common reason must tell, that the most ignorant people in the world would be glad to see their country made good, if they had idea how it might be done. And again I must let you know, that if there were no other reason for my wishing for the welfare of the settlement, I should do it, that there might be a stop put to the horrid depredations that are so often committed in this country, by all countries that come here to trade.” He then speaks of the carrying off some of his own relations for slaves, which we shall mention in another part of this report. He adds, “ as to the settlers, I could only wish that you will send me over one worthy of taking the care and command of the place, then you need not be afraid of their prosper-
 ing

ing in this country. Mr. Falconbridge during his time out here, I approved much. I ever was partial to the people of Great Britain, for which cause I have put up with a great deal of insults from them, more than I should from any other country.—My son, I hope you will take care of him, and let him have his own ways in nothing, but what you think right yourself.”

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342. Accordingly, the directors, in behalf of their constituents, undertook to have King Naimbanna's son, who was 24 years of age, educated at the company's expense. And they expressed great satisfaction in reflecting, that, if it should please God to prolong his life, he appeared likely, from his abilities and disposition, to be instrumental in introducing knowledge and civilization into Africa, and in cementing a confidential union between the colony and the natives.

343. The following general account of the produce of Sierra Leona, was submitted to the general court, &c*.

Cultivation
and trade.

344. Besides trading to Sierra Leona, for its own produce, it appears that a coasting trade, and, through the rivers, which are more numerous near it than any other portion of Africa, an inland trade may be established, in small vessels which may deposit the produce of other parts of Africa at Sierra Leona.

345. The slave-trade is decreasing very much at Sierra Leona, the price of slaves having risen to 25 or £30 ster.

State of the
slave-trade.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE F,—also Chap. V. viz. that on “Produce.”

each;

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Europeans
supply na-
tives with
powder and
spirits.

each; and not above 1000 are now annually exported from this river. They are chiefly brought down through a chain of factories, but not through the company's ground, and a great many are children. The kings and chiefs trade in slaves; but the principal traders are the French and English factors. It is customary to credit the black factors who either travel themselves, or deal with other factors still farther up, with European goods (chiefly gun-powder and spirits) and, if they fail in bringing the stipulated slaves, they are made slaves themselves; or, if they do not return in a certain time, any one of their families are taken. King Naimbanna's son mentions this as a prevailing custom. The sudden, vindictive temper of the natives seems also to promote this traffic. (See § 339 note.) If a domestic slave is impertinent, he is sold. The children of such are occasionally sold also. But, with rich traders, this is not common: for domestic slaves are distinct from those for trade, doing little, and being much indulged. King Naimbanna has 120 of these, who give him half their earnings, and are much attached to him. It is a point of honour never to forgive injuries; so that families will seize one another for slaves, as opportunity offers, for many generations. (See § 339 note.) This practice, however, though partly owing to revenge, may be chiefly ascribed to the want of efficient government. The offences, real or imputed, which are punished with slavery, are chiefly adultery and witchcraft.

Suicide of
slaves.

346. King Naimbanna's son gives a dreadful account of the anguish and despair of the slaves brought down to the coast. Unless secured, they will strike or stab any person who approaches them. It is common for them to cut their own throats, or otherwise destroy themselves. He is persuaded,

suaded; he has known above an hundred commit suicide, before they could be got into the ships.

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347. That kidnapping prevails at Sierra Leona, the directors have received undeniable proofs; and, if they had not, several circumstances clearly imply that the practice is not uncommon. The inhabitants, to a great distance up the country, all go armed with guns and large knives. The very women are armed with knives. When King Naimbanna's son has gone up to Scaffus, he dared not to go to rest, unless in a secure place, lest he should be surpris'd in his sleep. The people in the little towns on the river, leave the wood growing close to the houses, for refuge, in case of attack, as they told Mr. Falconbridge, who has seen the ruins of two towns which, among others, were broken up by Cleveland, a great mulatto slave-trader * who was educated at Liverpool.

348. Mr. Falconbridge one day heard a great shout, and immediately afterwards, the report of a gun. Fearing an attack, he instantly armed forty settlers, and hastened with them to the spot. He found three Mandingoes and two other men, tying the hands of a man, who was shrieking bitterly. He had been caught, in coming from an interior town, and the shout and firing were expressions of joy on the occasion. Mr. F. prudently restrained his feelings, which prompted him to rescue the poor captive; telling them that, if he had been one of his men, he should have put them all to the bayonet. Green, now in England (1791) was one of Mr. F's. armed party.

Kidnapping,

349. One of the settlers, straggling one day a little way from their town, was seized and sold by King Jammy, who

Instances.

* At the neighbouring I. of Bananas. C. B. W.

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lives two miles below. The settlers, in return, seized one of Jammy's people. A dispute ensued, in which one man was killed; but it was terminated, by King Naimbanna's mediation, each party giving up his prisoner. The pretext for this outrage, was a charge of adultery against another settler.

350. Signior Domingo, chief of the town opposite King Jammy's, suddenly sold one of his wives to a Frenchman, without any imputation. The young woman had called on Mrs. Falconbridge the day before, quite unsuspecting, and at her liberty.

351. King Naimbanna, in his letter to Mr. Sharp, after mentioning "the horrid depredations committed here by all the countries that come here to trade," says, "There are three distant relations of mine now in the West Indies, carried away by one Capt. Cox, captain of a Danish ship. Their names are Corpro, Banna and Morbour. These were taken out of my river Sierra Leona. I know not how to get them back. I never hurt or deprived any person of their right or property, or withheld from them what is their due. So I only let you know of these lads, that there will be an account taken of them, one day or another."

352. King Naimbanna's son relates, that a cousin of his father's, named Jack Rodney, was asked to pilot a slave-ship down from Bance island. He begged to be put on shore at Robanna; but the captain refused, saying he would land him at the river's mouth, instead of which, he carried him to Jamaica. As he spoke good English, he obtained several interviews with the governor of that island, and was recovered by a ship which brought a letter concerning him from Sierra Leona.

353. Barbier Borro, who married King Naimbanna's aunt, was seized by Harry, an infamous trader, and sold to Cleveland, the mulatto merchant before mentioned, and to whom Harry also sold his own father, Nankedabar. But the old man redeemed himself, by selling twenty-two of his domestics. The rest were so terrified, that they all ran away from him, and are now (1791) living among the mountains of Sierra Leona. Harry, after this, falling into debt, was sold for a slave himself, his father being unable or unwilling to redeem him.

354. The directors having stated the natural advantages of Sierra Leona, and its present miserable condition, observe that they have not merely to establish a commercial factory, but that, to introduce civilization, cultivation and a safe trade, the company must provide for the security of the persons and property of the colonists. The directors therefore resolved, that three or four vessels should sail at once, with such a number of people as will be able to protect and assist each other; and with goods for trade, and for the supply of the colony. Both reason and past experience show, that a feeble attempt to set up a colony, or a new trade, at such a place as Sierra Leona, is not so likely to prosper, as one on a larger scale, carrying out a strong body of people, and supported by a capital so large as may imply a determination to persist. Besides the general security arising from a respectable establishment, the directors are also of opinion that greater profits may be expected from a large, than a narrow undertaking.—The expense of protecting a factory, and of demurrage to ships trading about for scattered African produce, has been so heavy, that the great advantage

A respectable establishment resolved on, and why.

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of barter, has perhaps been not more than sufficient to repay the trader his high charges, and leave him the ordinary profit of trade. Hence appears the advantage of introducing a great degree of cultivation on one spot, by means of a great body of consumers, and of storing a large, rather than a small, quantity of goods (for the standing expense, in both cases, will be nearly equal) besides promoting quicker sales and returns, than have yet been made in the African trade.—To attain these objects, a considerable capital appears indispensable; on the whole, the directors think, not less than £100,000 sterling*.—They will now give some account of their late proceedings, of the plan they propose to adopt, and of the probable sources of profit†.

Council, &c.
fail for Sierra
Leona.

Laudable
caution in
choosing colo-
nists.

355. Five vessels, one of them armed with 20 guns, have failed for Sierra Leona, and two more are ready. On board these ships have failed a council for the government of the colony, and the management of the company's affairs; a number of artificers and other servants of the company; some soldiers, and a very few English settlers. The difficulty of at once accommodating them, unhealthiness before the land is cleared, the danger of discontent and irregularity, before the establishment could be formed; and the difficulty, in a press of other business, of examining, with due care, the characters of those who offered to go out as colonists, all

* This was extended to £150,000 ster. at the subsequent general court.

† “The directors, in their report of the 19th of Oct. 1791, had here inserted what information they could then give. But the following is now substituted as a more correct account of their proceedings, since it includes also the substance of a report read to the general court on the 8th of February 1791.”—Note in the 2d Edition of the Report, from which this abridgment is taken.

conspired

conspired to make the directors discourage any, but a few select English settlers, from going out at present. They have also mostly refused a passage to blacks, observing that those who lived in London were generally far from being regular and industrious*. One of the chief dangers to the colony might be the hasty intrusion of loose, idle or extravagant Europeans, impatient of subordination, and so poor as to make them burdensome to the company.—The difficulty indeed of finding Europeans who can work in Africa, in the sun, without injuring their health, has made the directors think it their duty to discourage labourers going from hence; and they trust to the natives, or the free American blacks who, as will be hereafter mentioned, are expected immediately to arrive.—Persons indeed of some property, and artificers, both of good character, will probably after the first rains, be considered as a valuable acquisition. But the directors with the proprietors and the public to consider it as a fundamental principle, that no persons shall go out in their ships, or reside, in their district, without the authority of the directors, who purpose always to examine their characters, as in the case of their own servants. The directors disclaim every idea, that the colony will be a receptacle for persons of doubtful character, and bad connections. On the maintenance of good order, very much depends the comfort of every respectable individual, whom they have induced to settle there, and indeed the whole well-being of the colony.

356. From the nature and extent of this undertaking, the expenses must be great. In procuring the Act of Parliament, extraordinary charges of the outset, provisions, ship-

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* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G.

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ping, buildings and establishment at home and abroad, for the first year, above £30,000 has been stated, as likely to be sunk.—The annual establishment consists of the salaries of the superintendant and council of Sierra Leona, of a militia, of a small standing military defence, the salaries of managers of plantations, the charges of commerce and cultivation, and of management at home, altogether amounting, on the present scale, to about £7000.

Æconomy
has been il-
lustrated.

357. Notwithstanding the magnitude of this sum, the directors have been studious of æconomy. For services abroad, they have given no more than their nature, and the necessary qualifications, demanded. In the home charges, they have been equally æconomical, confining them to things absolutely necessary. A house has been engaged as the seat of their business.—Such part of the subscribers' capital as was unemployed, has been safely placed out at interest.

Council to
promote e-
qual rights,
subordina-
tion, educa-
tion, religion
and tolera-
tion.

358. The superintendant and council, were particularly instructed to secure to all blacks and people of colour, at Sierra Leona, equal rights and equal treatment, in all respects, with whites. They will be tried by jury, as well as others, and the council are desired to allot to the blacks employments suited to their present abilities, and to afford them every opportunity of cultivating their talents. All practicable means of maintaining subordination are directed to be used; and the council are especially instructed to promote religion and morals, by supporting public worship and the due observance of the Sabbath, and by the instruction of the people, and the education of children. But no person is to be prevented from performing or attending religious worship in whatever place, time or manner he thinks fit, or from peaceably inculcating his own religious opinions.

359. Or-

359. Orders have been given, in chusing the scite of a town, to consider health as the first object: the first town to be called *Free-town*. Articles for building and cultivation have been sent out, besides the cargoes for prosecuting the company's commerce.

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Town named
Free-town.

360. It is easy to foresee that the first difficulties to be expected must arise from the transition of the colonists to a hot climate, clearing the country, want of accommodation, especially in the first rains, and the uncertainty of obtaining sufficient provisions on the spot. These difficulties are the greater from their coming together, and at the very outset. The directors have anxiously laboured to provide against them, not only as success must materially depend on surmounting them; but also as an act of justice to those who have embarked themselves and their families, on the faith of the company's protection. The expense of acting thus has been great, but it was indispensable; and the directors are persuaded that a small capital would not have carried the design, through it's first difficult and unproductive stages, leaving a sufficient fund for trade and cultivation. It is hoped that, by the late extension of capital, and what is farther to be expected, the undertaking may surmount even unforeseen difficulties; and that steady perseverance will fix a colony, and establish civilization, cultivation and commerce in Africa. The directors having reported to the general court of proprietors, that the whole capital of £150,000 was already subscribed, they were empowered to enlarge the subscriptions to any sum under £500,000, the capital limited by the act of incorporation.

Difficulties to
be expected.

Company's
capital.

361. For acquainting the princes and chiefs, and the natives in general, with the company's views, and to counter-act

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The compa-
ny's declara-
tion to the
natives.

act misrepresentations, the directors propose sending over this printed declaration.

362. "The Sierra Leona company, established by the British Parliament, do hereby declare, that they will send out goods from England, and take all kinds of African produce in exchange; that they will not deal in slaves themselves, nor allow of any slave-trade on their ground. They will always have a large store of Europeans goods for sale, and a force sufficient to defend it. They wish always to keep peace, and will make no war, unless they are first attacked; but they will suffer no one to be ill treated on their ground, nor to be seized and carried off into slavery; but will themselves punish their own people for any crimes fairly proved to have been committed by them. Black and white settlers will all be equally governed, and will have their persons and property secured, according to the laws of Great Britain. Schools for reading, writing, and accounts, will be set up by the company, who will be ready to receive and instruct the children of such natives as shall be willing to put them under their care *."

Their sources
of profit.

363. The probable sources of the company's profit appear to be—First, A land-revenue from quit-rents, and from a gradually increasing tax on the produce of their district, and which, though small at first, may be reasonably expected to become important.—Secondly, The profits from lands reserved by the company, to be either cultivated on their own account, or let or distributed hereafter.—Thirdly, Profits of the company's trade with Sierra Leona and its neighbourhood, and also with the interior parts of Africa.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE H.

364. From the foregoing account, it must appear, that the directors are endeavouring, in the outset, rather to lay the foundation of the happiness of Africa, and of future prosperity to the company, than to grasp at any premature advantages. But they trust that they are not too sanguine in looking forward to considerable and growing profits, resulting from, and connected with, the increasing prosperity of the country under their jurisdiction.

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P O S T S C R I P T.

365. Many of the proprietors, ballotted for on the 20th of Dec. 1790, having become members, merely from an idea of the benevolence of the undertaking, are still imperfectly acquainted with it's object. The directors therefore resolved to send each of them a copy of the foregoing report, adding a few particulars which, being drawn up with a different view, it did not contain, also an important article of intelligence which they could not then state with certainty.

Intention of
this P. S.

366. The leading object of the company was to substitute, for that disgraceful traffic which has too long subsisted, a fair commerce with Africa, and all the blessings which might be expected to attend it.—Considerable advantages appeared hereby likely to result to G. Britain; not only from our obtaining several commodities cheaper; but also from opening a market for British manufactures, to the increasing demands of which it is difficult to assign a limit.

The compa-
ny's object.

367. From this connection, Africa was likely to derive the still more important benefits of religion, morality and civilization. To accomplish these purposes, it was necessary for the company to possess a tract of land, as a repository

Benefits to
Africa.

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fitory for their goods, and which the Africans might cultivate in peace, secure from the ravages of the slave-trade. It had been ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the climate and soil of Africa were admirably suited to the growth of sugar, spices, coffee, cotton, indigo, rice, and every other species of tropical produce. The company proposed to instruct the natives to raise these articles, and to set them the example, by a spirited cultivation, on its own account: and the peninsula of Sierra Leona, one of the healthiest and most fertile spots on the coast, has been selected for the experiment*.

Trade and a
 sugar planta-
 tion ordered
 to be begun.

368. Directions have been given and small vessels dispatched, to the company's commercial agent, to push forward a trade, in a mode prescribed, in the present produce of Africa.—Measures are taken for cultivating, on the company's account, the most profitable tropical produce. In particular, a person of long experience in the West Indies, has been ordered to begin a sugar-plantation.

Mineralogist
 and botanist
 engaged.

369. The directors have besides engaged a mineralogist (Mr. A. Nordenkiöld) and a botanist, (Mr. A. Afzelius) both of great ability, to go out and explore the company's district, and the vicinity, for new articles of commerce†. And, in general, the proprietors may be assured that the directors will vigorously promote the advantage of their constituents; being persuaded that their interests and those of Africa are the same.

13 directors,
 capital,
 shares and
 votes.

370. The company's affairs are to be managed by thirteen directors, annually elected, for that purpose‡. The

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE E.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE I.

‡ See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE I.

company's capital, limited to £500,000, is divided into £50 each. Members are to have votes, according to the numbers of their shares, in a fixed proportion, and to a certain extent: every one possessing one or two share or shares, and no more, is entitled to one vote; of three or four shares, and no more, to two votes; of five, six or seven shares, and no more, to three votes; of eight or nine shares, and no more, to four votes; and of ten or more shares to five votes. A member may hold any number of shares; but no one is to be entitled to more than five votes.

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371. A true account of the debts, credits and capital of the company, signed by the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and five other Directors, is to be annually published, in the London gazette.

Accounts to
be published.

372. The act of incorporation authorizes the Company to make bye-laws; and it has been, in consequence, ordained that no Director shall be concerned in any contract relating to the Company's business; or, directly or indirectly, take any fee, present or reward; as also that no servant of the Company shall, directly or indirectly, take any fee, present or reward, other than such as shall have been duly established by the Directors.

Directors and
company's
servants to
take no fees,
&c.

373. Lastly, it may be proper to mention, what, but for some enquiries, on this head, the Directors would have deemed it almost superfluous to declare, that no member is answerable, farther than to the amount of his particular share or shares, for any debts the Company may contract.

Members an-
swerable on-
ly for their
shares.

374. The article of intelligence above referred to, (see § 365) respects a valuable accession of inhabitants the colony is about to receive. It consists of a number of free black families, a part of many who, at the close of the American war, were carried from the United States to Nova Scotia, in which province they were promised lands. The Direc-

Nova Scotia
blacks ex-
pected,

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tors can hardly speak, without reserve, on this subject. Suffice it to say, that the rigour of the climate, with the degradation and ill treatment these poor people experienced, after many of them had bled for Great Britain, inducing them to wish for a change of situation, they deputed a black man of their number, to come over and lay their case before the British Ministry; and, in consequence of his express solicitations, in which the Directors concurred, it was settled, that as many of them as chose, should be conveyed to Sierra Leona, at the expense of Government. The Directors are happy in declaring, from the accounts of a person, on whom they can entirely rely, that, under many disadvantages, they have proved themselves a sober, orderly set of people, from whose domestic habits, ability and disposition to labour for their families, much may be hoped*. —As these people were obviously to be preferred to Europeans, for a new African colony, the Directors have not yet much encouraged settlers to go from hence. But they have sent out the requisite artificers, and the members of their civil government, and of their other establishments.

which will
 make a large
 capital ne-
 cessary.

375. The Directors are daily more convinced, that a large capital is to be wished for, and that it may even be desirable to extend it far beyond the limits already suggested. It would be tedious to enumerate their reasons, and some of them have been before touched on; but it may not be amiss to intimate, that the approaching large and sudden population of the colony, by the Nova Scotia blacks, however ultimately advantageous, must greatly increase the Company's present disbursements; for, instead of providing for a trifling factory, they must, at once, incur the

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE L.

charges of planting a considerable colony, and form their establishments on a proportionable scale.

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376. The Directors trust, however, that the Proprietors will not be so far influenced by the desire of adding to their capital, as to admit into their body any persons, on whom they cannot rely for sincere attachment to the fundamental principles of the institution: nor can the Directors entertain an apprehension, lest the funds of the company should in any degree fall short, from the observance of this salutary caution. They cannot doubt but that a plan founded on such principles, and directed to such ends, will readily obtain, in an age and a country like ours, whatever support it may require. The number, already great, is daily increasing, of those who feel for the wrongs of Africa, and are eager to discover some mode of compensating to her for the injuries she has so long been sustaining at our hands.—Whatever may have been unjustly urged against any other measure that has been brought forward, under this impression, no one can object to the undertaking of the Sierra Leona company. Even considered in relation to the abolition of the slave-trade, its operation, though slow, is unquestionably sure. Though it may not at once cut up by the roots this inhuman traffic, it tends to divert the stream that waters it, and destroy the principles from which it derives its nutriment. Filled with these animating ideas, the Directors grudge not the great pains they have taken, in the execution of their important trust; nor will they at all relax in their exertions. It is their joy and their comfort to be thus employed: they are thankful for being allowed to be the instruments of the goodness of Providence, in the communication of such great and extensive benefits. Already they anticipate

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the happy effects of their labours. They look forward with delight to that joyful period, when, by the influence of the Company's measures, and the efficacy of its example, the continent of Africa shall have been rescued from her present state of darkness and misery, and shall exhibit a far different scene, of light and knowledge, and civilization and order, and peaceful industry, and domestic comfort.

The following is an Abridgment of the " Substance of the Report delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leona Company to the General Court of Proprietors, on the 27th of March 1794."

Lieut. Clarkson offers to conduct the free blacks from N. Scotia to S. Leona.

377. The Directors having concurred with the black man deputed by the Nova Scotian free negroes, in applying to His Majesty's Ministers for a passage for them, at the expense of Government, and having obtained a favourable answer (see § 374) they immediately availed themselves of the services of Lieut. Clarkson, who very handsomely offered to go to Nova Scotia, to superintend the collecting and carrying over such free blacks as might wish to migrate to Sierra Leona*. The terms on which the Company engaged to receive them into the colony were contained in a printed declaration, of which the following is a copy :

The company's declaration respecting them.

378. " The Sierra Leona Company, willing to receive into their colony such free blacks as are able to produce to their agents, Lieut. Clarkson, of His Majesty's navy, and Mr. Lawrence Hartthorn, of Halifax, or either of them, satisfactory testimonials of their character, (more particularly as to honesty, sobriety and industry) think it proper to notify, in an explicit manner, upon what terms they will receive at Sierra Leona, those who bring with them written certifi-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE M,

cates of approbation from either of the said agents, which certificate they are hereby respectively authorized to grant or withhold at discretion.—It is therefore declared by the Company, that every free black, upon producing such a certificate, shall have a grant of not less than twenty acres of land for himself, ten for his wife, and five for every child, upon such terms, and subject to such charges and obligations, with a view to the general prosperity of the Company, as shall hereafter be settled by the Company, in respect to the grants of land to be made by them to all settlers, whether black or white.—That for all stores and provisions, &c. supplied from the Company's warehouses, the Company shall receive an equitable compensation, according to fixed rules, extending to blacks and whites indiscriminately.—That the civil, military, personal, and commercial right and duties of blacks and whites shall be the same, and secured in the same manner.—And for the full assurance of personal protection from slavery to all such black settlers, the Company have subjoined a clause contained in the Act of Parliament, whereby they are incorporated, viz.

“ “ Provided also, and be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the said Company, either directly or indirectly, by itself or themselves, or by the agents or servants of the said Company, or otherwise, howsoever, to deal or traffic in the buying or selling of slaves, or in any manner whatever to have, hold, appropriate or employ any person or persons in a state of slavery in the service of the said Company.” ”

“ Given under our hands, London, the second day of August, 1791.

HENRY

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HENRY THORNTON, Chairman

PHIL. SANSOM, D. Chairman

JOSEPH HARDCASTLE

CHARLES MIDDLETON

THOMAS CLARKSON

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

VICKERIS TAYLOR

GRANVILLE SHARP

WILLIAM SANFORD

JOHN KINGSTON

THOMAS ELDRED

SAMUEL PARKER

GEORGE WOLFF

"N. B. For the convenience of those who are possessed of property which they cannot dispose of before their departure, the Company will authorize an agent, who, on receiving from any proprietor a sufficient power for that purpose, shall sell the same for his benefit, and remit the purchase money, through the hands of the Company, to such proprietor at Sierra Leona."

1196 Nova
Scotia blacks
willing to
embark. Cap-
to be raised
to £235,280.

379. The Nova Scotians willing to embark for Sierra Leona, proved, to the surprize of the Directors, to be no fewer than 1196. So large an accession of people could not but have important consequences, and give a new turn to the whole undertaking.—The directors first attended to their immediate wants; at the same time proposing to raise the capital to £235,280, a considerable part of it having been subscribed, after the intelligence from Nova Scotia was received.

Whites from
England.

380. The first vessel sent by the Company from England, reached S. Leona, Feb. 1792, and she was soon followed by two others. By these ships, there went out 40 Company's servants and artificers, upon salaries, 10 colonists, 16 soldiers, and above 30 women and children—all whites.

1131 Nova
Scotians ar-
rive at S. Le-
ona. Mortal-
ity on board.

381. In March 1792, 16 vessels arrived at S. Leona from N. Scotia, with 1131 blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, contracted in Halifax, of which 65 had died on the passage. Mr. Clarkson, whose humanity had

had led him to embark on board the hospital ship, had also narrowly escaped with his life, from a violent attack of the same disorder. He was extremely weak and ill, when he landed at S. Leona, and he recovered very slowly.

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382. After a delay of two or three weeks, arising from a palaver (or council) of the natives, which ended favourably, the spot where the blacks, first sent from London, had settled, was thought the best for the intended colony. In a few weeks more, the site of the town was cleared by the N. Scotians, and the surveyor having marked out the streets, each began to build for himself a temporary hut, of the country materials; but *some were floored* with deals from hence (see § 83 *et seq.*) To this work they applied most eagerly, fearing that they should be overtaken by the rains, which might be expected, in less than two months. The town, agreeable to instruction, was named FREE-TOWN.

N. Scotians
clear land,
&c.

383. The Directors, anxious to shelter the colonists from the first rains, thought it their duty to buy and send out the ship York, of 850 tons, which, being fitted up for their accommodation, was loaded with frames of houses, building materials and various stores. They considered, that, besides carrying out a large cargo, she might accommodate the sick, and those whose houses were unfinished, and might afterwards serve as a store. Having been driven back by a storm, she arrived too late to be of much use in the sickly season: but she was very useful afterwards, as a store and floating factory, in loading and unloading other vessels, and by accommodating many servants of the Company.

House frames
&c. sent out.

384. The precautions of the Directors, and the early and liberal supplies they sent out, unhappily did not prevent a con-

Mortality.
Bad accom-
modation.

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a considerable mortality, in the first rains. They began in the third week of May; many houses, including the storehouse, were unfinished; the Company's servants, especially the lower ones, and the soldiers were accommodated extremely ill; and the English colonists were least of all prepared for the rainy season. Perhaps the high health which generally prevailed before the rains, by creating too much confidence in the climate, especially among the Europeans, might cause some slackness in the preparations.

Land could
not be allot-
ted.

385. From this general view of the slow progress of the colony, it is obvious that no attempt could yet have been made to mark out the promised lots of land, building having engrossed nearly the whole attention both of the Nova Scotians, and of the Company's servants; nor had any trade worth notice been yet begun; though, by the advice of the Company's commercial agent, some goods for trade had been sent out by the very first ships.

Governor
and council
disagree.

386. Antecedent to this period, and during the first three or four important months, a misunderstanding had prevailed between the governor and council; and the subsequent calamity was partly owing to their inefficiency. Eight of the principal servants had been nominated a council, and the inferior officers had been enjoined to pay the same obedience to their orders, which they owed to the Court of Directors. The office of governor having become vacant, Mr. Clarkson, who had given great satisfaction by his conduct in N. Scotia, was requested to fill the situation, till a successor should be appointed, and he had the casting vote in the council.

Consequent
disorders. Mr
Clarkson ap-
pointed sole
governor.

387. Alarmed by the want of order and energy, betrayed even by the first accounts, the Directors adopted the temporary expedient of throwing the whole responsibility on Mr. Clarkson,

Mr. Clarkson, permitting him to assume the whole power. Whether they erred, in dividing the authority among so many as eight persons, or, whether the blame lay with the governor and council, it is not perhaps material now to canvas. The Directors acquit the acting counsellors of wilful neglect, except one, not originally appointed by them, but retained, on account of his knowledge of the country. His intoxication, idleness and irregularity, with the inaccuracy of his information, were among the causes of the first colonial and commercial difficulties. To the neglect of this person (whom indeed, it was the duty of the governor and council to control) it was chiefly owing, that the colony was not supplied with fresh provisions, before the sickly season. The ships were not employed for this purpose, as was directed; and the original instructions to the governor and council, drawn up by the Directors and read to the Proprietors, received little or no consideration, till long after this period. Confusion in the accounts, in the stores, in the government, in the information sent home, and in every operation, aggravated the distress of the sickly season, and the consequent mortality.

388. The Directors, without personal views, think it their duty to declare their impartial opinion of the causes of the distresses and difficulties of the colony, which having been at their height in the first rainy season, they think it proper to describe particularly, both the antecedent state of things and this calamitous period itself. The contrast between the first and second rainy season, will by no means discredit the undertaking.

389. The sickness was the most severe at the beginning of the rains. About 800 blacks were laid up at one time, and very few passed through the season without indisposition.

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Sickness, and
concomitant
distress, and
confusion.

F

The

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The disorder was the fever common to hot climates. It affected, in different degrees, the whites and blacks, almost indiscriminately; but proved much the most fatal to the former, especially to those on shore, whose mortality was once such as might have excited fears, about the practicability of the whole undertaking, in persons unacquainted with the circumstances.—In the height of the sickness, all the medical men, but one, were laid up; so that a few chief servants only could be properly attended. The store-keepers, living in a damp ware-house, were the first victims; and hence, confusion in delivering the stores. No retail-shop had yet been set up, nor any money-medium established*. The doors of the store-house were continually crowded; but neither food nor physic, though the Directors had sent a sufficiency of both, were properly distributed. The huts were very small, many damp, and a few unfinished†. Depression of spirits generally prevailed, produced a total helplessness, in some cases, and greatly aggravated the disorder in all. (See § 91.)—Without anticipating the subject of health, it may be observed here, that almost half the whites living on shore, and nearly one tenth of the N. Scotian blacks, were carried off, in this dreadful season.

The distressed Bulama colonists hospitably, but not permanently, received, at S. Leona—the reasons.

390. While the colony was just emerging from this distress, a ship arrived from Bulama, with a great number of passengers, many of them extremely sick, who desired to be received into the colony. The Directors had declined proposals made to them, in England, by many persons who went to Bulama. For they conceived, that success materially de-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE N.

† and, I apprehend, situated on the ground, without any elevation. See § 84. C. B. W.

pended

pended on excluding all Europeans, those excepted who, being in the pay of the Company, were entirely subject to them. They feared that even a few independent colonists, of an *improper cast*, might endanger the colony, by corrupting the people, by disobeying government, and by exciting discontent; and that, if, for such causes, they should be excluded from the colony, they might resort (especially if they had left *debts* in England) to improper courses among the natives, perhaps turning slave-traders at last.—By such considerations, the Directors had been determined to exclude, for the present, all Europeans, except a very few. They had also enquired, very strictly, into the character and circumstances of their servants, letting none go to S. Leona who left debts in England. But the principle of these important rules must have been given up, if the Bulama people, unknown as they were to the S. Leona Company, should be received there. The Directors had previously instructed the Governor and Council, to give every assistance to the Bulama colony; but, if they should leave Bulama, and come to S. Leona, not to allow them permanently to settle there. The government of S. Leona accordingly declined receiving the passengers from Bulama into the colony; but, after accommodating the sick for a short time, on shore, they supplied them with a few necessaries, and with a vessel to assist in bringing them to England, as their own ship, the *Calypso*, was extremely crowded*.

391. And here it may be proper to mention that if either the Bulama Company, or any other similar institution, should hereafter attempt to form colonies in Africa, with a view to civilization, the Directors will gladly encourage such under-

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Company
will assist in
all attempts
to civilize
Africa.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE O.

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ONA.Difficulties
in distribut-
ing land; tho'
Directors ea-
ger to effect
it.

takings, as far as they can, without too much expence, and fresh hazard to their own colony; and they are well persuaded that the Proprietors, superior to every narrow jealousy, and having the general benefit of Africa at heart, agree with them in this sentiment.

392. The chief object of the S. Leona government, after the sickness abated, was the distribution of the lands, which they found more difficult than was expected. They could not, at once, give each individual his lot of 20 acres, the lands on the water-side, or within a reasonable distance of Freetown, being insufficient. Even the labour of cutting paths, and measuring so large a tract, would have been too great for one season. The N. Scotians were so sensible of this, that they agreed to accept 4 acre lots for the present, of which, however, they were very eager to have immediate possession. The Directors, and the colonial government, were not less earnest than they, to effect this work. They were bound by the spirit of the promises made in N. Scotia; urged by the importunities of the colonists; and influenced by œconomy, to attempt a speedy distribution of the land; since each colonist either received provisions, till his lot of ground was given him, or else was employed under the Company, when perhaps there was no great call for his services.

Provisions
allowed.

393. The order of the Directors, respecting provisions, extended only to an allowance for a specified time, for the N. Scotians, the Company's servants, and the few English colonists; namely, 3 months full allowance, equal to the common army rations, and 3 months half allowance. But the government, conceiving that the motives for this gratuity, and the equity, and even necessity, of the case, required an extension of it, continued it to those who were kept out of their 4
acre

acre lots, and were not employed by the Company. The Directors, though aware of this great expense, on considering the circumstances, could not refuse their acquiescence.

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4 acre lots
distributed.

394. The importance of a speedy allotment of the lands was felt so strongly, that the Company's surveyor of buildings (their land-surveyor having returned to England, from ill health) spiritedly attempted the work, with a party of Nova Scotians, even before the rains were over; but was repeatedly stopped by sickness. Almost all the next dry season was consumed in distributing the four acre lots; though very great exertions were made, by a large party.

395. The Directors are sorry that the land near the town has proved not so good as they had been led, by every information, to expect. Lieut. Matthews's description is far more favourable than observation on *that spot* justifies. To this serious disappointment, may be ascribed, many difficulties and many unexpected charges. As the air, water and landing-place at Freetown, are certainly the best which can be found, it can hardly fail to be the chief place of trade; though other parts, at a moderate distance, especially on the the opposite shore, will be the best for cultivation.

Lands on
Bullom shore
better than
near town.

396. The improvement of the landing-place, the erecting of a church, a hospital, warehouses and other buildings, of which the frames went from hence, the fencing and cultivating of a garden of experiment, and some measures for defence, have also constantly occupied a body of the N. Scotians, at a very great expense. No fort, however, has been thought necessary.

Public build-
ings, &c.

397. In the second dry season, the colony seems to have been improving, in all respects. The government was altered, a council of three having been substituted, by the Directors, for the council of eight; and two gentlemen,

Colony im-
proves. New
council.

(Mr.

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(Mr. Dawes and Mr. Watt*) the one used to a new colony, the other to a tropical climate, were sent out as counsellors. From this time, minutes of council, and a journal of every material transaction, were kept, and copies sent to England; as were also periodical reports of the progress of each principal servant, in his department, with the remarks of the government thereon. An indent was sent home, of all the European goods likely to be wanted, for the year, in the colony: a more correct correspondence was commenced, and the Court's original instructions, and their subsequent, were now, for the first time, fully answered. When the intelligence began to be regularly sent home, internal order appears to have advanced materially. New plans of police were formed; more general harmony began to prevail; some pains were taken to settle the Company's confused accounts; and more order, of every kind, was introduced. The public works also advanced; a plan was formed for rebuilding the town, on a larger scale; and the natives often flocked to the colony, viewing its improvements with increasing satisfaction. (See plate II.)

Colony suffers by war. N. Scotians displeased; but satisfied again.

398. The breaking out of the war, indeed, damped the hopes, and interrupted the progress, of the colony. An embargo very unseasonably delayed some of the Company's ships. The prohibition to send out provisions, except in armed ships, under convoy †, caused a temporary want of flour, which excited great murmurs, and the colonial government feared a sufficiency of rice could not be got. The advanced price of the Company's goods, from the war, aggravating the discontent, the N. Scotians loudly objected to that part of the

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE P.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Q.

plan for rebuilding the town, which reserved some ground near the shore, for public use. This last point was settled, after some concession, on the part of the Company. But the secret cause of much of this dissatisfaction, was the conduct of one of the Company's servants who, on Mr. Clarkson's departure, prejudiced many of the labourers under him, against the succeeding government. They combined, by leaving their work, to raise the price of labour, already very high; but, the government remaining firm, they returned, in a week after, to their work, and their instigator, who had also been very disrespectful to the government, having come to England, was dismissed the service.—To satisfy the colonists, it was agreed, that two delegates from the N. Scotians, should be sent to England, to lay their complaints before the Court of Directors, a measure which appears to have had the expected good effect; for the colony has since been tranquil, and has improved, in every respect.

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ONA.

399. Many occurrences of the second season, evinced the practicability of introducing cultivation, trade and civilization into Africa; though the slave-trade, and the opposing influence of these engaged in it, almost every where impeded, more or less, the Company's views.—One of the counsellor's, and another servant of the Company made a voyage southward to the Island of Bananas, Camarancas river and Plantain Island, and happily removed the prejudices, which some of the chiefs had imbibed, from misrepresentations of the Company's views. The information they gained falls under another head; as does also the progress of the Company's plantation, worked by free labourers, on the side of the river opposite Freetown, together with the benefits.

Slave-trade
obstructs co-
lony. Chiefs
undecided.

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ONA.

Death of Mr.
Nordenki-
old, the mi-
neralogist.

benefits resulting from the labours of Mr. A. Afzelius, the Company's botanist.

400. The Directors are sorry to mention, that the exertions of their mineralogist, Mr. Nordenkiold, who was promising himself great success, were suddenly terminated by a misfortune, which caused his death. His impatience to pursue his object led him, contrary to the opinion of the governor and council, to attempt an incursion into the interior, before the rains were over. He had goods, worth 2 or £900, with which he proposed to trade and buy necessaries, and was attended by one or two free blacks. But, shortly after, he was robbed, in a part of the country where this danger might have been apprehended. On his return to S. Leona, he was too much exhausted by a fever, to give any distinct account of his misfortune and hardships, and he died in a few days*.—Many other interesting circumstances have happened, the recital of which would be too tedious; but would exemplify the unexpected difficulties and dangers to which a new colony is subject; would explain the causes of the large expenditure, and evince the growing strength of the colony, now abler to surmount accidents, than in it's earlier infancy.

K. Naimban-
na's son dies
2 days after
his arrival at
S. Leona,
from Lon-
don.

401. One event deserves to be particularized; the arrival at S. Leona of the late King Naimbanna's son, who had come to England for education, and his death two days after. His character and improvement are interesting, in relation to the civilization of Africa. His father died a few months after the institution of the colony, to which he was the firmest friend, and his death occasioned his son's return. It is not probable, that, if the son had lived, he would have

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE R.

been

been chosen king by the electing chiefs; for they generally prefer some person of advanced age, to all the young relations of the deceased. Yet many circumstances justified the hope, that he would have rendered important services to the Company, in his native country. The Directors, therefore, consider the death of so enlightened an African, and so sincere a friend to the Company, as one of the instances wherein Providence has been pleased to disappoint their immediate hopes. From the groundless suggestion of a black, his countrymen suspected that he had been poisoned, by a servant of the Company, on ship-board. This caused a long palaver, by which, though it ended favourably, some alarm was excited, and the very unreasonable expense of entertaining a concourse of natives, was necessarily incurred.

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402. In this account, now brought down to the commencement of the second rains, trade has been omitted, as being the subject of a distinct head. The establishment of the colony, involving the happiness of above 1000 persons, as well as the future interests of the Company, has been the chief object. In the second dry season, however, the government spiritedly followed up the orders sent to them respecting commerce (see § 116, 165 and 179, 2d Class 1st Division.)

403. But here the Directors have to mention a very late calamity, likely to incommode the colony, and interrupt the trade; but chiefly to be lamented, for the pecuniary loss, namely, the burning of the York store-ship, with the goods on board of her. These were partly the Harpy's cargo, and partly African produce, valued at £4000, collected by the Company's small vessels, up and down the coast. The fire happened at nine in the morning, and spread rapidly; but neither natives nor colonists could be induced to

The ship
York burnt.

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ONA.

Colony
healthy, in
the second
rains.

Petition of
the Nova
Scotians.

approach the vessel, being obstinate in the belief, that she contained a large quantity of gun-powder. The whole loss of ship and cargo is calculated at above £15,000 all uninsured; for, under all the circumstances, insurance, to any great extent, would not have been easy. The same dispatches (dated 26th Dec. 1793) which mention this fire, the collection of the African produce, and the arrival of the goods, which were burnt, brought also very good accounts of the colony, especially respecting health, up to the end of the second rains. In the period corresponding to that of the preceding year, in which one-tenth of the blacks, and nearly half the whites had died, no great mortality happened; and yet the rains in the last season were unusually heavy, and the mortality in the neighbouring factories uncommonly great. Contrary also to the first year's experience, the residents on shore were healthier than those on ship-board. Hence the Directors may venture to infer, that the colony may now be fairly considered as progressively improving.

404. The delegates from the N. Scotians already mentioned, presented, to the Court of Directors, a petition, purporting to be the sense of their body, couched in strong terms, which, however, there is reason to think, were not thoroughly approved by many of them; and the petition had never been shown to the governor and council. They complained chiefly of the high price of the Company's goods; the low wages for labour; the nonfulfilment of promises stated to have been made them by Mr. Clarkson, and many trifling instances of supposed misconduct in the succeeding governor. After fully considering the petition, and hearing the evidence of the delegates, the Court of Directors came to the following Resolution, which was communicated to them:

405. "Re-

“Resolved,

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Resol. of the
Directors
thereon.

405. “That the Court consider the petition of the Nova Scotians, as hasty, and the facts therein mentioned, as chiefly founded on mistake and misinformation.—That it appears to have been drawn up and agreed to at a time when the unfortunate delay of the Company’s ships, through the breaking out of the war, had occasioned some temporary distress and dissatisfaction, which some designing person or persons, then in the colony, may have contributed to increase.—The Court are of opinion, therefore, that, through the arrival of the large supplies, lately sent from hence, and the continued care and attention of the governor and council to the interests of the colony, every material cause of dissatisfaction will have ceased before the arrival of these resolutions at Sierra Leona. As it is undoubtedly the interest of the colonists, so the Directors trust, it will also be their general wish, to promote harmony, and to discountenance all factious attempts to discredit the government of Sierra Leona, since, on their due obedience to government, under the blessing of Providence, their happiness, their liberty, and perhaps their very lives, depend. It is on this ground that the Directors earnestly exhort the general body of Nova Scotians, both as freemen and as Christians, to discourage all unreasonable discontent, to pay respect and obedience to the government, and if, contrary to the Directors’ expectations, any actual grievances should exist at the time of receiving this resolution, the Court of Directors recommend it to the Nova Scotians, temperately to represent the case to the governor and council. But if they should hereafter conceive it to be necessary to prefer their complaints hither, that they will, in such case, previously acquaint the governor and council with the purport of them, in order that the Court may receive their sentiments

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ONA.
Consequent
remon-
strance.

thereupon, and may thus have the whole of the subject at once before them."

406. The delegates, on the above resolution, made a very hasty remonstrance, which indicated the same vehemence and disrespect to the Court of Directors, which had occasionally been shown to the government at Sierra Leona. After some more interviews with the Directors, during a farther detention of about two months, in which they received a small allowance for subsistence, they set sail, apparently very well disposed to the Company.

407. The preceding facts, especially the last, may have suggested to the proprietors the difficulty the Directors have had, to satisfy the N. Scotians, on the one hand, and to avoid profuse expense, on the other. Indeed such have been the trouble and expense caused by the N. Scotians, that the general expediency of introducing them into the colony, may have been doubted. It seems necessary, therefore, to state the advantages and disadvantages of that measure.

Disadvan-
tages of re-
ceiving the
N. Scotians.

408. The charge of it has certainly been very great; for the Company's establishment has been unavoidably enlarged, in proportion to the number of colonists; the ships have been necessarily employed for their use; the grant of provisions may be estimated at £20,000; expense has been incurred in distributing their lands; and loss, by employing more of them than were always wanted, and that at wages which, though complained of, were at least double those given to the natives, who yet are nearly equal to the N. Scotians at common labour, though incapable of some necessary kinds of work at which the N. Scotians are tolerably expert.—Of these, which are the principal charges, no just estimate could be previously formed; not only from the nature of them, but from the unexpected num-

number of N. Scotians who embarked, and the delays and disappointments which followed. When the Directors invited these colonists, they unavoidably acted on probabilities: though aware of incalculable circumstances, their prompt decision was indispensable. They thought it prudent to make the promises before stated; and, on the faith of which, the N. Scotians have crossed the seas. But the Directors fairly avow, that, besides a literal compliance with them, they consider themselves morally obliged not to let the colonists suffer any extremities, which the Company can relieve, till they can derive support from their lands, or from some other means. Hence they have never hesitated to send out such goods, as they had reason to believe strictly necessary; leaving it to the discretion of the government to credit the colonists with such necessaries.—Had the land round Freetown been as fruitful as was described, and had the N. Scotians been as manageable and industrious as they were represented, and, for some time, appeared to be, the charges attending them would certainly have been less, and the advantages greater.

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SIERRA LE-
ONA.

409. Yet, under every difficulty and disappointment, the advantages of the migration of this body of colonists have been important; but more so to themselves, and to Africa, than to the proprietors. A quicker improvement in point of health, from the extension of the town, and of cultivation; a greater facility in inducing valuable men to go out; a farther extension of the Company's reputation in Africa, and a quicker progress in civilization; but, above all, a far greater security against hostile attacks—all these advantages evidently belong to a large, rather than a small, undertaking: and, if there be no danger that the funds, which may properly be destined to the establishment of the colo-

Advantages.

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ONA.

colony, should be prematurely exhausted, it can scarcely be denied, that so powerful a body of colonists, must afford a superior prospect of ultimate success.

410. In discharging their important trust, the Directors have endeavoured to practise that œconomy which is connected with sound policy, and substantial justice,—to the Proprietors; to their servants; and to the colonists.

Statement of
funds and ex-
penses.

411. In the following statement, though the sum total of the expenses of the colony can hardly fail to be tolerably correct, yet many particulars, from the causes stated, are merely taken from estimate.

EXPENSES incurred in establishing the COLONY.

Charges antecedent to the incorporation of the Company, consist- ing chiefly of two small vessels, sent to explore the country.	£. 1200	
Charges of incorporation	650	1850

Charges of home establishment, viz.

Furniture and repairs of the S. Leona House	450	
Housekeeper's salary, coals, candles, rent, and taxes, &c. for about two years, to Christmas 1793.	745	
Printing, advertising, postage, books, &c. for about 2 years, to ditto	850	
Officers and clerks salaries to ditto	1480	
Educating and clothing natives sent to England, and their passages, about . . .	3525	500

Charges of the establishment at S. Leona, viz.

Temporary allowance of provisions to all the Company's servants, and expense of the table of the governor, botanist and mineralo- gist, &c. estimated at	3250	
Passage of servants and artificers out and home, estimated at	5000	
Their travelling expenses and other charges in England	380	
Amount of salaries to S. Leona servants, for about two years, to Christmas 1793	7500	16130
		22005
		Incidental

	£.	£.	C H A P. XI.
Brought forward	...	22005	
Incidental expenses in the colony, viz.			
Medicines, surgical instruments, books and stationery, &c.	- -	1630	} SIERRA LE- ONA.
Equipment of botanist and mineralogist,	- - -	400	
Presents to chiefs, expenses of palavers, &c.	- - -	1500	
		<u>3530</u>	
Outfit and Maintenance of SHIPPING employed for the protection, and accommodation of the colony, and in collecting provisions, &c. about	-	17840	
Provisions to the colonists, before they were put into possession of their lands, estimated at	- - -	20000	
Losses and gratuities in England, consisting chiefly of sums advanced to the Company's servants, which were not recovered, through their dying or retiring from the service, and of gratuities paid according to the terms of the Company's engagement, to the near relations of the deceased *	- -	1245	
SUPPOSED EXPENSE in ESTABLISHING the COLONY	-	<u>64620</u>	
To which add the loss of the ship York, estimated at	- -		
And other losses by robbery, damage through exposure to the climate, and articles that proved unserviceable	- - -	15000 3000	
		<u>18000</u>	
SUPPOSED EXPENSE of ESTABLISHING the COLONY, the LOSS INCLUDED	- - - - -	<u>£. 82620</u>	

The CAPITAL STOCK of the Company is	£. 235280
The interest received thereon is	<u>7619</u>
Making together	242899
From which, if the above sum of	<u>82620</u> be taken,

There remains £. 160279, to be accounted for, which is done in the following manner:

DEAD STOCK at S. LEONA, which, though stated as part of the remaining effects of the Company, is not to be considered as convertible into money, nor as bearing a value equal to its cost, consisting of buildings, lands, &c. at S. Leona.

Buildings belonging to the Company, viz.

Cost, at S. Leona, of a church, warehouse, range of shops, two hospitals, two dwelling-houses, and four canvas houses, sent from England, about	£. 3930
Cost, at S. Leona, of materials for finishing the buildings, viz. bricks, deals, scantlings, &c. about	<u>4500</u>
	8430

* I presume, that no salary has been paid to the botanist, or to the mineralogist, in his life time; nor has a single farthing, as far as I have understood, been yet given to the *discreet* widow and orphans of the latter; though he may be said, with some propriety, to have sacrificed his valuable life in the Company's service. See § 400 and the note on it. C. B. W.

C H A P.		Brought forward	8430
XI.	Putting together the buildings sent out, and erection of other build-		
SIERRA LE-	ings for the Company's servants, about		3300
ONA.	Improving the landing place, making a wharf, roads, and fundry		
	public works, about		3000
	A large crane, fire engines, &c.		705
	Furniture for the governor, physician, and chaplain		500
			<u>15935</u>

Lands, viz.

Purchase of lands at S. Leona, and cultivation on the Company's account	1750
Allotment of lands to the N. Scotians, on which a rent is reserved	
to the Company, about	2500
	<u>4250</u>

Articles for defence, viz.

Arms, ammunition, and other articles	2500
Labour and construction of works of defence	2000
	about <u>4500</u>
Total Dead Stock	<u>£. 24685</u>

Capital in Trade, viz.

African produce in England, estimated at	1000
Cargoes of three vessels now on their passage out	£. 16900
Deduct for goods not paid for	10400
Goods at S. Leona, or on board vessels on the coast	7900
Value of dollars in the colony, about	1000
Debts due from the colonists to the Company, much the greater	
part of which is expected to be recovered, about	2000
Present estimated value of the Company's shipping	9000
Total capital now invested in trade	<u>27400</u>

Property belonging to the Company placed at interest, &c. viz.

	£. s. d.
Placed at interest in the Royal Bank of	
Scotland	39000 0 0
At Messrs. Barnett and Co's the bankers, &c.	151 10 9
	<u>39151 10 9</u>
Invested in 4 per cent consols. Bank Ann.	15140 0 0
In India bills and bonds	23168 12 8
In Navy and victualling bills	30733 16 7
	<u>69042 9 3</u>
Total property at interest and in public securities	<u>108194</u>
Total remaining effects of the Company, the dead stock at S. Leona	
included	<u>£. 162279</u>

412. Such is the present state of the Company's funds, and of the expenses, which last, certainly very far exceed every expectation, owing to the above-mentioned unforeseen causes, which it may be proper to recapitulate, and bring into one point of view.—1st. The inefficiency of the original council, which occasioned great irregularity, and; it is feared, much prodigality and waste.—2. The fatal sickness of the first rains, which suspended industry and greatly aggravated expense.—3. The badness of the soil near the town, which, by denying present support, has thrown that expense on the Company.—4. The burning of the York.—5. The war, which has rendered additional protection necessary; has raised the cost of European goods; increased the expense of living at S. Leona; prevented the expected decrease in the price of labour; and enhanced the charge of necessary public works. To the war are also to be ascribed the long and expensive detention of some of the vessels; the difficulty of procuring, and the increased expense of maintaining and paying, sailors; and the uncertainty of intelligence caused by the war has been not only a pecuniary disadvantage, but a very material inconvenience.

C H A P.
XI.
SIERRA LE-
ONA.
Expenses
great, and
why;

413. The charge of £. 20,000 for provisions, and that of £. 17,840 for maintenance of Company's ships, in the protection and use of the colony, have greatly exceeded expectation. But the former has now entirely, and the latter very nearly, ceased. The Directors are also using their best endeavours to confine all the expenses to the trade, cultivation, and annual establishment of the Company; an object which, they trust, is nearly effected; for, while the chief difficulties of the colony are subsiding, the Company's burden is ceasing.

but are lessening.

414. On reviewing the past; the Directors own that some
H things,

C H A P.
XI.

SIERRA LE-
ONA.
Colonization
arduous.

things, had they been more experienced, might have been conducted more frugally and advantageously. But many of the occurrences, no human wisdom could have foreseen or controlled; and they attribute many deliverances of the colony, not to the care of those whom the Proprietors have set over it, but to that Providence alone, which has protected it. From past experience, they may look forward to farther difficulties, impossible to be provided against; for colonization has, in general, been far more arduous, hazardous and expensive, than the undertakers at first believed. (See § 276 *et seq.* and 303 *et seq.*) The Directors, therefore, indulge no expectations of rapid, uninterrupted success; yet, from the gradual advances of the colony, in the midst of difficulties, they are not without such hopes of its establishment and future prosperity, as encourage them steadily and cheerfully to persevere; but they are conscious, that, after all possible attention, the event is at the supreme disposal of Him who can suspend, obstruct or frustrate the best schemes of men, or can crown them with the most signal success.

Mortality
stated.

415. The causes of the mortality at S. Leona have been already mentioned. (See § 384, 389.) The following are some of the particulars respecting it.—The Company's upper servants, who went out the first year, were 26, including eight counsellors, a chaplain, several medical men, a secretary, (Mr. J. Strand *) an accountant and others, all well accommodated. Of this class, only four have died, and the deaths of only two can be properly charged to the climate.—Of lower servants, such as clerks, overseers, artificers,

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE S.

&c. there went out 59, including their families. Many of them were often exposed to the rains; several were intemperate; they were in general ill lodged; and, from the sickness of the surgeons, they could have but little medical attendance: hence no less than 29 died.—Of settlers, including their families, there went out 18, and no fewer than 13 died. Some of them were very intemperate, and their situation was, in all respects, worse than the last class.—Of soldiers 16 went out, almost all intemperate, and, circumstanced as they were, in other respects, it is not surprizing that 11 should have died.—In all, 119 persons went out, the first year, of whom 57 died.—The soldiers and white colonists, with their families, having either died or returned home, the whites, in the second year, were reduced to about 40, of whom only 4 or 5 have died.—The deaths in the Company's ships are not here included; for they were not always at S. Leona; nor has any compleat return on this subject been made. But, from information received from most of the ships, between 20 and 30 may have died, on board them all. The seamen employed have seldom exceeded 140 or 150; so that their mortality may have been 7 or 8 per cent per annum*.

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SIERRA LE-
ONA.

416. The N. Scotians, who arrived at S. Leona in 1792, were 1131, many of them lingering under the remains of a fever, which had carried off a few of their original number in N. Scotia, and 65 more on the passage. Of 1131 landed, 40 died in a few weeks after, from the same fever. The rest then became very healthy, and so continued till the almost

That of the
N. Scotians.

* From evidence of the substance of the muster-rolls of the Liverpool and Bristol slave-ships, inserted in the Report of His Majesty's Privy Council, it appears that of 4080 seamen, who formed the crews of 112 ships, 858, or 21 per cent, died in one voyage.—See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE T.

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XI.

SIERRA LE-
ONA.

Physician's
report.

universal sickness of the first rains, when 98 of them died. —In the three most unhealthful months of the second rainy season, for the account extends not to the whole year, their deaths did not exceed five.

417. The Company's physician states, in his report of the 14th Oct. 1793, That though the sickness and mortality this year have been comparatively small; yet that the rainy months have been, as usual, more sickly than all the preceding; that the N. Scotians have experienced, in the rains, considerable indisposition, but generally with trifling complaints; that they now seem so accustomed to the climate, that there is little reason to fear any great mortality among them; that there are not many whose health is precarious; that few villages, perhaps in England, can show more fine children; that, in this period, fevers have been pretty frequent among the whites; but that the sick list is on the decrease, and it is hoped they will all recover; and that the want of flour has, this year, been seriously felt by the healthy, much more by the sick.—The dispatches of the 26th Dec. give a much more favourable bill of health, and state the mortality to be as before-mentioned.

Mortality
not charge-
able on the
Directors.

418. The greatest mortality having been among the white settlers, the soldiers, and the lower servants and artificers, the Directors reflect with satisfaction, that, instead of urging any of these to go out, they refused many of each class, whom they were importuned to send, and were scarcely prevailed on to carry out those who went—a reluctance which gave umbrage to several who were eager to become African colonists, and partly, perhaps, gave rise to the Bula-ma Company.—Their indisposition to enlarge the number of soldiers, whose mortality was next in magnitude to that of the settlers, caused the resignation of one or two chief servants

servants, and drew a remonstrance from several gentlemen who purposed adventuring out. Aware also of the probable evils even of their small military establishment, they recalled the soldiers, when assured of the peaceableness of the natives; but the order arrived too late.—So sensible were the Directors of the dangers to which the artificers were exposed (most of whom, from an accident at sea, were not likely to arrive, till the eve of the rains) that they offered to discharge many of them in England, to indemnify them for loss of time, and to add some gratuity. Of this offer, a few accepted, but many, including all who had families, were determined to make the voyage. This detail will not only show that the Directors were far from pressing those to go out, who have run the great risk of their lives; but will also point out the extreme danger, to which persons are exposed on arriving in a tropical climate, unprovided with proper lodging and subsistence, or who are likely to fall into intemperance.

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ONA.

419. The Directors, having thus endeavoured to give an impartial account of the health of the colony, leave it's character, in this respect, to rest on the simple evidence of the above facts. They know of no reason why the climate of S. Leona should prove eventually worse, than those of other tropical colonies, of which the healthfulness is now undisputed; for some of these were more fatal to the first colonists, than S. Leona has yet proved. It seems therefore very probable, that, as cultivation and accommodation improve, the health of the colony, will gradually amend, as has been always experienced in similar cases*.

Nor the Climate.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE U.

C H A P.
XI.SIERRA LE-
ONA.

TRADE.

420. On the subject of trade, the Directors have rather to mention the orders given, and the steps taken, than to report much actual progress. Though an assortment of goods for trade was sent out, in the first ships, by advice of the commercial agent, who knew the coast well, and who took charge of them; yet he made no effort to dispose of them. Many of them remained on board, during the rains. Even many goods intended for immediate use, were not delivered out of the ships, till after this period. And it is feared, that, from this person's misconduct, added to the inefficiency of the Council, and the consequent confusion, while many were losing their lives, the Company's property was dissipated. This irregularity was aggravated, by the illness of almost every person employed in the commercial department. The chief store-keeper was obliged, by sickness, to return home; the chief accountant died, as did the chief commercial agent, already mentioned, without rendering up any regular accounts: several inferior store-keepers sunk under severe duty; and their successors, the present book-keeper excepted, were little acquainted with mercantile business.

421. Thus the Directors, who did every thing that depended on them to secure punctuality, from the very institution of the colony, are deprived of the means of examining into the application of all the first cargoes; and, although one of the Counsellors laboured to establish proper book-keeping, his efforts were frustrated by the burning of all the most material books of the colony, on board the York. It will not excite surprize, that the Directors were slow in sending out goods for trade, when confusion was known to prevail in the colony, and when the commercial servants, who had died or returned, were not replaced. The present commercial

commercial agent, however, carried out a large assortment, suited to that market. A great part of them were immediately sent down the coast, in the Company's small vessels: the rest, as above stated, were destroyed with the York.

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ONA.

422. The Company have now one ship of 380 tons, another of 200, and ten vessels each from 35 to 120 tons. One of the ships is likely to be used as a store-ship, instead of the York, and the other in carrying goods to and from S. Leona; all the smaller vessels being chiefly engaged in collecting produce on the coast, and conveying it to the colony, as the depot.—Various causes led the Directors, at first, to buy, rather than charter, vessels; but the vast expense attending their larger ships, has disinclined them from farther purchases of this sort. Most of the heavy expenses of the shipping, enhanced, as they were, by the war, are charged in the account, to the colony, not to the Company's trade. But all the smaller vessels have been some time on trading voyages, as is also one of the ships, the other being used at S. Leona for protection, and as a store-ship.

Company's
shipping.

423. The government, with a view to collect produce, have established some small factories, chiefly on the neighbouring rivers, and for a trifling expense. The French slave-factory at Gambia (island) a few miles above Free-town, and commanding one branch of the river S. Leona, has lately been abandoned. Various other openings have occurred, details of which will not be expected; and, though, for the reasons stated, African produce amounting only to a few thousand pounds has come home, yet, in no way do the government state their prospects to have more improved, than in commercial openings towards the end of the last year, when the declension of the slave-trade, from the stagnation of credit in England, was very visible on the

Company's
factories, &c.

the

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ONA.

the coast. But on the abolition of that traffic, the commencement of a considerable trade in African produce may be expected. When the natives shall find, that nothing but the produce of their land and labour will be received for European goods, *that* disposition to cultivation, for adequate encouragement, which they have already shown, will be confirmed; and it is natural to expect that those plans of industry will be adopted, of which S. Leona will have set the example.

424. Even the limitation of the slave-trade might promote African industry, and, of course, the views of the Company. As yet, they labour under disadvantages which, they trust, will not always be imposed on those who refuse to unite a traffic in their fellow creatures with a trade in produce. They also willingly suffer some present loss, by furnishing articles rather better, and somewhat different in kind, from those generally sent to Africa; and, in many respects, they have endeavoured to purify the dreadfully corrupt African trade. They have restrained, or abolished, the presents of rum to the chiefs. They trust also they have gone to the root of another evil, by introducing a considerable quantity of coin into the colony, thus substituting the plain and certain medium of dollars, in place of the former one of bars*, which having been a medium of calculation that was extremely variable and confused, and merely nominal, has occasioned much trouble and dispute, and given the opportunity of practising perpetual frauds in the African commerce†. On the whole, the Di-

* The word *bar* implied originally a bar of iron, which was one of the most common articles of commerce, and might be worth 3s. ster.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE W.

rectors have reason to hope that they have acquired some credit in Africa, by the principles of the undertaking, the quality of the goods, and the fairness of their servants; and, though their progress may appear slow, they trust they have laid some foundation for an advantageous commerce.

C H A P.
XI.
SIERRA LE-
ON.

425. Cultivation may be divided into two kinds, that on the Company's account, and that of the N. Scotians or the natives.—The Directors, agreeable to their original plan of cultivation, on their own account, sent out three managers (or planters) and several overseers used to tropical cultivation. The distresses of the first rainy season, induced one of the planters to return to the W. Indies. Many of the overseers died: of the two remaining planters, one was, for some time, preparing a cotton plantation near Freetown; but, as he returned to England, and the land was much wanted, the undertaking is suspended, and a few N. Scotians, whose land proved very barren, have the temporary use of this fertile spot, on which they have raised corps of various useful articles.

CULTIVA-
TION.

W. Indian
managers
and overseers
introduced.

426. When the soil around Freetown was found worse than was expected, the remaining planter*, with his usual ardent and laudable zeal, having viewed the soil down the coast, along the river, and in the interior country, reported that he had found extremely good land on the opposite side of the river, and offered to settle there among the natives, and to attempt, with their help alone, a regular plantation. A mile square of land (640 acres) was accordingly rented, without difficulty, from its chief for £16 a year;

A plantation
of sugar-
canes, &c.
begun nearly
on the W.
Indian plan.

* Mr. James Watt, formerly planter in Dominica.

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ONA.

and about thirty Grumettas*, or free native labourers, were got together. Their first work was to build a house for the manager. They next cleared the land of wood, which entirely covered it, and proceeded to hoe the ground, and to plant it with sugar-canes, cotton, rice and other vegetables. Their wages were four or five bars a month; but, as the valuing of the bars produced some altercation, the price of three dollars a month, or about 3s. 6d. a week, is now substituted. They are also found with about a pint and a half of rice, and two or three ounces of meat, daily. They are called to work by the blowing of a horn, which is heard in the small neighbouring towns where they reside; and, if they are on the spot, as they usually are, at the precise time expected, namely sun-rise, they receive a small glass of rum, which it is intended, however, to commute for a trifle of money. The work under the eye of one of the better sort of natives, while the planter directs their general operations, sees them often from his window, and walks occasionally among them. They go to dinner (which is dressed for them in the manager's house) and is the only meal they take during their day's work, at eleven o'clock, and return at one, and work till sunset, when they have another small glass of rum, but they drink only water at their meals. Their labour is thought equal to about two thirds of a common day's work in this country, and is tolerably steady, though they show no great exertion in it. Their number and regularity have scarcely varied for above a year, except in their absenting themselves for a week or two, at the approach of the rains, to work on their own

* *Grumetta* I understand to be a Portuguese word, signifying a sailor's servant. C. B. W.

plantations,

plantations, an interruption which, it is thought, may in future be prevented.

427. When those natives receive their wages, which they claim on the day after the new moon, they send to Freetown to *sell* the dollars*, as they term it, which they do for cloathing and household utensils; for it does not appear that they apply them to any bad use. They may now be distinguished from most other natives by additional cloathing; they wear hats and jackets, which the others generally do not, and their trowsers are of a better quality. They are evidently disposed to copy the Europeans; though they have as yet adopted but a small part of their cloathing, furniture and mode of living. On Sunday's they are taught to abstain from work, and attend a Nova Scotia preacher, who, in the week, teaches several native children.

428. The first year, they put into cultivation about 15 acres of land, of which about 12 were planted with alternate rows of rice and cotton. A nursery of sugar-canes has also been planted, and, on the whole, advances; but the ants, or bugabugs, have damaged it much. It is supposed, however, that this obstacle to the growth of sugar-canes will cease, when the roots of the trees, which partly support the ants, shall have rotted†.

429. Though little differences may have occasionally arisen between the manager and the native labourers; yet, on the whole, the Company's credit has been much improved in that part, and many proofs have occurred of the advances that may be made in civilization, if this object should be pursued, and the same system considerably ex-

C H A P
XI.

SIERRA LE-
ONA.
Native la-
bourers im-
proved by it.

Canes dam-
aged by the
bugabugs.

Little differ-
ences be-
tween mana-
ger and na-
tives.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE W.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE X.

C H A P.
XI.SIERRA LE-
ONA.Yet popula-
tion and ci-
vilization
advance.Natives de-
sire a second
plantation.Freetown
described.

tended. Several towns near the Company's plantation are very much increased, by the natives who work for the company, and by many others. The natives are also more disposed than before, to settle on the sides of the river. A sense of security gains ground, and they are less averse to the bush round their towns being cut down, which they always considered as affording a refuge against being surprized and made slaves. The difficulty indeed of landing on the Bullom shore, by lessening European intercourse, has rendered the natives less violent, and kept them more sober and industrious than their opposite neighbours. They are generally disposed to enter into the views of the government of Sierra Leona, and give little credit to the slave-traders, who tell them that the Company have injurious designs. One of them makes it a principle neither to sell, nor to keep a slave. They appear to desire a second plantation, for which their king has lately ceded another square mile of land. In a small garden of experiment, near Freetown, many native plants and seeds are attentively cultivated, under the eye of an able botanist (See § 369) from whose labours some future benefits may be expected to the Company, or colony, as well as to the science he professes. The Directors, with His Majesty's permission, have obtained from the royal gardens at Kew, some valuable tropical plants, especially that important one, the bread-fruit tree.

430. They cannot yet report any considerable progress in cultivation, either by the Nova Scotians, or the natives on their own account. Much of the industry of the colonists has been applied to the building of the town, of which some description may be proper. It is situated on a dry and rather elevated spot, on the south side of the river, and occupies between 70 and 80 acres, it's length being about one

one third of a mile, and it's breath nearly the same. It contains near 400 houses, each having one twelfth of an acre annexed, on which a few vegetables are raised. There are nine streets, running from N. W. to S. E. and three cross streets, and they are 80 feet wide, except one, which runs within 50 feet of the river, and which is 160 feet wide. (See the Plan Plate II.) In the broad street are almost all the public buildings, consisting of a church, near the middle, capable of containing 800 people; a governor's house and offices; a large store-house, under which, and the governor's house, there are brick store-cellars; a large hospital, and 6 or 8 other wooden houses, offices and shops, occupied by the Company's servants. The frames of all these buildings went from England, as also four canvas houses, or rather rooms*. One public building is composed of the country materials; but this and the canvas houses are decaying, while all the other buildings, being framed of wood prepared in England, seem likely to last for some years. The houses of the colonists were at first inferior, but are now far superior, to those of the natives. A few have been repaired and enlarged; but most of them have been rebuilt, their general site having been changed by the government. Indeed the first huts of the Nova Scotians were merely temporary, wattled, plaistered with clay, and thatched with long grass. On an average, they might be about 18 feet by 12, and the labour might be worth 40 shillings.—The sides and floors of the present houses (for they are all floored) are of country timber; and, to exclude damp, they are raised a foot or two from the ground. (See § 84.) Many are already roofed with boards or shingles,

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ONA.

and houses.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Y.

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as all of them are intended to be ; but most of them, for the present, are thatched. Only a few have chimneys; yet, during the rains, a fire is commonly used, the smoke issuing through the thatch, or by the door and windows. They are generally from 20 to 30 feet long, from 12 to 15 wide ; are mostly divided into two rooms, and the average cost of each, for building and materials, may be about £10.

Town land.

431. Of the land immediately surrounding the town, a portion has been reserved to the Company. This, exclusive of the remote parts directly south, where the reserved land has no boundary, but the distant one prescribed in the grant, may be about 200 acres. Part of it is the land before mentioned, that was intended for a cotton plantation, but now occupied by the N. Scotians. Only a small part of these 200 acres is cultivated; but the whole was early cleared, which * doubtless promoted the healthiness of the colony ; and the prudent reservation of this land may hereafter be found of importance, especially in enlarging the town, if necessary.—The lots given to the Nova Scotians lie on the S. E. of Freetown, all the western district being possessed by the natives, and the southern being thought too mountainous for present cultivation. The nearest of these lots is about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the town, and the most distant about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. They occupy in all, about 4 square miles, or 2560 acres, and are each of them accessible by a path 10 feet broad, cut with great labour and expense. Only a few of the lots nearest the town have been yet tolerably cleared and cultivated.

* with the elevation of the houses, mentioned in the preceding § 340. C. B. IV.

432. To excite emulation in culture, the government gave premiums, the first year, to those colonists who raised the most rice, yams, eddoes, cabbages, Indian corn and cotton, respectively. All the premiums amounted to about £100, and they appeared to have so good an effect, that they are intended to be repeated in the second season, with a few variations, suggested by the first year's experience. (See § 301, 302.)

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ONA.
Premiums
for cultiva-
tion.

433. Of the progress of cultivation among the natives, it can hardly be expected that much can yet be said. Indeed the size of their plantations has varied so much annually, that any appearance of their increasing industry, in one season, should not be too confidently ascribed, either to the new demands of the colonists, or to the Company's example. Rice, the chief crop on the coast, has varied in price, from 40 shill. per ton, to no less than £25, or even £30. This is partly owing to the difference of seasons, but still more to the inability of the Africans to compute the probable demand; a plentiful year sometimes betraying them into neglect of cultivation, and a scarce one seldom failing to produce superfluous cultivation, the next year.

Cultivation
of natives
fluctuating.

434. The establishment of a commercial factory on the coast, to form contracts with the natives, to observe the extent of cultivation, and to buy up the surplus produce for exportation, will tend, as the Directors trust, to excite a more regular industry, and gradually to produce the most important consequences.

Factory to
buy up sur-
plus produce
of natives.

435. Under this head, the Directors will speak of the colonial government; of the character of the colonists; of civilization, with the miserable state to which the Africans have been

CIVILIZA-
TION.

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been reduced by their intercourse with the Europeans; concluding with an account of the steps taken to introduce Christianity and civilization among the natives, of whose capacity and docility some satisfactory information will be given.

Blacks act as
jurymen,

436. The Directors have yet received no express powers from Parliament, for governing Sierra Leona. They have considered, as they were bound, that the British constitution, as far as it applies to the circumstances, is of course transferred thither, and equally to black and to white colonists. The Nova Scotia blacks, though possessing very little knowledge of the British laws, have acted as jurymen, one of the Company's chief servants always being the judge. The punishments have been mild, rather pecuniary than corporal: the verdicts have been generally very just, and, on the whole, the Nova Scotians, as jurymen, have proved the propriety and prudence of extending to them a privilege which they so much value. It may be presumed, that the acquaintance with British law gained by the Nova Scotians, in the periodical sessions of the peace, will improve their minds, and, in conjunction with other kinds of knowledge, operate as an auxiliary to civilization.

and as tything-men and
hundredors,

437. To introduce internal police, every ten householders have been instructed to chuse annually a tithing-man, and every ten tithing-men a hundredor (see § 167, 191.) Of the last there are three, answering to about 300 householders in the colony. The hundredors are consulted by the government, in cases which concern the interests of the Nova Scotians.

and as militia,

438. The defence of the colony is necessarily entrusted to the Nova Scotians also. Their arms are always ready; and, though their courage has not been actually tried, their
alacrity

alacrity, in moments of supposed danger, has been more than once experienced. Most, of them, indeed, carried arms in the late war, and some have been practised in firing the great guns mounted for the colony's defence.

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439. The Directors, convinced that the state of mind and local circumstances of the governed, must be considered in forming any plan of government, have hitherto advised the governor and council to proceed gradually, to follow experience, as much as possible, and to remedy every evil as it arose, rather than to form at once, any considerable code of new local institutions.—The Directors think it sufficient to touch here on the general principles of government, the trial of offences, and the colonial police and defence, resorted to, up to this period: they do not wish now to give any opinion of those measures, which it may be proper to give hereafter, on this important subject.

Spirit of the
government.

440. The general conduct of the Company's servants has been sober, moral and exemplary. The superior ones especially, appear to have promoted Christianity and morality, both by their manner of exercising their public trusts, and by their private influence and example. From the labours of the clergymen, the colony has derived services highly important, in every point of view.—In speaking thus favourably of their own servants, the Directors, of course, except those of whom any implications of a contrary character are mentioned in this report; and they also, except a few, who are not individually alluded to. They have been the most disappointed in the lower overseers of whom it was difficult to get any thorough knowledge, at the time of engaging them, on account of their having resided in the W. Indies: of the individuals of this class, who originally went out, none now remain in the colony. The court will not

General cha-
racter of the
Company's
servants,

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wonder, if, in spite of the most cautious choice of persons sent out, some few, among such a number, should have been found grossly immoral. But there is reason to think, that the regular servants, chargeable with direct immorality, have been very few: and it is pleasing to observe that decent manners, and a reluctance to disgrace so good a cause, appear now to pervade the establishment.

of the N.
Scotians,

441. The character of the N. Scotia blacks, who may be said to constitute the colony, it will be proper fully to describe. Some judgment may be formed of their morals, from the offences which have come before the periodical sessions of the peace. The highest have been adultery and petty theft. From those vices which come less under legal cognizance, they are, in some respects, remarkably free. Marriage being general among them, the evils attending it's disuse are, in a great measure, avoided. Drunkenness and swearing they are by no means addicted to. Their attention to the Sabbath is great; they then abstain entirely from work, dress in very good (and some in very gay) attire, and repair with their children to church, where their deportment is represented to be strikingly decent and serious.

which is in
some respects
superior to
that of the
lower Eng-
lish.

442. From this sketch it appears, that the Nova Scotians are superior to the generality of the same class in England, in the practice of the duties mentioned; but this is certainly the most favourable view of them. To give a just idea of their character, it may be proper to notice their religion, and some of their peculiar dispositions and prejudices, especially respecting the Company; and then to view their past circumstances.—Besides being punctual in their worship, many of them possess much regard to religion, in other respects. But it is natural to imagine, that, in such a number

a number; almost all claiming to be thought Christians, some will have very inadequate or enthusiastic notions; a few perhaps may be hypocrites; while many, even with defective knowledge, may be consistent and sincere Christians. There are five or six black preachers, of their own body, who have considerable influence; and the discipline they preserve in their little congregations, is supposed to have contributed much to maintain general morality among them.

443. In commanding their tempers, many of the N. Scotians most eminently fail. They have often appeared very hasty in their judgments, and vehement in all their dispositions. Their early violence occasionally gave serious anxiety to the government. It appeared in vociferation, sometimes in the streets, and in marked expressions of contumely rudely and publicly uttered against the Company's chief servants. Symptoms of ambition also appeared in one or two popular individuals. This violence was ordinarily confined to a very few; but a degree of it occasionally infected more, and the forward individuals then grew eager to dictate, in the name of the whole. This turbulence has certainly been the greatest discredit to the character of the colony. The Directors trust that it has now considerably subsided; yet they have thought it proper to send out orders, that, if any individuals should persist in complaining against the government, they should be desired to take an opportunity, which will be afforded them, of returning to N. Scotia.—Their unreasonable estimation of their own merits, and their inadequate sense of the obligations they owe the Company, is another defect in several of their characters. All this is combined, indeed, with the misconceptions of the more forward, concerning their rights as free-men, and the nature of their claims on the Company.

Their defects.

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ONA.Their unre-
asonable
claims.

444. When the governor and council dismissed one of them, for disrespect to his superiors, a number of them formally applied to have a law established, that no Nova Scotian working for the Company should in future be turned off, unless after a verdict by a jury of his peers. Allowing, at last, that a part of the Company's own land near the shore, should be reserved for public uses, (see § 398) some of them conceded the point, by saying, that they would *oblige* the Company with the piece of land. Their claims for an increase of wages, and for a reduction in the price of articles sold at the Company's store, were very unreasonable; for their wages were then 2s. 6d. per day; and the price of the goods (after paying prime cost, charges and interest) only afforded the Company a profit of about 10 per cent*. It is worthy of remark, that they usually prefer these and all their other claims, though matters of contract between the two parties, emphatically as freemen. If 6d. be not added to their wages, they declare that they shall consider themselves treated as slaves. If the governor be not dismissed, for having ordered water to be mixed with the rum, before it is sold (which, on enquiry, it was proved he did merely to bring it to fair market proof) it is intimated that the colony is going to be reduced to slavery. These expressions are often hasty, are sometimes retracted, and, in whatever name they may be urged, should never be charged on the whole body. But they are specimens of the reasonings the government has often had to combat, and may tend to show the propriety of the conduct of the Directors, in endeavouring to compose the minds of the colonists, by giving a favourable idea of the Company's gene-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Z.

ral disposition towards them, rather than attempting to satisfy them, by reiterated and unreasonable concessions. Their complaints amount in effect to this; that the Company gain unreasonable profits at their expense; for they have uniformly required the points disputed to be settled in some way that would be favourable to them, and unfavourable to the Company's finances.

445. It has been stated, that out of about £240,000 capital, above £80,000 have been already spent upon the colony; and, if the dead stock be included (as most of it may) above £100,000 (see § 302.) If the Company's views had been as interested as some of the N. Scotians insinuate, and if they had merely established a trading factory, a fourth of this sum might have sufficed; and about £80,000 (exclusive of the expense of their transit, paid by Government) might have been saved. These facts prove the unreasonableness of those N. Scotians, who complain of the Company's illiberality. Advantages, possibly outweighing all expenses, have accrued from their migration. But these have not been advantages to the Company as traders, but as founders of the S. Leona colony, the establishment of which hath been chiefly owing to the N. Scotians. This sum of £80,000 (one third of the Company's capital) has, therefore, been the price paid for the civilization now begun in Africa; it has been sacrificed to that cause which the Company consider as their own, the cause of Christianity and Freedom and Civilization among the Africans; to the cause, more particularly, of these very N. Scotians and their posterity.

446. Another defect in the character of many of the N. Scotians, is their jealousy and suspicion, especially in their intercourse with whites. They have all professed, indeed, to think favourably of the intentions and principles of the Directors,

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Sum laid out
on the co-
lony.

N. Scotians
suspicious of
whites, and
why.

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XI.SIERRA LE-
ONA.Their faults
owing to fla-
very.

Directors, who therefore hope that they will readily acquiesce in the decisions of the Court. But few servants have escaped their unreasonable suspicion; yet great allowance will be made for this unpleasant feature in their character, if their past sufferings be considered, and the injustice they formerly received, and are habituated to expect, from whites.

447. In estimating, indeed, the whole character of the N. Scotians, their past condition ought not to be overlooked. It should be remembered, that all of them were once slaves; that, like others in the same state, they were probably little restrained in many branches of morals, not regularly married, destitute of parental and scholastic tuition; and, in short, that no one thought it his duty, to instruct them in religion or morality. Their faculties were then degraded, their opportunities of knowledge small, and they had little inducement to cultivate their intellects. Doubtless they strongly felt their hardships; but they probably knew little of the true nature of civil rights; and, we may suppose, often counfounded the unavoidable evils of life, and the punishments needful in society, with the ills imposed by arbitrary power; for accurate discrimination can signify little to men involved in hopeless captivity. To the want of such discrimination, and not to any moral or intellectual defect, much of their unreasonableness, and some of the absurdest of their claims, are obviously to be traced. And, considering how often the advocates for servitude have, on their part, confounded slavery, and all its enormities, with the necessary evils of life, and the restraints of civil society, it need not excite surprise, if emancipated slaves, acting also under the bias of self-interest, should seem to labour under a similar dulness and inaccuracy of understanding.

This no argu-
ment against
prudent eman-
cipation.

448. There is some reason to suppose that their servitude was harsher, than that of North America generally is; for they

they were a portion of those slaves who, in the last war, ran away from their masters and took refuge in the King's army, a conduct to which, it would seem, the worst treated would be the most disposed. If this presumption of ill treatment (confirmed as it is, by the sufferings which a few of them recite) should be thought too derogatory from the supposed humanity of American masters, it seems then fair to conclude, on the other hand, that they were the least sensible of mild treatment, the least attached to their masters, and the most prone to discontent. On either supposition, the N. Scotians may be said to furnish a less favourable specimen of emancipated slaves, than may generally be hoped for. It is hardly necessary to remark, how very unfavourable their steps towards freedom will appear, if compared with those of slaves prudently emancipated; to whom liberty, having been promised, to prepare them for it, might be granted, after a certain period, as the reward of merit; or might be conferred gradually, as local circumstances might recommend; privilege after privilege being added, as their diligence advanced, and as their property and interest, in maintaining social order, should increase.

449. But to return: the Nova Scotian blacks, having been born in North America, of African parents or ancestors (a few imported Africans excepted, who, as they say, were kidnapped in their infancy) having passed most of their lives in slavery, probably worse than ordinary, and having then *emancipated themselves*, in the way mentioned, they fulfilled, as loyalists, the proclamations of the British generals. Their instruction appears to have been chiefly, or entirely, acquired since their emancipation; for a few put themselves to school, to attain religious knowledge, or to improve their condition; and these are now the preachers and school-masters

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ONA.Past circum-
stances of N.
Scotians.

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flers of the colony. After various scenes, in following the fortunes of the British army, often exposing themselves in battle, as the wounds of several testify, and always getting credit for courage, though not so uniformly for some other virtues; being considerably thinned by death and dispersion (a portion of them being supposed to have fallen into the hands of the Americans) the rest were brought to N. Scotia, at the peace, to receive, in common with the white loyalists, the provisions and lands, promised in the proclamations. They state that they obtained rations of provisions, but not to the extent they expected; that the white loyalists having engrossed all the valuable lands, they got, in general, only small town-lots of little use; and that they were not admitted to the usual privileges of British subjects, nor, particularly, to trial by jury. These injuries, and the rigour of the climate of N. Scotia, induced them, as has been stated (§ 374.) to send a delegate of their own body, to seek redress from the British Government.

Their reception of the Company's proposals.

450. When Mr. Clarkson appeared in N. Scotia, as the Company's agent, and stated, in several public meetings of the free blacks, the proposals of the Company, and the offer of a free passage to S. Leona, made by Government, they expressed at once the most lively joy, that they were about to be emancipated from a situation which they almost considered as a second servitude. Their eagerness to migrate appears to have rendered Mr. Clarkson so much the more careful in guarding them against unreasonable expectations. No allowance even of provisions, after their arrival, was promised; and the necessity of subsisting on their lots of land, was urged on them universally. But these declarations repressed not their ardour: they sold hastily, and for trifling prices, such of their little effects as could not easily be transported;

transported; a few who had property assisted others to pay their debts; and several, who were heads of families, undertook to support the younger and more unprotected females, to whom no passage was granted, except on this condition. They waited at Halifax for the ships, several weeks in tents, where, being exposed to much severe weather, they contracted sickness. In Jan. 1793, they sailed, after adopting every measure suggested for preserving order in the voyage, having thus far shewn gratitude and obedience to Mr. Clarkson and to the Company. And, when their subsequent conduct is considered in connection with their past circumstances, though some expectations, excited by a few first appearances, may have been disappointed, their character may be said to turn out as favourably, on the whole, as could be reasonably expected. Indeed a few of those emancipated slaves have afforded a most favourable specimen of the African character, on whose dispositions Christianity hath had a most benign influence, and who have been, on all occasions humble and contented, the zealous friends of order and of peace.

451. Let it, therefore, be carefully remembered, that every thing said against the character of the N. Scotians, must be understood with various exceptions and limitations; and that, the turbulence of some, and the unreasonableness and jealousy of many of them, are more or less to be looked for, in any body of men, who have been so unfavourably circumstanced. Their faults are not incident to them as blacks, but as men. And who will say, that, if he had struggled through a like succession of vexations, hardships and disappointments, his character would not have been marked by the same prejudices and untoward dispositions, which belong to some of the present colonists of S. Leona*?

They ought
not to be
rashly cen-
sured.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE X.

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ONA.

Provision for
their main-
tenance, go-
vernment and
instruction.

452. The governor and council, as has been stated, are endeavouring, as soon as possible, to settle them on their own lands; by cultivating which, there is reason to think that, like the former colonists, now living at Granville town, they may subsist comfortably. And if, by the blessing of Providence, their families, substance and general prosperity should increase, it can hardly be doubted, that they will estimate more justly their obligations to the Company.—But it is important to observe that, both with a view to their own happiness, and the Company's great object of civilizing Africa, they should not be left without instructors from hence, nor without a government of Europeans*.—Their children, who are about 300, all go to school, and are said to learn quite as fast as European children; though, till lately, they had not very proper masters. The Directors propose to spare no pains nor expense, to maintain this important part of their establishment on the best footing, and to this object, they will direct the peculiar attention of the government. For to this rising generation of well educated blacks, they chiefly look for the gradual improvement of the colony. To them also, it seems not presumptuous to hope, that the more distant and even interior parts of Africa, may one day owe Christianity, knowledge and civilization.

Slave-trade
—it's hin-
drance to ci-
vilization of
natives.

453. The progress, obstructions, and prospects of civilization among the natives, are matters so very interesting, that the Directors need not apologize for entering into them freely and particularly. And here the Slave-trade comes directly under consideration. But, waving all argument on

* For a time only, I presume. (See § 443) *C. B. W.*

this beaten topic, they conceive they shall do more exact and ample justice to it, by simply relating what has passed under the view of their servants abroad, and by enumerating a few strong, but authentic facts.—As a proof of the insecurity of the natives, it has been already stated that even the king of S. Leona, though peaceable and uncommonly respected, had, in three separate instances, been bereft of his own relations by the slave-trade. Some other specific cases of kidnapping were also stated in the last report, particularly one instance which fell under the immediate observation of the Company's agent and another person, then both in England. (See § 348, 351.)—The truth and accuracy of the following extracts have been established by the united testimony of some of the Company's chief servants; and all the quotations were written by one of them, always about the time, generally on the day, and often at the very hour, when the conversations passed, or the observations were made*.

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454. Of the mulatto trader who depopulated the towns south of S. Leona, (see § 347.) and whose death has been brought about, as is supposed, by the natives, the following information has been received; and it is prefaced by intelligence, nearly to the same purport, from another quarter.

Recent facts
respecting it.

* The Directors, for obvious reasons, do not think proper to print the names of all the persons or places spoken of in the journal, and other documents, whence they make the quotations; and they shall therefore generally describe them by some circumlocution: they shall use a few other trifling liberties with the language, taking care however, in no instance, to alter any material word.

This Report is so much longer than I could have expected, that I am reluctantly obliged somewhat to abridge the interesting communications here mentioned, by the Directors; but I shall conscientiously endeavour to preserve their sense and spirit, and even the words, as far as I am able. C. B. W.

C H A P.

XI.

SIERRA LÉ-

ON A.

Devastations
of a slave-
trader.

(1.) — March 1793. A slave trader named — has *also* mentioned, from his own knowledge, the late mulatto trader's devastations. He says he lent goods to every inferior chief who requested them, and if the chief was slow in payment, he would arm 2 or 300 of his grumettas who, being officered by white deserters from the ships, were sent to surprize his debtor's towns. In this way he depopulated all the country from Cape S. Leona to the Sherbro. To save himself from the general indignation, he formed a *purrah* (or confederacy) by which he united the kings and principal chiefs, engaged in the slave-trade, to defend each other.

(2.) — A chief told me, that his town was attacked by this mulatto, some other chiefs, and an American vessel then waiting for slaves, that, after a stout resistance, his town was taken and destroyed; but that he and most of his people escaped to a neighbouring island, whence they occasionally attacked their enemy, on the main land: he said he once took 40 of them, whom he sold as slaves.

455. A principal servant of the Company, when on a visit to these parts, adds the following information.

Iniquity of a
judge set up
by him.

A slave of this mulatto chief, set up by him as the judge in his own district, is now become too powerful to be thwarted; much court is paid him by the slave-traders. It is said, he practises terrible cruelties, and that accusations are multiplied. A neighbouring chief, who was with us on board the cutter, declined going with us on shore, with strong indignation against this man, apprehending that, if he came within reach, he should scarcely escape him.—We saw a number of creeks, along the river, too narrow to admit above a canoe at once. At the heads of most of these creeks are towns, which were placed there in the time of this mulatto chief, because such situations favoured an escape, before an attack could be made. A subordinate chief, at whose town we landed, confessed that such had been his motive for choosing so difficult a spot.

456. The two countries nearest to the S. Leona (or Timmany) district on the north, are the Mandingo and the Sufee countries: the Foulah country is farther off. Some information will be given from each.

Kidnapping

(1.) — Nov. Two chiefs from the nearest towns to Freetown dined with me. They both allowed the frequency of kidnapping, among the Sufees and Mandingoes: one of them had been an eye-witness of it. As to the Foulahs, he says, it is universally allowed, that they make war for the sole purpose of procuring slaves; and that in bringing slaves to market, the Foulahs are often attacked by free-booters who infest the country, between the coast and their country, and who rob people and make slaves of them; so that it is not unusual for the same man who sold others as slaves, to be sold in a few weeks to the same factory.

(2.) Nov.

(2.)—Nov. A trader, from the Sufee country, related the following anecdote, of which he had been an eye-witness. The chief of Quiaport river attacked the chief of Bowrah, and taking some prisoners, sold them to the British factory north of Sierra Leona. The chief of Bowrah, in his turn, defeated the other chief, and made many prisoners: with these he redeemed his own people from the factory, and War. who obliged him, however, to pay two for one.

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ONA.

(3.) Feb. 1794. An intelligent mulatto lady, mistress of a large Mandingo town, called at the colony. She has been in England, and her English name is Miss B. Heard. She said she disliked the slave-trade, for it kept her in constant terror, and she never knew, when she lay down at night, but she might be assassinated before morning. She said there had been no wars in the interior country to her's for some time, and that wars do not happen, when slaves are not wanted.

Consequent
insecurity &
terror.

(4.) In the Mandingo and Sufee countries, kidnapping is very frequent. Children are often kidnapped, by people of a neighbouring, or even of the same village.—A person who has lived several years in the Mandingo country, told me that mothers there always shut up or watch their children at night.—Slave-traders and kidnappers there, bargain for and convey away the slaves in the night, and none of the natives around are permitted to see them. Many natives and traders confirm this account. A chief factor attributed the frequency of kidnapping among the Mandingoes to their head men getting in debt to the Europeans, and being then confined by them; in which case, their people were obliged to kidnap some person to redeem them.

Children sto-
len, &c.

(5.) A chief, on an upper branch of this river, who is considered as respectable, has given us this information respecting the S. Leona trade. The people inland, he says, go to war to make slaves; there being no great demand now, they do not make war. Whites often encourage palavers, promising dashes (presents of liquor) if the convicts are sold to them; and they give ammunition to both parties at war. Formerly this happened very often. He told me he was at war five years, and a British slave-trader furnished both him and his enemies with powder; and, that he often waylaid and sold strangers, to buy arms. But he says this was “*a bad thing*,” and justified only by self-defence: and had there been no slave-factories, he would not have done so. But lately, the inhabitants being much diminished, and their wars interrupting remoter trade, the factors have endeavoured to preserve peace, to secure the people inland a free passage down. For some years there have been no wars in his part, but almost all the slaves have been brought from inland.—He said it was not uncommon for head men, who wanted goods, to hint to their wives to ensnare men in adultery, who were sold to the factories, on the accusation of these women.

Whites en-
courage de-
predations.

(6.) Two intelligent native slave-traders inform us that kidnapping is general “*among the bush men*,” (the inland people) that the coast people not unusually travel

Inland peo-
ple taken by
force or fraud.

C H A P. XI. travel into the interior, and lie in wait for stragglers; and that almost all the slaves brought from a distance were taken by force or fraud.

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ONA.

Black from
N. Scotia re-
stored to his
mother at S.
Leona.

457. It hath been observed, that some of the blacks from N. Scotia were originally Africans, and that many of these were, as they say, kidnapped when young. It hath been found that three were almost from the vicinity of S. Leona; one of them from S. Leona itself, as he used to mention at sea. When landed, he found himself nearly on the spot whence he had been carried off, and where, he says, a woman seized him and sold him to an American slave-ship, about 15 years before. He recollected the way to his native town, which was only two or three miles off; but, for a time, he dreaded the parting from his companions, to visit it. Not long after, standing with them among the tents, a party of natives paid them a visit of curiosity. An elderly native woman seemed much affected at the sight of this N. Scotian, and spoke to her companions with much agitation. At length she ran up to him and embraced him: she proved to be his own mother. His father was now dead: the parents had never discovered any trace of their child. The female thief remains unknown, and the impunity of the captain, even if discovered, is but too obvious: nor is it probable that, if the kidnapper had been known by the boy kidnapped, his redemption and the punishment of the criminal would have followed. Having once committed her prey to the hold of a slave-ship, discovery seems to have been impossible.—The Directors cannot but observe, that this incident affords an illustration of the slave-trade equally applicable to slaves kidnapped on the coast and farther inland.

458. S. Leona has indeed had her towns laid waste, and her inhabitants carried off by the slave-trade. But by the same
same

same traffic her mountains have gained a few forlorn wretches who have been driven thither, and who dread the very sight of their fellow creatures. Other cases, not unlike that about to be noticed, have been indistinctly heard of; but the following is so clearly ascertained, as to deserve insertion.—About five or six years ago, a Danish slave-vessel in the river was cut off by the slaves. The head-man of the neighbouring shore happening to favour their escape, they made their way to the mountains, and there built a town, which is about four or five miles from Freetown, and where they still reside. But so jealous are they said to be of strangers, that they permit them not to approach, and even watch the avenues of their town. This intelligence was received from a chief's son, who communicated several other pieces of the information just stated. Two servants of the Company, in consequence, have lately penetrated to this retreat, called the Deserter's town. They succeeded in getting into it, without much molestation, and have authenticated the above facts. They learnt also that these deserters were at first about 100; but that, by death and kidnapping, they are now reduced to about 80. A complaint was preferred, against the head-man who favoured their escape, to the mulatto trader already spoken of, as judge. The plaintiff, it is commonly supposed, sold his chance of recovery to the judge before the trial: certain it is, that the head-man, with all the people of his town, were sentenced to be sold as slaves, and all of them that were caught were sold accordingly, except the head-man, who was some time a prisoner, and now lives near Freetown.

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Slave-trade
drives the na-
tives to the
mountains.

459. The preceding facts happened before the formation of the colony: the following, which are more recent, will shew

More recent
facts.

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shew the sources of the slave-trade, near S. Leona, for the two last years, and the private misery, drunkenness and murder which it has caused.

Feb. 1793. A native of some consequence applied for the governor's assistance in redeeming his daughter, whom a creditor of his had just seized and sold to a slave-ship lying off Freetown. The governor offered her price, either in goods or money, to the slave-captain, who refused both, observing that slaves were now difficult to be got, and must not be easily parted with; and that, as the girl seemed a favourite, he ought to have two slaves for her; but that, in compliment to the governor, he would give her up for one prime slave. He added, that he had been much affected at an interview between her and her father, who had been on board that morning to see her; but, he remarked again, that slaves were scarce. The governor, under all the circumstances, could not farther interfere. But the father went in quest of a slave, whom he seems not to have been able easily to get: for he did not return till long after, when the ship was gone.

460. The two following are instances of the decisions of the chiefs, in supposed cases of adultery between their wives and inferior natives.

Condemna-
tions for al-
leged adul-
tery,

(1.) One of our school-masters brought to me a native, who implored our protection, having just escaped from the chief of the nearest town, who had confined, and threatened to sell him, for adultery with one of his wives, unless he would pay down a sum, which he could not command. He cursed the slave-factory as the cause of his misery, and declared himself innocent.

Here the chief, like several others who will be mentioned, acted by his own single authority, and seems not to have been amenable to any superior for his judgment, between *himself* and the people of his town.

(2.) A native of S. Leona who has lived many years as a grumetta (or free labourer) at a neighbouring European slave-factory, has been sold, on a charge of adultery with one of the European slave factor's wives. The European sold him to a slave-ship, avowing this as his reason, without even the form of a trial.

461. The following is a striking specimen of African justice.

On one of the nearest rivers there is a chief and an European slave-factor in one town. The king, in his cups, talked of flogging the slave-factor, and would actually have made his people do it, if the factor had not got to his own house, and
barricaded

barricaded it. He demanded satisfaction of the king when sober, who by way of C H A P. reparation, sold him two of his people. XI.

462. The natural alliance between drunkenness and the slave-trade will also be exhibited by the subsequent occurrence, (see § 21).

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—Six or seven of the nearest chiefs renewed their applications for rum: their Drunkenness perseverance is astonishing. By way of forcing us to comply, one of them said he would go and pawn his brother to the slave-factory, for liquor. But the governor was firm, and explained to them his motive for refusal. They said, there was no palaver (or cause of quarrel) but they were evidently chagrined. Having, however, dined with us, they were brought into tolerable humour, and I hope these applications for rum will at length cease.

463. The following accounts, the Directors deem too important, to be withheld.

(1.) A number of black mariners has been hired by some French ships trading on this coast. Six of the ships have been captured, and the black sailors, amounting to 19, though free men and receiving wages, have been all sold as slaves, a mulatto child excepted. It is painful to witness such acts. Why are not the French seamen put up to auction also? Or why is this difference between blacks and whites? The French sailors were at war with us, and are not sold; but the blacks are sent to the slave-factory and sold at public auction, with the goods that formed the cargo. One or two of them were free men of this neighbourhood, and some not only free, but sons of chiefs; one of them son of the king of Sallum. Indeed the British slave-factor who bought them, was so good as to say, he would not send them off, so that their friends might redeem them with other slaves when they thought fit. I am disposed to believe him; yet it is dreadful to think of the contempt of justice here. At first I would not believe what I heard on this subject; but I saw them knocked down myself, at about £20 a piece.

Free blacks
taken in
French ships
sold for slaves

(2.)—Another French ship has been taken, by a different captor, and three or four free natives found on board, have been sold to the neighbouring slave-factory. We remonstrated with the captain, on the impropriety of selling free people. He admitted it, but said he must receive money for their ransom, or he could not part with them. We offered him money, but he then said, No, he must have slaves for them, as he wanted slaves, and they must be four foot four inches high.

(3.) Several free women, left as pledges on board a French ship, which was captured, were also sold. The captain of the British privateer, which took the ship, was formerly a slave-trader.—Most of the free people, thus sold by the several captors, being natives of the neighbourhood, were eventually redeemed. But the

M

captors

C H A P. captors seem to have profited by their sale, and not to have promoted their redemption.
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464. The disgust which will be raised by the next story, of which four different evidences are mentioned, seems not a sufficient reason for withholding it; especially as it exhibits another source of the slave-trade.

Man tried by
 red water
 dies: his fa-
 mily made
 slaves.

—A grumetta (free labourer) was accused of theft, by his master, a British trader, a little way to the north. The labourer demanded to be tried by the red water (which is suspected to be poisonous) and the effect of which is superstitiously supposed to determine innocence or guilt. The trader, after some time, consented. The king of the country was summoned and appeared, with all his family and attendants. Preliminaries being adjusted, the poor man drank one draught, swelled and soon fell down dead, his belly bursting. The king then solemnly gave sentence against him, and condemned all his family to slavery, who were seized and sold. During the trial, two men with clubs stood on each side of the accused, ready to knock out his brains, at the appearance of the symptoms to which the natives attach guilt. The white trader, just mentioned, is considered very much as an African chief, by the natives of this part.

465. The following anecdote shows the degree of superstitious ignorance in which the natives are immersed.

Witchcraft.

—A man in a neighbouring town has been sold on the charge of having, by witchcraft, changed himself into a leopard, and of having, in that shape, carried off some fowls and goats, from the town of the nearest chief to us.

466. The succeeding relation shows the extreme horror which some of the natives feel at being sent into slavery.

Man deranged
 in his
 mind, by
 fear of being
 sold.

—A free native mariner, on board our ship, Providence, seeing some rice come on board from the factory in Sherbro, while he saw no goods given in exchange, was dreadfully terrified lest he should be sold for a slave, in barter for the rice. Full of this persuasion, when the factor from the shore was stepping on board, he endeavoured to stab him, but missing his aim, he leapt over-board. After some difficulty he was recovered, and being asked the reason of his conduct, he explained it in the way just mentioned. He still showed the greatest fear, and declared he would rather die than be sold as a slave. As it was feared he might commit suicide, his hands were bound; but, on his intreaty, and promise to be quiet, they were, in a little while, loosed. At midnight, he got into a canoe along side, and drifted down the stream, to a town at the river's mouth, where he was seized and put in irons; but on application to a friendly chief, he got his liberty. The idea of slavery having entirely possessed his brain, he soon after jumped overboard, and

was

was given up for drowned. But getting on shore, he was again recovered, and was brought to Freetown, where he is now employed. The physicians think the terror of slavery must have caused some derangement of his intellects, which may occasionally return, in some small degree. He is now much attached to the Company, and happy in their service. His friends say his mind was never in the least disordered, before this fright.

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467. The next occurrences come from an eye-witness of them. Their dates are various.

(1.)——I have been to day on board a large slave-ship in the river, with 250 slaves. The men were chained in pairs; the women were kept apart. The young slaves were cheerful; but the old ones were much cast down. At meals they are obliged to shout, and to clap their hands, for exercise, before they begin to eat. I could then see shame and indignation in the faces of those more advanced in years. One woman, who spoke a little English, begged me to carry her home. She said she was from the opposite shore of the river to Freetown, that her husband had sold her for debt, and that she had left a child behind her: at the mention of the child, she wept.

Scenes on
board slave-
ships, &c.

(2.)——I was this morning again on board a slave-ship, where I saw a woman who had been newly sold, and who seemed to have been weeping. On asking her the reason, she pointed to the milk flowing from her breasts, and intimated that she had been torn from her unweaned infant, which the captain confirmed. She was from one of the towns nearest us; and said she had been sold for being faucy to the queen of it.

(3.)——In the neighbouring slave-yard, I saw a man about 35 years old in irons. He was a Mahometan, and could read and write Arabick. He was occasionally noisy; sometimes he would sing a melancholy song, then he would utter an earnest prayer, and then would observe a dead silence. This strange conduct, I was told, was from his strong feelings, on having been put, for the first time, in irons, the day before. As we passed, he cried aloud to us, and endeavoured to hold up his irons to our view, which he struck very expressively with his hand, the tear starting in his eye. He seemed, by his manner, to be demanding the cause of his confinement.

(4.) An American slave-captain has been telling us that he lost a very fine slave, a few days ago, by the "*fulks*."—"The man (said he) was a Mahometan, uncommonly well made, and seemed to be a person of consequence. When he first came on board, he was very much cast down; but, finding that I allowed him to walk at large, he grew more easy. When my slaves became numerous, I put him in irons, like the rest, on which he lost his spirits irrecoverably. He complained of a pain at his heart, and would not eat. *The usual means* were tried, but in vain; for he rejected food altogether, except when I stood by and made him eat. I offered him the best things in the ship, and left nothing untried; for I had set my heart on saving him.

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I am sure, he would have brought me 300 dollars in the W. Indies; but nothing would do. He said, from the first, he was determined to die, and so he did, after lingering 9 days. I assure you, gentlemen, I felt very sorry; for I dare say, I lost 300 dollars by his death, and to such a man as me, that is a very heavy loss.

468. The following dialogues show how plainly the enormities of the slave-trade are acknowledged, sometimes even by the perpetrators; and that the Europeans, by familiarity with those enormities, have been brought to tolerate them, to accommodate their feelings to them, and to substitute, for the real principles of justice, a morality of their own—a morality, however, which, disavowing some horrible atrocities, is only a more deliberate system of injustice, cruelty and oppression.

Shocking ex-
 cesses, encour-
 aged by Eu-
 ropeans, and
 for what?

I shall give the substance of a conversation with an English slave-factor, who has lived some years a little way to the south, and is well acquainted with all the practices of the slave-trade. The factor, having mentioned the mulatto trader, (of whose ravages the Proprietors have heard so much) as a very gentleman-like, well educated, sensible and respectable kind of man; I was induced to ask, whether he had not been guilty of many excesses all around.—Excesses! No. He would make war sometimes on the head-men that owed him just debts, and sell some of their people, if he could catch them; or he might perhaps carry off the inhabitants of a town, when the king or father of it gave him express permission. He was a good man on the whole, and a man of humanity; for he did not shed all the blood he might, nor sell every one he had a right to sell. For instance, the chief now living near Freetown, and all his generation, were adjudged to be his property; but the chief himself has never yet been sold, which is a mere act of forbearance in the mulatto-trader. But I consider the sentence still in force against him.—Did not the mulatto trader order an attack on the neighbouring island, when the proprietor was killed in defending himself, and do not the friends of the proprietor consider this as an act of great injustice?—The proprietor well deserved to be attacked; for there is reason to think he was then intending to attack the mulatto trader.—I understand this affair is not over, and that the successors of this proprietor, intend to retaliate on the successors of the mulatto chief, when they have an opportunity.—I believe they do; but it ill becomes them to question the mulatto chief's conduct; for they should consider how much worse things their own father did. For example, the old man has been known to sail up a river, with some large craft, to land at a town under a great show of friendship. He has then made a speech to the head-men and people, remarking how shamefully all former traders had used them, and that he was come to trade fairly

fairly with them, as friends and brothers. He has then opened a puncheon or two of rum, and invited them to sit round and drink. At night, when he had got them thoroughly drunk, he has given the signal to his people in the craft, who have secured all the party in fetters, and sold every one worth purchasing to some slave-ship, all the while waiting at the river's mouth. (See § 21.) This old proprietor did many such things. But the mulatto trader never used treachery, nor attacked a town without reason; but the other plundered without distinction.—Does the mulatto trader's successor recover debts by the same means that he used?—*No, he is too easy.*—Is it not unpleasant to carry on a trade so full of enormities, as you describe the slave-trade to be?—It is no doubt a bad trade, but it is very profitable. I hate it, and would get out of it to-morrow, if I knew of one in which I could get the same money*.

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ONA.

only to obtain
MONEY.

469. The following conversation occurred with a slave-captain, who surpasses most others in effrontery and hardness of disposition. The exhibition of the moral effects of this traffic on the Europeans, in the opinion of the Directors, outweighs every objection to the recital of these dialogues.

——A slave-vessel, which has waited some time in the neighbouring river, arrived here. The captain complains bitterly of this detention, observing that, if he had been well manned, he would not have allowed the trader he dealt with to detain him thus; for that he would have carried off some of the people from a large town near which his vessel lay.—I asked him if this was common.—O, not at all uncommon (said he) we do it every day on the Gold Coast. We call it "*panyaring*." If a native there does not pay speedily, you man your boat towards evening, and bid your sailors go to any town, no matter whether your debtor's town or not, and catch as many people as they can. If your debt be large, it may be necessary to "*catch*" two towns. After this, your debtor will soon complete his number of slaves.—But what if he should not?—Why then we carry our prisoners away, to be sure.—But is this proper?—Necessity has no law; besides panyaring is country law.—Did you ever recover debts, in this way?—Aye, many a time, and I hope to do so again. I wish we had the same law here that we have on the Gold Coast, or that the old mulatto trader was alive. He was a fine fellow for business: he never caused any delay. But the present man is afraid to make a haul of the people: he wants a proper spirit.—How do you contrive to guard your slaves, with your slender crew?—I put them all in leg-irons; and if these be not enough, why then I hand-cuff them; if hand-cuffs be too little, I put a collar round their neck, with a chain locked to a ring-bolt on the deck; if one chain won't do, I put two, and if two won't do, I put three; you may trust me for that.—He afterwards very gravely assured me, that

Panyaring
described.

* See Notes respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE W, also § 142, Qu. VII. XII. XVI. XLVI.

he

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he never knew any cruelties committed.—But are not these things cruelties?—O no, these are not cruelties: they are matters of course; there's no carrying on the trade without them.

470. That the slave-trade sometimes brings sudden destruction on those immediately engaged in it, and that no severities can prevent these dreadful evils, the following accounts of the cutting off of slave-ships, all in the neighbourhood of S. Leona, and most of them recent, will sufficiently testify.

Slave-ship
 cut off.

——I have just heard that an American brig, commanded by captain ——, who I understand was outlawed in England, has been cut off by the slaves, 7 or 8 leagues, north of Cape S. Leona. A single slave began the attack, rushed into the cabin, laid open the captain's face and breast with an axe, and severely wounded a passenger. As the seamen made no resistance, they were permitted to go off, with the wounded, in the boat. The captain died. The ship was retaken by a Liverpool vessel, after an encounter in which some of the slaves were killed.

471. It is but candid to premise to the following account, (1.) that the extraordinary war here spoken of, appears not to have arisen out of the slave-trade.—The Directors cannot approve the pride and disdain of life which seem to have actuated the captive chief, who headed one of the insurrections, about to be mentioned. The impossibility of preventing such bloody scenes, not the motives of the actors, is the point to be illustrated. One or two other recent instances, similar to the following, have been mentioned to the Court; but the particulars have not been transmitted.

Bloody insur-
 rections.

(1.)——I have got considerable light into the history of Mahady, the famous Mahometan prophet, who appeared in these parts, with an immense concourse of followers, about three years ago. When he was killed, his generals contended for the mastery, and one of them, being taken by his antagonist, was immediately sold to a French slave-ship, lying off a factory near S. Leona. There he behaved with a fullen dignity, and, even in chains, addressed his fellow slaves, in his wonted tone of authority. I heard this from a slave-trader, who had seen him both as a great chief or general, and as a prisoner on board a slave-ship. The slave-trader, and the captive chief, mutually recognized each other. On the same day, when the slave-trader was on board, it happened that the chief was permitted to walk on deck, with-

out his fetters. No sooner had the captain and his friends sat down to dinner than a signal was given. The slaves rose to a man, knocked off each other's fetters, and, headed by the chief, attacked the barricade. But they failed. The guns were pointed at them, some were killed, many leaped into the sea, and the insurrection was quelled. The captain enquiring for the ringleader, the chief came boldly forward and avowed that he was the man; that he wished to give liberty to all the slaves on board; that he regretted his defeat on their account; but that, as to himself, he was well satisfied with the prospect of immediately obtaining, what he termed his own liberty. The captain hung him up instantly to the yard-arm.

(2.) A vessel brought an account of the cutting off of a Boston slave-ship, by about 40 slaves. Being only single-ironed, they cut to pieces the second mate and a seaman on deck, while the captain and most of the crew were below. They then attacked the cabin; but, being unable to force the door, they pointed the guns at it. The captain and the crew then surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared, and the ship given them, when they should have navigated her into some place, whence the slaves might escape. The captain and the chief mate, however, were killed; but the men were spared to navigate the ship. In steering towards a neighbouring river, she ran aground. Three seamen were sent in the boat, to drop an anchor astern; but, pulling to the shore, they brought a slave-trader, with as many hands as he could get, in an armed schooner. An obstinate engagement ensuing, the slave-trader had 3 men killed and 4 wounded. The slaves having expended their ammunition, formed a raft, on which they got on shore; and, on taking possession of the ship, it was found that several of them had also fallen. Of the slaves who got on shore, some were immediately killed; the rest, being 18, were at length overpowered by the natives, whom the noise of the firing had collected, and were sold again for slaves.

472. The following is a sketch of the origin, progress and end of an European slave-trader, who lately died at an island near S. Leona, and who seems to have attained to a degree of ferocity and hardness of heart, proportionate to his success in that bloody traffic. As he appears to have neither friend nor connection left, the Directors need not conceal his name, which was Ormond.

Some account of one Ormond, a murderous slave-factor.

He went from England, about 35 years ago, as a cabin-boy to a slave-ship, and was retained, as an assistant at a slave-factory on S. Leona river. There he acquired a knowledge, which qualified him for setting up a slave-factory afterwards for himself, in a neighbouring part towards the north, and, though unable to write or read, he became so expert a slave-trader, that he realized, as is supposed, about £20,000. His cruelties were almost incredible. Two persons who seem to have had good means

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of information, give the following account of them.—One of them, who lived for some time near Ormond, said he knew it to be a fact, that he used to tie stones to the necks of his unfaleable slaves, and drown them in the river, during the night; and that his cruelty was not confined to blacks; for, being offended by a white agent, one Christmas day, when drinking freely with some company, he made his slaves tie up the European, and gave him, with his own hands, 400 lashes, from which he died in a few days.—The other person allowed his general character for barbarity, and added that he was told by an eye-witness, that Ormond having caught a black wife of his in a criminal conversation with one of his slaves, he burnt them both to death with a tar-barrel. This savage had attained to the same trust with the Africans, in witchcraft and grisgris, or charms, and was subject to silly, superstitious fears. Providence having permitted this man to become an abandoned and successful slave trader, was pleased also to allow him to experience a reverse of fortune. A few years ago, having lost his health, he went to the *Isle de Los*, for the sake of sea air and medical help, leaving his affairs under the care of a mulatto who was his son. Happening to have recently destroyed one of the towns of the *Bagos*, who surround his factory, they took this opportunity to retaliate. Ormond's slaves, having been little attached to him, favoured the *Bagos*, and the place being taken, they shared the plunder. The buildings were all burnt, and the goods in them, amounting, it is said, to the value of 12 or 1500 slaves (near £30,000 ster.) were either destroyed or carried away. Young Ormond and all his adherents were put to death. Old Ormond lived to hear the news; but died in about a month after.—

The character of this man exhibits an instance of the great influence of the slave-trade in depraving the human heart. It also shows what crimes have been perpetrated with impunity, by British subjects, in Africa; and what instruments Great Britain has used, in carrying on this detestable commerce.—The Directors, however, did not impute equal atrocities to the generality of slave-traders. Yet they think it right to add, that other instances might, if necessary, have been given, of very nearly the same guilt and cruelty.

Account of
 the dispersion
 of the first
 colony at
 S. Leona.

473. Of the direct hindrance of the slave-trade to the civilization of Africa, the dispersion of the first colony of free blacks, affords an interesting, and indeed rather a discouraging, instance. (See § 335.) The circumstances which led to that event are as follow:

A chief

A chief living within half a mile of Freetown (which is on the spot, where the free blacks from London originally settled, § 382) had lost, as he affirms, two persons of his town, by the depredations of an American slave-captain, and had been waiting for an opportunity of retaliating on some vessel from that country. This opportunity occurring, he attacked the boat of an American ship, passing up the river, and plundered her, killing her crew, consisting of three or four men, except one, who escaped with the news to the slave-factory, whither the boat was going. The factor, consulting with the officers of a frigate then in the river, resolved to avenge the outrage. After two or three days, in which some vain attempts were made to induce the chief to come on board the frigate, the slave-factor, with a lieutenant and a body of British sailors and marines, set out to the chief's town, two free blacks from the new colony being their guides, a service to which, they say, they were compelled. On the approach of this armed body, the chief and his people fled, and the town was plundered and burnt. But the party, returning in the evening, were fired on, from among the bushes. A skirmish ensued, in which some natives are said to have fallen on the one side, and the lieutenant and a serjeant of marines, were killed on the other, a few also being slightly wounded. The chief, after this, often vowed farther retaliation: but happily, the principal object of his rage, the slave-factor, soon after quitted the coast. The factory, which is on an island at some distance in the river, and well fortified, suffered little from the consequences of these outrages; but they were fatal to the unprotected colony. A palaver of the chiefs was called, who, following the African mode of wild retaliation, determined to burn the town of the colonists, because two individuals belonging to it were among the hostile party. This dreadful sentence was executed within three days. It is but just to say, that the slave-factory afforded several of the colonists a temporary protection and support, in the first pressure of their distress.

474. This recital deserves notice, not only as an explanation of the dispersion of the first Sierra Leona colony, but as a specimen of one of the kinds of danger to which every new colony in Africa must be more or less exposed, while surrounded by the slave-trade. An outrage is, or is supposed to be, committed by a slave-captain; the natives blindly and bloodily retaliate; the slave-factory interferes; and the adjoining little colony is involved in the consequences. Such accidents are inherent in the slave-trade; they grow out of it's ordinary enormities; they accord with it's unjust and ferocious spirit: for the indiscriminate

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Slave-trade
threatens e-
very colony
with similar
dangers.

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seizure of each other, is the very lesson daily taught the Africans by the Europeans, who discourage no violence or atrocity, that promises to extend their traffick; and who, as far as the Directors are informed, are not accustomed to decline buying any man, on the ground of his having been unjustly seized. Indeed more than one instance might be pointed out, in which this same slave-factory has knowingly purchased freemen, from persons who they knew had no shadow of right to sell them. But the Directors wish not to reflect on any one slave-factory; for they believe the custom is general; each factor perhaps pleading that, if he should scruple to make such purchases, others would not; or, if they did, the captains, without the intervention of a factory, would buy the people so rejected. And indeed the slave-factors can scarcely be insensible of the great diminution which their trade might suffer, from admitting the principle of inquiring, how the slaves offered for sale were procured. But, whatever be the sophisms by which the slave-dealers justify the encouragement of mutual outrages among the natives, it cannot be surprising if they themselves, or whites visiting the coast, or any neighbouring European colony, should occasionally feel the effects of diffusing these principles of injustice.—The Court having heard the causes of the dispersion of the first colony, will not wonder at the anxiety of the Directors to provide against the same danger, nor at the eagerness they have already expressed to enlarge the number of colonists, and to form at once a respectable establishment. (§ 354.)

Some of the
first colonists
seized & sold.

475. Another proof of the danger, with which the slave-trade threatens any neighbouring colony, is afforded by the annexed relation,

Some

Some time before the establishment of the present Company, a British slave-factor, then in S. Leona river, but lately removed, seized five of the first colonists, on the ground of his having been wronged by one of their body, somewhere at a distance on the coast, where he was navigating a vessel belonging to this slave-factor, who said the country law warranted this mode of redress. But he afterwards was induced to release three of them, thinking the other two, on consideration, afforded that recompense for his loss which was proper, on the principles of African justice. These two men, it was admitted, had no connection with the defaulter, nor any means of catching him (for he had run from the ship, when she was some hundred miles from the colony) and whose only crime was that they had formerly lived in the same town with him. Yet they were kept in chains, by this British slave-trader, and then sold to a slave-captain, who was on the point of sailing; when a Mahometan chief, who happened to come from the interior country, took compassion on them, advanced about £50 ster. for their redemption, and sent them home. The same chief having lately sent a favourite free boy, with a message to a factor to whom he was in debt, the boy was seized by way of payment. The chief, half distracted, came to S. Leona, and endeavoured to trace the child from factory to factory. At length he called at Freetown, mentioned his present poverty, and the affliction which had brought him to the coast, and modestly asked for the £50 which he had formerly paid for the redemption of the two freemen of Granville town. The governor and council very carefully investigated the case, and found the main facts were precisely as has been stated. The £50 were repaid to the chief, by the Company, in consequence of this investigation.

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ONA.

Exemplary
humanity of
a chief.

476. The Directors have reason to think that several others of this first unprotected colony, were sold and carried off. One is believed to have been kidnapped by a neighbouring black trader; and another turned kidnapper himself. But the natives, whom he had seized and sold, were recovered by the Company's intervention, and the kidnapper was corporally punished. Some are also said to have been sold, for crimes charged against them. But all these incidents (except the detection and punishment of the kidnapper) happened before the formation of the present colony.

One of the
first colonists
turns kidnapper.

477. The insecurity of travellers, by preventing a free communication with the interior country, is another hin-

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ONA.Insecurity of
travellers,
from slave-
trade, pre-
vents inland
intercourse,
&c.

drance to the views of the Company. This opens a wide field for reflection. It appears, from many recent investigations, that the people of the coast, are far more barbarous than those of the interior; that, while the population towards the sea, is very thin, and the intercourse dangerous, there are found farther inland, many considerable towns, some of which, in the very heart of Africa, are supposed to carry on much internal trade, and to have made no small progress in civilization. The interests of the Company, therefore, and the benefit both of Africa and Europe, render some connection with the interior of this vast continent, a desirable object. But here again, the slave-trade banefully interposes. The general insecurity, anarchy and drunkenness which it hath introduced; but, above all, perhaps, a dread of the machinations of the slave-traders, who, by a chain of factories, have much influence in the interior, and, by their almost entire empire of the coast, may be considered as holding the key of Africa—these circumstances formidably obstruct every liberal attempt to discover and introduce, a mutually advantageous intercourse with the interior of Africa.

exemplified
in Mr. Nor-
denskiöld's
unhappy case

478. The proprietors are already informed (§ 400) that, in the very infancy of the colony, the Company's mineralogist attempted to penetrate into the country round S. Leona. He was a man who to some impatience, joined a very ardent mind, a love of knowledge, and great personal respectability, and professional experience. He went out to extend his discoveries, having voluntarily offered his services to the Company, taking no salary, but simply stipulating, that, if any profits should arise from his researches, he should have the share which mineralogists are commonly allowed, and that the Company should pay the expenses

penfes of his paffage, and living, at S. Leona.—This firft adventurer from S. Leona, on a journey of difcovery, was, as before flated, attacked and plundered by a native chief, and returned in fo deplorable a condition, that he appears to have died from vexation and hardship. It would not have been unreaſonable to ſuſpect, that the ſlave-trade had imparted ferocity to this chief, even if his poſitive connection with ſlave-traders had not been proved. But the ſame chief has ſince attacked another ſervant of the Company, at the inſtigation of a French ſlave-trader, who told him that a ſhip of the S. Leona Company had been equipped, to make war on all the French ſlave-factories in his territories. On the veſſel's arrival, the natives were alarmed; but the peaceable conduct of the captain, who merely went up to buy rice, ſoon allayed their fears. The chief, however, being very drunk, met with the captain and affaulted him. The people then tore off his clothes, dragged him to another town about two miles off, and there kept him priſoner. When the chief grew ſober, he ordered the captain to be ſet free, and made him ſome preſents, by way of compensation—The Directors will not add here, any more obſervations on the hindrances of the ſlave-trade to the Company's views; as the ſubject will neceſſarily recur, in ſpeaking of the ſteps taken to promote civilization. But the importance of the ſubject ſeems to deſerve recapitulation.

479. It appears then, that the chief ſources of the ſlave-trade are debts, wars, crimes and kidnapping. Debts, in this caſe, may not, on the firſt view, appear very dreadful; but the preceding facts put together, exhibit ſuch a ſcene of wickedneſs and miſery, as a ſlight investigation would not have ſuggeſted.—If an African contract a debt, another

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Sources of the
ſlave-trade
recapitulated.
Debts,

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other person commonly pays the penalty, and the slave-trader carries off a wife or a child of the debtor, or perhaps an inhabitant of the same town, or some stranger who had sought protection there. In one case, as has been shown, a child is torn from its father by a debtor, and the slave-captain sails, before the parent can bring a substitute, (§ 459.) A wife is sold by her husband, for a debt, and is seen weeping in a slave-ship, for her infant left behind, (§ 467.) A free boy, sent with a message, is seized for his principal's debt, and is carried off, before he can be redeemed, (§ 475.) Among other colonists who were captured, two are sold for the debt of a townsman, who runs away from his captain, on another part of the coast, (§ 475.) —In other views, the custom of selling men for debt, appears still more dreadful. The slave-traders appear to encourage the chiefs to contract debts, for the sake of the consequent right of seizure. The very large credits, which, being incompatible with ordinary commerce, seem peculiar to the slave-trade, form, perhaps, one of its main pillars; for some facts that have appeared at S. Leona, unequivocally shew, that liberal credit legalizes all kinds of enormities. It serves equally to subject a country to a slave-factor, or to secure dispatch to a slave-ship. By these credits, the mulatto trader acquired his power over the chiefs, and depopulated the whole country around him, without violating the customs of Africa, or forfeiting his character, as a "*good man and man of humanity*," (§ 468.) It is plain, that slave-captains, coming to trade on the coast, may make the same use of this system of credit. By distributing part of their goods among the chiefs, they establish a claim to seize both them and their people: and, *if their crews be strong enough* (§ 469) they need not wait long for their cargo;

go; for they have only to resort to *the country law of pany-aring*. (§ 469.) In the Mandingo country also, it has been shown, that debts cause kidnapping; for chiefs getting into debt to Europeans are put into confinement; and hence their people are obliged to kidnap, to redeem them (§ 456.) In short, no proceeding of the S. Leona Company has so much offended the chiefs, as the refusal of the usual African credit.

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ONA.

480. War also might seem, on a superficial view, to rank with the least objectionable sources of the slave-trade. But, when viewed more closely, it is seen to involve the most horrible enormity. The Africans, afraid to live detached, congregate into towns, under the protection of some chief, whom they commonly call their father. He, being corrupted by liquor, is largely credited by the slave-factor, who, on this ground makes war on the people. Some are killed, and many more taken and sold as slaves, and thus the chief's debt is paid. Such were precisely the numerous little wars of the great mulatto trader, against all the inferior chiefs around him. From these wars others spring, and a long train of hostilities follows. A chief escapes from the mulatto trader, with the residue of his people, to an island: thence he carries on a vindictive, predatory war; taking 40 prisoners at once, from the mulatto-trader, who would not be slow to retaliate; and the slave-trade gets farther victims from each side (§ 454.) Some of these petty wars seem eminently productive. The chief of Quiaport attacks the chief of Bowrah, and sends his prisoners to the slave-factory. The latter gathers all his strength, and seizes double the number from the former; for he is obliged to redeem his people by paying two for one (§ 456.) Nor are these smaller wars the only productive ones. Every great nation near Sierra

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Leona,

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Leona, has been involved in war by the slave-trade. The female mulatto owns, that the Mandingoes have no wars, when slaves are not in demand, (§ 456.) The Foulahs, says another evidence, are well known to go to war solely to get slaves (§ 456.) "The people directly inland, adds another chief, go to war for slaves. Our country being very much depopulated, and the passage of slaves from remote parts being hindered by wars, the slave-factors have lately endeavoured to prevent them, and the adjacent country to S. Leona, begins to be at peace." (§ 456.)

Crimes, real
or imputed.

481. Crimes, real or imputed, are another chief cause of slavery: adultery is one of the highest. A native chief, in one case, (§ 460.) and an European chief in another (§ 460) sells an inferior African on such a charge; both by their own arbitrary will, and evidently for their own emolument. And here, let the drunkenness and depravity of the chiefs, who are thus judges in their own cause, be considered; let the African polygamy be added; nor let the remark of a native trader be forgotten, that it is common for chiefs, who want goods, to hint to their wives, to encourage adultery. Many of the other crimes have been so slight, and such the injustice of the judges, that the decisions aggravate the horror excited by this traffic. A whole town, the chief excepted, is enslaved, for letting some runaway slaves pass to the mountains, (§ 458.) A woman from the next town, is torn from her unweaned child and sold, merely for impertinence, (§ 467.) Two men are sold by a chief, to compensate for his having, in his drunkenness, ordered a slave-trader to be flogged, (§ 461.) A man is sold for having changed himself into a leopard, (§ 465.) The whole family of another is sold for his supposed theft, after he had been poisoned with red water, (§ 464.) The mulatto-trader's

trader's setting up a slave as a judge, the growing power of this judge, the court paid to him by the slave-traders, and the dread of coming near him, are also to be remembered.

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482. The instances given of kidnapping are numerous. A Nova Scotian, formerly kidnapped from S. Leona, on landing there is recognized by his mother, (§ 457.) Relations of the king of S. Leona are carried off, at three different times, by kidnappers, (§ 351.) The Company's agent falls in with a party of natives, in the very act of kidnapping, (§ 348.) A free colonist from England is kidnapped. Another turns kidnapper himself; but is detected and punished, by the governor and council, (§ 476.) No less than three British commanders are infected with the contagion, and sell, without scruple, the free mariners found on board French prizes. In one of these instances, 19 free-men were sold, many of them sons of chiefs, (§ 463.) In a second 3 or 4 others, in spite of the remonstrances of the Sierra Leona government. In a third 4 women left on board as pawns, (§ *ibid.*) The numbers in the Desert-er's town are reduced, partly by kidnapping, (§ 458.) Free-booters infest the parts between the coast and the Foulah country; so that he who brings down slaves is often kidnapped on his return, and sold to the same factory where he had been selling others, (§ 456.) In the Sufee country, kidnapping is frequent. In the Mandingo country, mothers dare not trust their children out of their sight, after sun-set, for fear of kidnappers, (§ 456.) The reasons of it's prevalence are debts; impunity, from the facility of selling the victims; and wars, (§ 479 *et seq.*) A chief owns that in a 5 years war, he used to waylay and kidnap passengers; but says it was a bad thing, justified only by the necessity of having something to give to the slave-factories for ammunition.

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This account
respects S.
Leona; but
inland slave-
trade cannot
be very dif-
ferent.

30,000 slaves
annually
dragged
from Africa,
by the above
nefarious
means.

tion, (§ 456.) We may add the extraordinary ravages of the proprietor of a neighbouring island, who swept away the people of whole towns, when he had intoxicated them, and of whose indiscriminate ravages even the slave-factor complained.

483. These are the four sources of the slave-trade near S. Leona; nor do the Directors conceive that any considerable number have been obtained from these parts, by less exceptionable means. Indeed it is reasonable to presume, that at S. Leona, many atrocities have been perpetrated secretly, or at least concealed from the Company's servants. The preceding account, indeed, only respects the slaves from near S. Leona, not the general body sold in S. Leona river, most of whom are brought from the interior. But the Directors conceive that no one can fairly assume, that the case of inland slaves differs essentially from that of slaves from the coast: the injustice and treachery practised in taking them, and their consequent wretchedness, can hardly fail to be somewhat similar, in whatever part of Africa such scenes take place*.

484. Let then this aggregate of misery be contemplated; let it be remembered, that the above is but a *sample* of the manner in which EIGHTY THOUSAND men are annually dragged from Africa by the civilized Europeans, especially by the British: let all the concomitant enormities, the blood spilt in wars, in cutting off slave-ships, in acts of suicide on board, and in sanguinary vengeance on shore, be borne in mind: let the drunkenness, the treachery, the unnatural

* That the slave-trade is carried on by similar means, and is attended with similar scenes, on the coast from Senegal to Gambia, and also about 800 miles up the former river, may be seen in my "Observations on the Slave-trade, &c." 8vo. London printed 1789. C. B. W.

sale of wives and children, for debt and for liquor, let the depravity communicated, as by contagion, to British captains, sailors and factors, and the atrocities to which some of them have been transported, be recollected; above all, let the stop put to the civilization of one fourth of the globe, and the guilt of hindering that light of revelation, which has so long shone on Britain, from shining on the inhabitants of that vast continent, be added to the account: let the miseries of Africa be contrasted with the blessings which *might* have resulted from a contrary conduct in G. Britain, and from the introduction of Christianity and European knowledge, and from that promotion of industry which is the sure result of an honest, innocent and peaceful commerce.—Let all these considerations be put together, and the evil of the slave-trade will indeed appear enormous; it's hindrance to civilization, and it's hostility to every principle professed by the S. Leona Company, become abundantly evident; and the prospects of civilization about to be stated will appear important, not only from their immediate consequences, but from their evincing the practicability of reversing the cruel system which yet prevails in Africa.

485. The subversion of the slave-trade was one leading motive in the institution of the Company; and it is one of the objects to which those who manage it's affairs, profess that their best endeavours shall be directed. But they trust that they shall not allow their detestation of that trade, to degenerate into ill-will to those engaged in it; and they feel peculiar satisfaction in observing, that their government abroad, however their zeal for it's abolition may have been excited by the scenes they have witnessed, have never used either violent or underhand means to promote this object; having neither forcibly interrupted the slave-traders nor irritated the

Sick slave-
traders, re-
ceived at S.
Leona.

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ONA.

natives or the Nova Scotians against them; nor have they encouraged sailors who thought themselves cruelly used, or slaves, in the ships or factories, to desert to the colony. Indeed the governor and council have been peculiarly moderate, in some trying cases; labouring to promote peace, to compose differences and to prevent private vengeance. They have been just towards the slave-traders, and have given them proofs of humanity and kindness. They have entertained many sick Europeans from the slave-ships, whom the known salubrity of the air, or the expectation of good medical advice have attracted to Freetown, and who have been lodged in the town, at the Company's expense, or gratuitously received into the hospital.—Their impartiality appeared, when a complaint having been made against some natives by the slave-captain, whose cruelties on board, and seizure of the natives on shore, appear from his conversation before recited, the governor and council induced the neighbouring head-man to obtain a hearing of the case. But the accused natives exculpated themselves, the slave-captain being wholly to blame.

486. The following is an instance of the protection afforded to a slave-trader, by the governor and council, and of their prudent care to prevent the outrages of the slave-trade from taking place on the Company's district. It has been stated that an European slave-factor sold a free native, in his service, without the form of a trial, on a charge of adultery with one of his wives, (§ 460.) This sale gave rise to the outrage now to be described.

French slave-
factor pro-
tected at S.
Leona.

A neighbouring French slave-factor having landed on the colony, a native accused him of having wrongfully sold a free grumetta (his brother) who had served him faithfully, many years. The native collared the Frenchman, threatening to drag him to a neighbouring town, that the dispute might be settled. I rescued him, with some difficulty, being determined to forbid all such acts on our ground. But while

while I was getting a boat, to convey him out of the colony, he fell again into the hands of the same natives. By help of the governor and another principal servant of the Company, I rescued him again, and he got safely to his vessel. He was so terrified, that he thought us all his enemies, and begged that we would kill him ourselves, and not give up to the savages. I feared the interference of the N. Scotians, many of whom beheld this scene; but they behaved very well; though their feelings leaned strongly to the side of the natives. I told them that, before any stranger should be forced from our district, we were resolved that we ourselves would be carried off, and this language restrained them very much. The next Sunday, our clergyman noticed from the pulpit, how unbecoming it would be if any stranger, however, culpable, who had come to the colony for protection, should be seized in it: of this the N. Scotians approved. On complaining to the chief of the native who collared the Frenchman, he apologized, and assured me that no such outrage should be committed in future. Soon after this, the Frenchman reported, that the assault of the native had been instigated by us. He was certainly so terrified at the assault, that he might not have been a judge of what passed. Besides, as a slave-trader, he would be prejudiced against us. But, I think, I would again submit to such calumny, rather than let any violence be committed on our ground.

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487. This same slave-trader, soon after his own rescue, instigated the drunken chief to assault one of the Company's captains (§ 478.) Though the governor and council have acted upon the pacific principles recommended by the Directors, some instances of the Company's interference with the interests of the slave-traders may have been interpreted into acts of hostility.

His ingrati-
tude.

488. To the following incident, it is necessary to premise, that the legislatures of the Northern States of America have prohibited the slave-trade, in certain cases, under heavy penalties.

An American ship arriving in S. Leona river, the supercargo, who seems to have known little of the Company's principles, went hastily to the governor and council and offered them his cargo, for a cargo of slaves, saying he would take no other articles, and hoped they would soon favour him with the slaves he wanted.—A counsellor asked him how the American laws stood, respecting this trade.—He said that, where he came from, it was prohibited, under forfeiture of the ship and £1000 penalty on the captain. "But, added he, no body will inform."—Indeed, Sir, replied the counsellor, I myself shall inform, if none else will.—I hope Sir, you will not

Americans
clandestinely
pursue slave-
trade, though
prohibited.

do

C H A P. XI. do so unfriendly a thing.—I would rather prevent evil than punish it, (said the counsellor) and I warn you, that if you carry a single slave from this coast, you shall find an information lodged against you in America.—The supercargo then said, he was not in earnest, and that he really abhorred the slave-trade.

Sierra Leone.
which the Directors are taking steps to prevent.

489. This ship quitted the river, immediately, to the obvious prejudice of the slave-factories there.—The Directors have received from S. Leona, a list of all the American ships, which have transgressed the laws of that country, and are taking measures for conveying to the several legislatures, whose authority hath been insulted, sufficient evidence of the circumstances tending to the conviction and punishment of the offenders.

Company generously resolve to redeem slaves,

490. Another step of the Directors to limit the excesses of the slave-trade, may be worthy of mention. The information of the sale of the free mariners found in the French prizes, came accompanied with an intimation of the doubts of the Company's servants abroad, whether they ought to have redeemed those injured men. It was thought that the price paid for their liberty might be recovered in England, by an action against the British subjects who sold them. On the other hand, the expense of sending witnesses from Africa, the danger of failing in some point of legal evidence, and the many uncertainties of such a business, were so obvious, that, on the whole, the governor and council were afraid of adopting this step. But the Directors, on considering the advantages of avowing their determination to interfere in future cases of this sort, thought it right to send instructions, that if, in certain specified cases, any neighbouring native should be unjustly sold, either to or by a British subject, the governor and council were to pay the price of such person's redemption, if no other means of liberating him should be afforded. This intelligence

gence is said to have been satisfactory to several of the neighbouring chiefs.

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491. The obstacles of the slave-trade to the Company's designs will farther appear in describing their direct efforts to set on foot plans of cultivation and industry, and to prepare the way for the introduction of Christianity and civilization. One of the most effectual means of promoting these objects must obviously be, by gaining over some principal kings or chiefs to this great cause. (see § 130.) If any chief possessed of fertile land, and having grumettas under him, could be persuaded to employ them in regular cultivation, under the direction of an European planter; if he could be induced to entertain a school-master or missionary, a friendly intercourse, also, subsisting between such chief and the Sierra Leona government; it can hardly be doubted that civilization would rapidly advance.

and to conciliate chiefs.

492. Among the obstacles to the adoption of any plan of cultivation by the kings or chiefs, near S. Leona, it has been stated that they universally deal in slaves. By the same traffic also many private slave-traders have become chiefs: the difference between a chief or king, who is also a slave-trader, and a slave-trader who has raised himself into a chief, being principally that the king is the less powerful of the two, and is commonly also in debt, and subservient, to an European factor; whereas the slave-trader is often rich and independent, having many chiefs in his debt, and therefore, subject to him. It is obvious that neither kings leagued with a slave-factor, nor chiefs become rich by the slave-trade, can generally be expected to patronize industry and reformation of manners. This traffic, indeed, presents profits often so easy and tempting, that habits of labour seem not likely to prevail till it shall cease.

Sl. trade, obstructs cultivation; by its profits, &c.

—On

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ONA.(but it has in-
troduced a
taste for Eu-
ropean goods)by its large
credits,by groundless
prejudices.Chiefs, &c.
who may be
expected to
favour the
Company's
views.

—On the other hand, the slave-trade hath initiated the natives into the use of European goods, some of which they consider even as necessities. This taste may, therefore, be expected to stimulate industry, as soon as even the produce of the land and labour of Africa shall be required, for European goods, instead of her inhabitants themselves, (§ 36 *et seq.*)

493. The large credits given in the slave-trade also oppose any sudden dereliction of it; since they render it very difficult for chiefs who might be disposed to favour cultivation, to call in their capital.

494. The prejudices which many chiefs at first imbibed against the Company, form another obstacle to cultivation. They seem to have been taught to believe, that the Company were to be the general disturbers of the peace, by changing the customs of Africa; that they intended to deprive the chiefs of their power, and, in the end, of their territories; and to encourage slaves to desert their masters and take refuge in the colony. It is obvious, however, that this impediment is merely temporary.

495. These obstacles were expected to oppose, and have in fact more or less opposed, all the Company's attempts to interest the African chiefs in plans of civilization and industry; but, though many of them still operate, they have, in several instances, been happily overcome. The means by which this has been effected are easily explained. First, a few natives of some consequence, the successors of deceased slave-traders, are growing less fond of that dangerous traffic, by which their property was originally acquired. Among such the Company may be expected to make proselytes. Other chiefs may be thrown into distress by the slave-trade; may lose a near relation by it; or possibly having

having been redeemed from a slave-ship themselves, may be affected by narrowly escaping the fate to which they have too often consigned others. And circumstances have already occurred, which give hopes of gaining such persons. Others again may be led, partly by higher principles, to contemplate the miseries brought by the slave-trade on their country, and, if a fair opening be afforded, and the sacrifice be not too great, may become favourers of order and industry. Lastly, some chiefs, struck with the improvements at Freetown, or having, perhaps, visited England, may return animated with a desire to impart the blessings they have witnessed, who may be induced, possibly by embracing Christianity, to stand forward as promoters of civilization, and friends of the Company. That one or other of these principles has actually operated on the minds of several very considerable chiefs, will appear—first from a quotation from the journal of one of the Company's servants already often referred to, and which describes an interview with a neighbouring chief, about a year after the institution of the colony.

Having heard of this chief's prejudices against us, I first expressed to him my fear that our engagements in the care of our infant colony, might have afforded time for interested men to spread reports against us; that it was true we were not friends to the slave-trade, but that we wished peaceably to draw the natives from it, by setting before them other sources of wealth. Though civil, he was, at first, far from cordial. He allowed that we had many enemies, and that he had been alarmed for his property. I then explained several parts of our conduct, which I found had been grossly misrepresented; assuring him particularly, that it was not our purpose to decoy slaves from their masters (as he had been told) and that, if we did not seize and deliver them up, yet we would neither shelter, nor employ them. I offered education, at Sierra Leona, to any of his young people, and hinted that a seminary might be set up at his own place. I then urged him to set his grumettas to cultivation, calculated and set before him the advantages he would derive from having his lands covered with cotton and coffee, instead of their being depopulated by the slave-trade. He was very inquisitive about this plan, and appeared rather to approve it; but

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An instance.
Young Cleave-
land's preju-
dices remov-
ed.

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and he be-
 comes fa-
 vourable to
 cultivation,

his humanity

doubted whether he should find a market for his produce. I answered that we would agree to take it, at a certain price. He was satisfied with my explanation, and wished the Company success. I afterwards viewed some of his land, which is excellent: cotton grows abundantly, and the true indigo is seen in several places.

496. The Directors have the satisfaction of adding, that, by recent advices, this person's disposition to quit the slave-trade appears to be strengthened, and that he has actually taken some measures for commencing cultivation. He has been retarded from adopting the Company's suggestions, by his outstanding debts, which it has been difficult to collect, except in slaves; by the alluring profits of the slave-trade; and by his temporary prejudices against the Company, (see § 492 *et seq.*) But his known humanity and liberality, and perhaps the late reduction of the demand for slaves, from the war, and the failure of credit here, seem at length to have operated on him so effectually, as to incline him to favour cultivation.—From what has been said, it may be presumed that this respectable African, when he followed the slave-trade, would exercise as much humanity as could be reconciled to such a traffic; and that he would probably confine his purchases to slaves from a distance, giving protection to the people around him. The truth of this presumption appears from the censures of the slave-traders. He is the very man who made the British slave-captain wait so long for slaves, being “*afraid to make a haul of the people*” as the “fine fellow” (the mulatto chief) his predecessor used to do; and whose town, therefore, the captain said he would have seized “if he had been well manned,” in order, doubtless, to teach this African “a proper spirit.” His incapacity for the slave-trade has been also intimated by a British factor, who being asked, “Does the mulatto trader’s successor recover debts by the same means (laying waste

waste his debtor's towns) that he used," replied "*No he is too easy*," (See § 368, 369.) In the journal sent home, a no less honourable testimony of this African, and of the peace and security he has introduced, is implied in the words of a third British slave-factor, who dwelt on a neighbouring island.

"I remember the time" said he "when, if I sent a grumetta up the country, with goods equal in value to one slave, I was sure to have him back with two slaves in return, within six days: but it will *now* take as many weeks to get the same number, and yet slaves are dearer than ever."

497. The Company owe their success, in this district, partly to the war*, and partly to the remembrance of the ravages of the mulatto trader. They owe a similar benefit to the experience of the bitter effects of the slave-trade, in the following recent case.—The Mahometan chief, whose humane, modest and disinterested conduct has been mentioned (§ 475) made the following observations.

He said, he had been taught to look on the colony with jealousy, and had therefore hitherto kept aloof; but that recent misfortunes, brought on him by the machinations of slave-traders, some of which he related, added to what he had lately learnt of our conduct, had made him suspect the truth of what he had heard, and that he was come to have his doubts cleared up. He earnestly entreated my assistance, in recovering his intimate friend, Famarah, a distinguished chief carried off the coast, some time ago, as a slave. He also spoke to me of the free boy whom he had just lost, and to induce me to exertion in recovering both captives, he named his redemption of our free colonists, for which, he said, the slave-traders had blamed, as well as laughed at him. Though I could give him little hopes of recovering either of the captives, he was pleased, on the whole, with his visit. He was particularly gratified by seeing our schools. "If I were younger, said he, I should stay here; but, as it is, I shall send my children." He also spoke of his having been driven, by the arts of a British slave-trader, to the necessity of quitting his native place; but said that he lived now in a country affording some produce, which he should be happy to collect for us. His conversation and manners interested me much. He is about 60 years old, of a good and benevolent appearance. His mind, which is naturally se-

Humane Ma-
hometan
chief unde-
ceived.

* The interruption of the slave-trade by the present European war is here evidently meant. C. B. W.

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Chief of the
river makes
most gener-
ous offers.

gacious, being now bowed down by misfortunes, is the more open to impressions against the slave-trade; and I trust we shall attach him to us.

498. The Directors will next add a very encouraging account of an interview with another chief.

I waited on the chief of this river, who is said to have great influence over the three neighbouring kings, and to have nominated them all. I was surprised by the appearance of a man about 90 years old, still sensible and active. I acquainted him with the motives of my visit, and the principles of the Company. He very readily assured me, that he would protect our traders, and favour us in the custom of his river. He promised to send one of his boys to the colony for education, and to visit it himself, the next dry season. He also offered protection to a missionary, or schoolmaster, and to make his situation comfortable. I have met with no native more liberal in his views, or clear in his ideas or conversation. He has wonderfully divested himself of African prejudices and superstitions, and reprobates the custom of sacrificing to the devil, who, said he, "must be himself a creature of God." Though occasionally engaged in the slave-trade, he rejoices in the prospect of its abolition. Some years ago, his town was destroyed by the mulatto slave-trader, and many of his people carried off: he still waits for an opportunity of revenge. — We had proposed to him to build on an island of his, a factory and a rice-house, vesting in us the right of possession, and that he should furnish a planter, whom we might send, labourers to clear and plant the whole. I think it likely that our proposal will be accepted, and a magazine may be fixed for the produce of the neighbourhood, which is very rich in rice, stock and camwood. A schoolmaster, or missionary, would find a considerable population, if the cultivation should proceed with spirit, and would be within one or two hours distance of several of the largest villages in these parts.

499. A very favourable specimen of the African character, and a most pleasing proof of the practicability of introducing European improvements, are afforded by the following incident.

Chief from
the Gambia,
zealous for
improvement.

Five natives lately arrived, in a ship of our's, from the Gambia. One of them, named Cuddy, is a chief and principal trader there. His figure is very prepossessing. He is well made, and about 6 feet 3 inches high. His manners are civil and easy, and his face the picture of benevolence. He is modest and diffident, and afraid of offending against the truth. He was dressed in his country fashion, neat and clean, but despised finery. He has risen much in my esteem, and that of all the Company's officers, as well as of the colonists, during the 14 days he spent at my house. It was pleasing to observe him contemplating whatever he saw, with the view of turning

ing it to his country's advantage. He has been assiduously endeavouring to prevail on some of the N. Scotia blacks, to go with him to the Gambia, to instruct his countrymen, and has induced a good carpenter to go, who is to build him a house and make him ploughs and husbandry utensils, and also looms; for Cuddy has it much at heart to introduce the broad loom among his people. Another man is to embark with him, who understands ploughing, and can make shingles, &c. Cuddy has long been partial to the Company, has always been kind to their servants, when in the Gambia, and has built, on the Floop side of that river, a little town, which he has named Sierra Leona. Being curious in natural productions, he showed our botanist several dying plants growing here, particularly a tree used in the Gambia, for making indigo more durable.

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500. The Directors will next offer some information relative to the interior country, gained in a journey lately made into a large neighbouring kingdom *.—The governor and council having been informed by some of the Foulahs †, a powerful nation to the N.E. of S. Leona, that their king desired to form an intercourse with the colony, two gentlemen in the Company's service, offered to attempt to penetrate, through a large, and as yet unknown country, to his capital‡. Sailing accordingly, to the Rio Nunez, they obtained inter-

Interesting
expedition to
the interior.

* The account of this expedition, and much other matter, in this and the preceding chap. were not inserted in the Report read to the Proprietors. Advices from S. Leona, of the 6th Sep. 1794, had been received at time of sending this Report to the press, which have furnished much additional intelligence. Their recent accounts are, in almost every respect, more favourable than any preceding. They convey, nevertheless, information of a disturbance in the colony, from the violence of some of the most disaffected N. Scotians. But the ringleaders had been taken up, or had left the colony, the utmost tranquillity prevailed when the last dispatches came away, which were dated 7 or 8 weeks after the tumult, and the government are persuaded that there is no reason to fear any permanent or material ill consequences.

† There seem to be several independent tribes or nations of Foulahs, of which this is probably one of the most considerable.

‡ Mr. James Watt, already spoken of (formerly manager of the estate of George Rose, Esq. M. P. in Dominica) and Mr. Winterbottom, brother to Dr. Winterbottom, physician to the colony.

preters

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preters and guides at Kocundy, a considerable way up that river, and then set out on foot, in a party of about twenty persons. They mention, with much thankfulness, their obligations to some slave-traders, especially to a mulatto trader near Kocundy. Shortly after leaving Rio Nunez, they found that a considerable intercourse subsisted between the interior country, and the upper parts of the river; for 5 or 600 Foulahs were often seen in a day, carrying on their backs great loads of rice and ivory, to be exchanged for salt. In the numerous successive towns, generally distant 6, 8 or 10 miles, the travellers were always most hospitably received; the inhabitants having been agreeably surprized at the sight of white men, of whom none had ever been seen even a few day's journey from the coast. After travelling 16 days, through a country barren in many parts, but fruitful in others, and remarkably full of cattle, and after passing 2 or 3 small rivers, one of them said to empty itself into the Gambia, they arrived at Laby, a town about 200 miles, almost due east, from Kocundy. Here they spent 3 or 4 days, being most cordially received by the chief who is subordinate to the king of the Foulahs. Laby is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, and is supposed to contain not less than 5000 people. From Laby, they proceeded, in another week, 72 miles farther inland, to Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, experiencing every where the same hospitality.

Govern-
ment, state of
civilization,
&c. &c.

501. During 14 days which they passed in Teembo, they often conversed, through their interpreters, with the king, with a person who acts as deputy in his absence, and with many other principal persons. This kingdom is about 350 miles long, from E. to W. and about 200 miles broad, from N. to S. The king is very arbitrary, in many points, and he opens or shuts up the markets and channels of trade, just as

he

he pleases. Teembo may contain about 7000 inhabitants; and the superiority of all these interior people, to those on the coast, is great, in most branches of civilization. The houses here, at Laby and some other places, are occasionally spoken of in the journals as very good. The silver ornaments, worn by some of the chief women, are said to be equal in value to £20. At Laby and Teembo, they work in iron, silver, wood and leather, and weave narrow cloths. The chief men have books, generally on divinity or law; and reading is common, there being schools in almost every town. Horses are commonly used by the chief people, who often ride out for amusement; and the king invited the two strangers to see a species of horse-race. The soil is generally stony; much of it is pasture: in some parts, rice is cultivated, chiefly by the women, the men, many of whom are slaves, carrying away the produce on their backs. The soil is dry; about one third of it is said to be extremely fertile, and the climate is thought very good. The nights and mornings were sometimes cold, and the thermometer * was once as low as 51° , at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in the morning; but it rose to near 90° at noon. The religion is Mahometanism, and there are many mosques; but neither priests nor people seem to have much bigotry, though they fail not to observe the Mahometan rites, praying five times a day. The king's punishments are arbitrary and severe, especially for disrespect to his own authority; but it appears that no Foulahs are ever sold as slaves, for debts or crimes, and kidnapping seldom occurs. Till lately, however, the Foulahs dealt very considerably in slaves, to procure whom they avowedly go to war. Their religion affords them an apology for this horrible injustice, by permitting them to destroy all infidels.

* Farenheit's

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a term which seems to include all their neighbours. Our travellers lost no opportunity of reprobating these wars, and of inculcating the principles of the Company, as appears from the following extract from one of the journals.

Foulahs
make war to
get slaves.

(1.) In the morning, I had a visit from the deputy king, who told me with a shocking degree of openness, that the sole object of their wars was to procure slaves, as they could not obtain European goods without slaves, and they could get slaves without fighting for them. I mentioned rice, ivory and cattle; but he said, the factories would not furnish them with guns, powder and cloth, which he considered as the chief articles, for any thing except slaves. I told him that, by a trade in produce, they might become rich, without going to war for slaves, which must certainly offend that God, to whom they prayed five times a day. "But the people on whom we make war, returned he, never pray to God: we do not go to war with people who give God Almighty service."

In an interview with the king himself, the following conversation occurred.

King disposed
to abandon
the slave-
trade.

(2.) After stating the views of the Company, I took the liberty of remarking, how wicked it was for one nation to destroy another. If these people, said I, have not so much knowledge as you, you should instruct them. There were present, the king, the head priest and the chief minister, and they still suffered me to proceed without interruption; I was surprized at their attention. They all acknowledged the truth of what I said, and the king observed, that, if he could get guns, powder and every thing else he wanted, for ivory, rice and cattle, he would soon have done with the slave-trade. I told him, that, if once the Africans knew the S. Leona Company perfectly, I was sure wars would cease. They all said, they believed so too.

The next day, a conversation occurred to this effect.

Religious
wars.

(3.) I waited on a head man, by his desire. I found him writing, but he quickly laid aside his work. I had much conversation with him, similar to what I held with the king the night before. He defended for some time, their religious wars, but at last admitted that they must be displeasing to God. He still said, however, that their book desired them to make war on nations that would not do God service. I replied, that there might be many good things in their book; but that I was sure the devil had put in that passage: God was so good and merciful that he must hate men who destroyed their fellow creatures. He scrupled not to say, that if the Foulahs could get the goods they wanted without war, he would then believe that going to war offended God: but, said he, if we cannot get these things without war, God cannot be angry with us for going to war, especially as it is so in our book.

Another

Another circumstance, more lamentable than any of the preceding, must be added here.

(4.) The king's deputy, after stating that the Foulahs made war, solely to get slaves, said also, "*that the old men, and old women, who were captured in these wars, and who were known to be unfaleable, were put to death.*" These are the words in Mr. Watt's journal: that of Mr. Winterbottom represents the king's deputy as saying that they "*cut the throats*" of the elder captives; and mentions, that when this cruelty was condemned, he replied, that it was not so cruel as letting them starve to death, adding, that their enemies would not scruple to do the same. See § 509.

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Unfaleable
slaves, killed
by the Fou-
lahs.

502. That this additional and enormous evil is directly chargeable on the slave-trade, these quotations seem to evince: and that no similar effusion of blood can be supposed to happen, even among the same people, in the case of *able-bodied slaves*, returned or withheld for want of a market, the following circumstances clearly prove.—It has been stated, that the war with France suddenly checked the slave-trade on the coast. It appears, from the journals of this expedition, that

but faleable
ones would
not be killed,
even if the
market were
stopped.

The influence of the European war was as strong in the interior. The wars of Teembo ceased about this period: slaves at the sea-side fell from 160 to 120 bars. The king of the Foulahs, to bring the slave-traders to terms, forbade his subjects to carry slaves down till 160 bars should be again offered; and the consequence of the slaves being thus withheld (except a few smuggled ones) was that the Foulah country had become full of them*.

European
war checks
inland slave-
trade.

503. It has been stated (§ 456.) that the Foulahs were often seized by freebooters, in returning from the factories to which they had been carrying the captives, taken in their predatory wars. This fact is confirmed by the following incident, among others of the kind that occurred in this journey.

An old man called on the travellers at Teembo, and begged them to enquire after his son, who with six others, some of them related to the king, had been seized, in returning from Rio Pongos, about four years ago. They had been sold to the British slave-factor at the Isles de Los, and, immediately shipped off to the W. Indies,

Kidnapping
in the inte-
rior.

* The journal intimates, though not very distinctly, that they were put to work.

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Foulah king
favours the
plough, &c.

Route to
Tombuctoo
and Cashna.

except one, who was recovered by the Foulah king. The old man said, he would willingly pay any ransom for his son *. I assured him, the writer of the journal adds, that the governor of S. Leona would feel almost as much pleasure in restoring his son, as he could in receiving him, and that we should spare no pains in the enquiry. At hearing this, the old man's eye's glistened, and he left me, blessing both the governor and myself, and assuring me that he should pray for me.

504. The Directors have the satisfaction of observing, that the two travellers appear, by the propriety of their conduct, and by their declarations of the principles of the Company, to have ingratiated themselves much with the natives, especially the chief people. The king, being asked, Whether he would encourage any European to settle near him, with a view to cultivation, readily answered, that he would furnish him with land, and cattle and men, for the purpose. Much conversation passed at different times, concerning the introduction of the plough, of which no one had ever heard in the Foulah country. The king of Laby offered to send a son to England for education, and a principal priest seemed willing to do the same. Diligent enquiry was made at Laby and Teembo, concerning the road to Tombuctoo, an interior town, supposed of the first magnitude, to which some adventurers from the African Association have attempted to penetrate, (See § 327.) It was said, at Laby, that a free communication subsisted with Tombuctoo, though distant no less than a four month's journey; six kingdoms intervening between the Foulah country and that of the king of Tombuctoo, namely Belia, Bouriah, Manda, Segoo, Soofundoo, and Genah. This last, the nearest kingdom to Tombuctoo, and that of Tombuctoo itself, were spoken of as richer than any of the rest. The city of Cashna seemed to be

* Two of the persons sold bore the name of Omar, another is called Hamadoo, and another Bubar-carrie. Two others are mentioned under the name of Hamodoo, one of whom was the son of this old man. The Directors have introduced their names, to promote their redemption,

known

known at Laby; but the route was described as hazardous.

505. From Teembo, the Company's servants returned by a different, and rather more dangerous path. But, by the king's command, they were escorted by a body of Foulahs, amounting, for part of the journey, to 5 or 600. When this body arrived on the borders of the Sufee country, a suspicion arose, on the part of the Sufees, that the Foulahs were come to attack them, on pretence of conducting white men to the coast. But the latter removed the suspicion, showing that they had goods and slaves with them; and at a meeting of the Sufee chiefs, it was determined, not only that the travellers and their party should be permitted to pass to Sierra Leona, but also that the path, which former wars had shut, should become permanently open. Four or five considerable persons from the Foulah, and other kings, with their suite came to Freetown, with the white travellers, passed a few days there, arranged some commercial plans, and returned highly gratified by their visit. It has since been learnt, that when the Foulahs got back to the borders of their own kingdom, their countrymen, who came to meet them, were so much interested with what had been heard and seen at S. Leona, that the conversation lasted till day-break*.

506. The success of this journey has suggested a more important one, on which one of the above mentioned travellers, and another servant of the Company were, by the last accounts, likely soon to enter. Their main object will be to penetrate to Tombuctoo, probably by the Foulah country. If they should reach Tombuctoo, it will depend on the information they will there receive, whether they return to

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Incidents on
the return of
the travellers
to S. Leona.

Intended
journey to
Tombuctoo.

* See the route of the travellers, as traced on the large map, at the end of this work.—For the route of Major Houghton in 1791, see "Elucidations of the African Geography," published by the African Association.

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507. Since the stagnation of the demand for slaves, wars have ceased near S. Leona, and in other parts of the coast.

Wars cease
with the
slave-trade.

That respectable chief Cuddy, from the distant river Gambia, (§ 499.) mentioned, when at Freetown, that there were now no wars in any part near him, and that the few slaves sold there, whose number was daily diminishing, came from the remote country of Gallam. He added, "What should a man go to war for now? There is nothing to make people go to war: no price for slaves—no ship to take them—no goods to give for them! Suppose ships come plenty, aye, then people go to war again."

Slave-trade
diminished $\frac{2}{3}$
near S. Leona.

508. The declension of the slave-trade near S. Leona, appears to have been very great. The governor and council suppose that not above $\frac{1}{5}$ of the usual number of slaves are now carried off the adjacent coast. The French slave-factory, and an individual British slave-factor, have removed from S. Leona river. The slave-factory in the Isle de Los, is on the point of being given up; and that on Bance Island, the only one remaining either in or near S. Leona river, is thought to apply more than formerly to the collection of produce, and has begun a cotton plantation, worked by natives, and which the Company's institution appears to have suggested. A slave-factor, of the name of Wilkinfon, declared that he would quit the trade, and transfer his property (amounting to about £2000) to Freetown, offering to conform to the laws, if permitted to settle there. But he is since dead.

509. The governor and council have taken some pains to enquire What has been done with slaves withheld or returned, for want of purchasers, and what would probably be their fate on a total abolition of the slave-trade?

Refused
slaves put to
work.

(1.) A respectable chief from Port Logo, an upper branch of S. Leona river, being asked if refused slaves were killed, answered "No, never in Port Logo; we carry them home and make them work"—But will they not run away?—If they do, we can't help that, we can't kill them. If a man is too old to sell, he is too old to do

you

you harm; what should you kill him for?—Did you ever see any refused slaves killed?—No: I am an old man, but I never saw that: if they do that in another country, I don't know that."

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(2.) Two other intelligent native traders, from the interior, mentioned the great numbers of slaves now confined on the coast for purchasers: one trader had no fewer than 200. Being asked why they were not set to cut wood, plant rice, &c. they replied that there might be danger of insurrection from employing so many, and that they must first be dispersed; besides, there had been no encouragement to cut camwood: they could not tell what our commercial agent, who was gone down the coast, might be able to effect in this respect. They observed that, if the slave-trade continued at a stand, no more slaves would come from the bush (inland) and indeed that few came now. They said that the slaves would certainly not be put to death; for that nobody was ever put to death, except in war, or for crimes.

(3.) A white factor also says that scarce any slaves have been bought, for a year past, between C. Vergo and C. Mount, from the traders on the coast insisting that the price should be reduced £10 or £12; and that the natives, in consequence, had lately withheld their slaves entirely, and had set them to cultivate rice, especially in the Sufee and Mandingo countries.

510. The accounts given of several natives, who have been peculiarly instrumental in forwarding the Company's views, ought not to be considered as a sample of the common African character. So far as the Directors are enabled to judge, the Africans, in general, are extremely superstitious. Their belief in witchcraft, incantations and charms, subjects them to gross impositions, and leads them to acts of cruelty and injustice. Some learn many additional superstitions, from the numerous travelling Mahometan priests, who trade in charms. The natives of S. Leona, and all the adjacent parts, occasionally sacrifice to the devil. They believe in a God; but they appear to render him no stated worship. They have some vague notions of a future state; but their faith seems to have little influence on their practice. Polygamy is every where common, and the spirit of retaliation and revenge may be considered as universal. One of the most enlightened chiefs, already mentioned, was waiting to revenge

General character of the Africans.

Superstition.

Polygamy, Retaliation.

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ONA.Drunkenness,
&c.Gratitude.
Affection.Eager for re-
ligious im-
provement.Disapprove
the slave-
trade.

venge an injury he had received many years before, not from the object of his vengeance, but from his predecessor. The most amiable character perhaps met with in the Foulah country, after allowing Christianity to be good in many respects, expressly objected to the forgiving of injuries, as a virtue unattainable, and therefore not to be required. The African character is various, some nations appearing more crafty, some more uncivilized, than others: nor can these differences be always traced, either to the slave-trade or to local circumstances. The superiority of the Foulahs, and their great hospitality have already sufficiently appeared; but, on the other hand, the natives of the coast in general, especially those near the slave-factories, are much given to liquor, suspicious of whites, crafty, savage and ferocious: they are said also to be selfish, unreasonable and encroaching.—They are, however, generally grateful for benefits received; they have much natural affection and feeling; though occasionally violent, they are not unmanageable; and the energies of their minds (which the cutting off of slave-ships show to be very strong § 471.) though turned as yet to wrong objects, are capable no doubt of a better direction. They appear eager for knowledge and religious improvement, and readily invite the teachers of Christianity. But this readiness, though it affords ample encouragement to missionaries, is obviously owing rather to emulation and ambition, than to any approbation to Christianity, of which they are yet ignorant. They admit the wickedness of the slave-trade, as much as that of any other criminal practice, pursuing it for its profits, contrary to some glimmering light of conscience, if not in direct defiance of conviction.—A few circumstances will illustrate certain points in the character of the Africans. To begin with a brief account

of

of the consequences of the injurious charge of poison, on the death of King Naimbanna's son, (see § 401.)

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Palaver on the
death of K.
Naimbanna's
son.

(1.) The black who made this suggestion, had crossed the sea with King Naimbanna's son, and had been offended by the captain's urging him to do duty as a sailor. He had seen the captain give the deceased some medicine, which produced a trifling sickness of stomach; and it is supposed his ill-will may have suggested suspicions of the captain, which, after his arrival, were rashly communicated to the relations of the deceased. The dead body was immediately delivered to a skilful necromancer, and being placed erect, was successively asked, Whether the S. Leona Company—the governor—the physician—or a servant of the Company who attended the patient, had caused his death? The corpse continuing motionless, it was then asked, Whether the captain was guilty? on which it was said to have nodded assent. A threatening letter was now written, in the name of the relations, to the governor and council, asking compensation for the murder; but it was handsomely intimated, that it was not the Company, but some of the slave-captains who were supposed to have instigated the Company's servant, to put the king's son to death. The governor and council resisted this claim, but were obliged to permit the calling of a palaver, at which a great concourse of armed natives attended. The debate was solemnly opened, in the name of the mother of the deceased, by a neighbouring chief, who spoke in the Timmany language (stopping to let each sentence be interpreted) to nearly this effect.—That the queen had no palaver against the Company, nor the governor, nor several others named; but that the queen had a palaver against the captain who had poisoned her son with a cup of tea, at sea; and that she demanded 600 bars (near £100) which, if sent her immediately, would prevent her making war on the Company, and would terminate the palaver. It was added that, if the captain denied the crime, now clearly proved, he must be sent up to the queen's town to stand his trial, by drinking red water, according to the Timmany laws*. The captain felt some emotion at the last article; but a loud laugh among the natives showed that they did not expect the captain's compliance. The governor and council insisted on calling evidence on the spot, when the black accuser explained away all his insinuations. The captain's innocence was established by many other witnesses; the natives became ashamed of their conduct; and, the next day, the queen

* This consists in making the suspected person drink a quantity of water supposed to be poisoned. If he be affected, as he often is, in the way considered to imply guilt, his brains are knocked out on the spot. But he often dies immediately from the poison, as in the case mentioned § 464. In either case, all his family are sold as slaves. Natives of the higher class are said often to survive these trials, and it is supposed they find means to prevent the poisonous ingredient from being put into the water.

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Ridiculous
superstitions.

Popish black
chief offers to
promote
Christianity.

Mandingo la-
dy shocked at
W. Indian
slavery.

came to Freetown, professed the utmost confidence in the governor and council, and desired them to take another son under their care†.

(2.) It is not easy to conceive how their imaginations have been filled with ridiculous extravagancies. They believe that one of the islands in the river would sink, if the king of the neighbouring shore were to land on it. It is supposed, that another island higher up, is the habitation of a legion of devils, and that if any man carry off from it the leaf of a tree, his boat would sink, and he would be drowned ‡.

511. The following quotation presents a lamentable picture of extraordinary superstition and ignorance in the headman of a neighbouring town.

I waited on him and found him at dinner, along with a chief of the upper country, and a Mahometan priest, who is now making grisgris (charms) for him and the neighbouring chiefs, and assisting at their sacrifices to the devil. After dinner the headman produced his mass-book, and prayed devoutly some time. He expressed great concern that he had not met with a popish confessor for some years; but told me that he had left orders, that at his death, two of his slaves should be sent to St. Jago, to urge the Romish priest there to smooth his way to heaven. He doubts no more of the power of an absolution, than of his existence, and he appears well acquainted with all the Romish superstitions; but his tenets are strangely disguised with the idolatry of his country. He expressed much anxiety to promote the gospel in Africa, offering to engage in any plan that would promote it, and proposed to give a house and land to a schoolmaster, and to protect him. He showed a consciousness of the criminality of the slave-trade. "What more, said he, have I to do with the slave-trade: it is time that I should leave it off, and settle my account with God. I am old, and ought to think only of heaven."

512. The succeeding extracts will confirm some points already touched on, and will show the desire of instruction which prevails among the natives, and the good understanding between them and the Company.

(1.) The mulatto lady enquired much, when at the colony (§ 456 (3.)) about the state of the slaves in the W. Indies, and was much affected at hearing that slavery descended to the children of the slaves sent from Africa. She added "you must

† The Directors will not fail in acknowledging any instance of friendly conduct in the slave-factories towards the Company. They are therefore desirous of remarking, that, on occasion of the injurious charge against their captain, they were befriended by the agent of the neighbouring British slave-factory; and they take this occasion of adding, that they have in general experienced every civility, from the proprietors of slave-factories *resident in England*.

‡ See in the Appenl. Notes respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Y.

think

think me very bad; for I have just taken two slaves to the factory, where I have left them; but I wish I could give up the trade altogether."

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ONA.

It appears that the travellers who went to the Foulah country, profited much by her civility, their route on returning having lain through her town. She is learning the Arabick language, in order to extend her influence.

(2.) Some of the chiefs who came to Freetown, to the palaver (see § 510) were carried to the schools, and were much pleased at so novel a sight as 3 or 400 children, at their books. A headman of superior information, began immediately to treat with one of the teachers to go up the country, to instruct the youth of his town. Chiefs encourage schools.

Some other applications, almost exactly similar, are mentioned.

(3.) Three or four N. Scotians, settled up the river, have large plantations of rice, land having been given them gratuitously by the natives. One of them can read, and a native, who came down to Freetown, has been taught by him to read a little also. Colonists, plant land, up the river.

513. The following extract from the official letter of the governor and council, shows the measures they have taken to instruct the natives.

(1.) You will see, by the directions given to the masters of our vessels, that we have missed no opportunity of inviting all the chiefs of the neighbouring coast, to send their sons hither for education, and the invitation has been uniformly well received. A chief in the Rio Nunez has already sent his son hither, and several others only wait the approaching dry season to accept our offers. In the towns of the chiefs, in this river, with whom we are connected, there are few children fit for school; these few are with us, and some of them considerably improve in reading. We are promised many more from the chiefs in the Bunch and Kokelle, the upper branches of this river, and who are to come, the next dry season. We had anticipated your advice respecting a school at the plantation on the Bullom shore, a teacher resides there with his family, both as missionary and schoolmaster; and the labourers already universally abstain from work on Sunday. Chiefs send children to Freetown school.

The Directors understand, that there are now in the schools at Freetown, about 20 native children in all, many of them sons of chiefs. Above the same number of native

Above 40 children.

R

children

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children are under instruction, on the Bullom shore.

514. The following very unhappy incident, shows the remarkable confidence of one of the natives, in the Company.

A chief's son
accidentally
killed. The
father's good
sense and re-
signation.

Soon after the war with France commenced, some shells were preparing for the acting engineer, who ordered a N. Scotian, working under him, to dry them by the fire. Having done thus, the man proceeded in the surveyor (or engineer's) absence, to load them, and a spark having got into one of them, it burst as he was filling it, and killed him, and the son of a neighbouring chief, left but a few days before for education. His father was sent for, who, though affected, was quite resigned. Some of his words are said to be nearly these.—Gentlemen, he was my only son. I thought to have had him with you for his good; but God hath thought otherwise. I see it was an accident; I do not blame you. Be not concerned about it's happening here: had God wished him to live, he would have lived. To show you that I feel no ill will, I shall send you my daughter, to be educated.

515. A very satisfactory proof of the friendship of the natives to the Company, shall now be added.

Natives turn
out to defend
the colony.

Two strange vessels, suspected to be French, having appeared in sight, the same king or chief who caused the dispersion of the first colony, and also set on foot the palaver which impeded the former establishment of the present, sent a party to assist the governor and council, with a message that he was following with a further force, and that, if necessary, he would raise the country in the colony's defence. When the vessels were found friendly, being French prizes, the natives departed, saying, Well, your friends are our friends, and your enemies our enemies.

The Directors have the satisfaction of adding, that the Company have hitherto been on very friendly terms with the surrounding natives in general.

J. H. Naim-
banna's de-
sign in com-
ing to Eng-
land.

516. To the preceding information, respecting the general disposition of the natives, the Directors will join some observations on the character of an African who was, for 18 months, under their care in England.—The late John Henry Naimbanna*, son of the former king of S. Leona, when

* I understand, he assumed the name of Henry, as a lasting remembrance of the gratitude he owed, both on his own account and that of his country, to Henry Thornton Esq. M. P. the worthy, liberal and disinterested Chairman of the Court of Directors. C. B. W.

at

at the supposed age of 24, was induced, by the suggestions of one of the first black colonists from London, to determine on coming to England for education; intending to commit himself to the liberality of an English gentleman, to whom that free black owed some schooling. (see § 339.) He was on the point of agreeing to give three slaves to a slave-captain, for his passage, through the W. Indies hither, when a ship sent out by the Company, to explore the country, arrived in the river. Being brought by this ship to England, he was placed under the care of two clergymen successively, who have furnished most of following information concerning him.

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517. A desire of knowledge predominated in his character. He continually urged his teachers to prolong the time of instruction. He was grateful to every one who assisted him in his studies, regretted the being led into any company which interrupted them; and, when left to himself, he read not less than 8 or 10 hours of the day. Though the disadvantages of the long neglect of his mind were apparent, he possessed very good natural sense. He had also the faculty of distinguishing characters, and his mind, as might be expected, readily received impressions from those of whom he had a good opinion. With few advantages of person, his manners were uncommonly pleasing, courteous and even delicate, and his disposition was kind and affectionate. All his feelings were quick, and his temper occasionally warm. A degree of jealousy also entered into his character. In particular, he was indisposed to answer the questions of strangers, respecting his own country; for he suspected they meant to draw unfavourable comparisons between England and S. Leona. He

His character.

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would therefore, turn the conversation by remarking, that the attainments of a country, so neglected as S. Leona had hitherto been, was not to be supposed worthy of conversation in G. Britain.—The following anecdote will show his extreme sensibility, when the honour of his country was touched, and will account for his peculiar jealousy on that head.—A person having been mentioned, who, he understood, had made a public assertion very degrading to the African character, he broke out into some vindictive language against this person. Being immediately reminded of the Christian duty of forgiving his enemies, he answered nearly as follows,

His patriot-
ism.

“ If a man,” said he “ should rob me of my money, I can forgive him ; if a man should shoot at me, or try to stab me, I can forgive him ; if a man should sell me and all my family to a slave-ship, so that we should pass all the rest of our days in slavery in the W. Indies, I can forgive him ; but (added he, rising from his seat, with much emotion) if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him.” Being asked why he would not forgive those who took away the character of his countrymen, he replied, “ If a man should try to kill me, or should sell me and my family for slaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or sell ; but if any one takes away the character of black people, that man injures black people all over the world ; and, when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not do to black people ever after. That man for instance, will beat black men, and say, O, it is only a black man, why should not I beat him ? That man will make slaves of black people ; for when he has taken away their character ; he will say, O, they are only black people, why should not I make them slaves ? That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them ; and, if you ask him, But why do you take away all these people ? he will say, O, they are only black people, they are not like white people, why should not I take them ? That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country.”

His im-
provement
morals, &c.

518. His improvement in England was in all respects considerable. Though, when he arrived, he knew but little English, he learnt, in the 18 months he passed here, to read very fluently, and to write a letter, without much difficulty.

ty. When he first landed, he had most of the peculiarities which have been ascribed to the Africans in general. He believed in witchcraft, and had no idea of forgiving injuries. He had even endeavoured, when in Africa, "to make himself," as he expressed it, "as proud as he could." Before he left England, pride and revenge were become odious to him; his belief in witchcraft had entirely left him, and he appeared fearful respecting his own future conduct. His morals were pure; even at S. Leona, he had carefully abstained from drunkenness, and in England he shewed a strong abhorrence of profaneness and every kind of vice; as appeared, more particularly about the time of his departure, from several striking facts. He paid great respect to the teachers of Christianity, whom he wished much to invite to his country; he had the utmost reverence for the Scriptures, with which he had become very conversant; he discoursed, on religious subjects, with much openness and simplicity; and was free from enthusiasm. He appeared to be improving, in all respects, when the news of his father, K. Naimbanna's, death, called him suddenly to S. Leona. The deplorable state of his country, when he left it, with the change in his own dispositions and views, must have suggested to his mind many new duties, and have excited peculiar anxiety, when he was on the eve of his return. A few days before his embarkation, he conversed much with some of his friends, concerning the conduct which it would be his duty to adopt at S. Leona, and it appeared that there was no personal sacrifice which, if Christianity required it, he was not prepared to make.—The following extract from the dispatches of the governor and council describe some occurrences during his passage, and give an account of his death.

A servant

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ONA.

The circum-
stances of his
death.

A servant of the Company, who was in the same ship, says, he left Plymouth in perfect health; but, as soon as he reached a warm climate, he began to feel a slight complaint in his throat and occasional pains in his head. He was anxious and uneasy, being evidently disconcerted at the prospect of the difficulties he expected. Many were the plans which he amused himself with devising, for spreading Christianity among his rude countrymen; but he seemed constantly to be tortured by the idea that something would obstruct his designs, and this dread seemed to increase as he approached his native shores. The heat also affected him very violently, and a fever ensued, attended with a delirium. In a lucid interval, he desired the person who gave this account, to assist him in making his will, by which he entrusted his property to his brother, for the use of his young son, and, in the will, he earnestly requested his brother to exert every endeavour to put an end to the slave-trade. When he reached S. Leona, he was insensible. His mother, with some younger branches of the family, came to the governor's house, where he was laid, and, after a few hours attendance on his dying bed, saw him breathe his last. The governor and council mention, that nothing could exceed his mother's distress at this event.

(§ 14.)

519. Thus died this amiable and enlightened African, from whose exertions, had he lived, the Company might have expected the most important services. He has, however, rendered one important service to his country: he has furnished a memorable instance of the effect of education on an African, and a most encouraging omen in favour of his benighted countrymen*.

Two sons of
chiefs now in
England.

520. Two Africans, the eldest about 18 years old, are now in England, receiving their education under the Company's directions: the one is the son of the present king of S. Leona, the other of a neighbouring chief. They advance regularly in their learning, and, though their tempers be different, in capacity they appear to be fully equal to Europeans of their own age.

Sum of this
report.

521. The Directors have now laid before the Court all the information they have to offer. They have stated

* See § 146, and also in the Appendix, Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Z.

briefly

briefly the history of the colony, the expenses of establishing it, and the general situation of the Company's funds. They have also spoken distinctly of the climate, of the progress of cultivation, and of the opening prospects of civilization. They have had the satisfaction of showing, that many African chiefs are disposed to promote the Company's designs; that the Foulah and other nations court a connection; that some paths into the interior, which the wars had closed, have been opened; that farther discovery is attempting; and that the slave-trade is materially declining, several factories having been broken up, and many slaves, returned or withheld for want of a market, added to the productive labourers of Africa.

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522. The advantages of this temporary declension of the slave-trade, naturally lead to the contemplation of the blessings which are to be expected from it's abolition. When that happy period arrives; when the peace of Africa, instead of depending, as now, on the event of the war in Europe, shall be better secured by the termination of this traffic, similar, but far more important, consequences, than those arising from it's suspension, are obviously to be expected: the chiefs, having no other means of obtaining European goods, will resort to regular trade and industry, not partially, as at present, but generally and of necessity; and the European slave-factories, hitherto the greatest impediments to civilization, the chief rivals of the Company, and the principal support of the more dissolute kings, will altogether cease.

Advantages
expected from
the abolition
of the slave-
trade.

523. When this æra, which the Directors cannot consider as distant, shall arrive, the S. Leona Company will probably acquire much additional importance, and the advantages of a British colony in Africa, may prove extremely great.

It

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Conclusion.

It will then be the duty of the Directors to embrace the opportunities which will arise of extending commerce, of suggesting plans of cultivation to the chiefs, and of establishing schools, and promoting Christianity, as far as the Company's influence may reach.

524. The Directors trust that, all the circumstances stated in this report being duly weighed, they shall not be thought to have failed essentially in the requisite exertions, or to have made an improper use of the confidence of the proprietors. The anxiety of the Directors, and indeed their labour, have been occasionally considerable; but these have been amply compensated by reflections on the magnitude of their cause, and by the continually improving prospect of being able, by the blessing of Providence, to lay some foundation for the future happiness of a continent, which has hitherto derived nothing but misery from its intercourse with Great Britain. (See § 376.)

525. To the Report (of which the foregoing, I trust, will be found a circumstantial and faithful abridgment,) the Directors have subjoined the substance of two reports of Mr. Afzelius, their botanist, respecting the natural productions of S. Leona, and which I intend to insert in the Appendix to this work*.

526. I had Capt. Thompson's plan of S. Leona engraved; but on considering how incessantly that gentleman, however able, was engaged, during his short stay there, I was induced to prefer the plan published by the Directors, from the sketch of Governor Dawes, which, however, I believe that gentlemen does not authorize as perfectly accurate: And I went to the expense, of altering the plate accordingly. I hope it will now be found an useful auxiliary to the large map, in illustrating the corresponding parts of this work.

527. When the foregoing Abridgment was nearly printed off, intelligence was received that, in Sept. last (1794) when the colony at S. Leona was in a very thriv-

* See Notes respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE A A.

ing state, a squadron of French men of war arrived in the river, seized the ships and flores, and destroyed all the buildings belonging to the Company. I cannot now stop the press; neither have I spirits to enquire into the melancholy particulars; but I intend to collect them, with all possible fidelity, and to give them a place in the Appendix *. In the mean time, I shall insert an account of the state of the colony, in May 1794, by my accurate friend Mr. Afzelius, and which, as far as I have learnt, is perfectly descriptive of its remarkable improvement, at a period preceding this most lamentable catastrophe. It will also serve to illustrate a part of the foregoing abridged report.

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. A. Afzelius, to Baron Silverhjelm, Secretary to the Swedish Embassy in London, dated Freetown, May 11, 1794.

“ I thrive now much better at S. Leona, than I did before. Indeed not only myself, but the whole colony begins now to flourish, under our sensible leaders. Its advancement, during my absence, is astonishing. We have now a regular town of at least 200 houses, some of them very decent; but, as yet, the streets are somewhat obstructed by the roots of trees. The land is cleared of wood, for several miles around the town, and in many places cultivated, which has rendered the climate so salubrious that, at this moment, there is not one sick in the whole colony, consisting of 1400 persons; and the deaths, during my absence, did not amount to 20. The fame of the colony begins now to spread throughout Africa; and we had lately an embassy from the powerful nation of the Foulahs, whose king reigns over several millions of subjects, and whose land flows with milk and honey, &c. Such is the account of two of our officers who were sent to open a friendly intercourse with this great prince, and who were the first Europeans ever seen in Teembo, his metropolis. I am now so well seasoned to this climate, that I am almost determined, if I live till next year, to undertake an expedition through the whole of this unknown part of the globe, an enterprize which no man has yet performed, but I no longer entertain any doubt that it is practicable.”

Mr Afzelius's
account of the
colony.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE BB.

S

BULAMA.

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XI.

BULAMA.

B U L A M A.

Recommended
as a colony, to
France, by
M. de la Brue,

528. The island of Bulama, in the mouth of the large and beautiful Rio Grande, was recommended to the French government, as a proper spot for a colony, by M. de la Brue, Director General of the French Senegal Company, who visited the Island, in the year 1700, and described it minutely*.

a second time
by M. Dema-
net.

529. A similar proposition was made to the French ministry, by the Abbé Demanet, who resided for some time, on the adjacent coast, and has given a map of Bulama and Rio Grande, in his *Nouv. Hist. de l'Afr. Franç.* 2 vol. 12mo. published in 1767, in which he speaks of that Island, in the following words. (Vol. I. p. 211.)

His description
of Bulama.

"The entrance of the Channel, between the Island of Bulama and the Peninsula of Biafaras, is a great league broad, (3 nautical miles, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.) On the shores, which are pretty high, the sea beats with the more violence, as the flood tide is very rapid. In the entrance, viz. between the E. point of the Island of Formosa, or Warang, and the W. point of Biafaras, there are only from 2 to 7 fathoms of water; so that to avoid the shelves, which contract the channel considerably, it will be necessary to keep exactly in the middle of it, till the N. E. point of Bulama has been gained, where the anchorage is excellent†. From thence to the S. E. point, the anchorage is every where good, even for large ships; when the tide is known, and the advantages or disadvantages it may cause in situations, where a very strong current, rendered uncertain and irregular by the violent conflict of the two opposite tides, makes it necessary to come to an anchor, in order to secure the ground already gained. The anchorage is excellent from the N. E. point

* Relat. de l'Afrique Occident. par Labat. Vol. V. pag. 91. & 141.

† The author seems here to mean the channel between the Island of *Arcas* and the Biafara coast. If so, his account of the soundings may be pretty near the truth. But it will not apply to the channel which extends *in length* from Formosa to the W. end of Biafaras. (See the map.) The truth is, that the soundings, &c. on that part of the coast, were not then so minutely surveyed as they have been since; though *they are by no means, yet to be implicitly relied on.*

To that of the S. E., where there are from 12 to 20 fathoms of water; the ground muddy and free from rocks. There is, in short, an excellent harbour, for all sorts of vessels. The shore of Bulama is level and covered with large trees, and the island presents a most beautiful landscape.—The land rises almost imperceptibly, for about 2 leagues from the shore, to the foot of the high grounds in the centre of the island. These are all covered with fine large trees, and might be easily cultivated.—In the numerous vallies among these eminences, there are many rivulets of very good water.—The S. point is a natural meadow, where the pasturage is excellent. This island is ten leagues in length from E. to W. 5 in breadth from N. to S. and about 30 in circumference. France may form there a considerable establishment for all sorts of commerce; for the island being fertile, will furnish all the necessaries of life, and plenty of timber, even for large ships. This island might become a convenient emporium for European and African commodities, particularly for such as might be produced on the spot, viz. sugar, rum, cacao, indigo, cotton, coffee, roucou, and in general all the objects of the rich and important commerce with the W. Indian islands; for here all these commodities would grow almost spontaneously. The soil is surprisingly fertile; the air here is much more salubrious than on any other part of this coast. The black inhabitants are partly Christians, and partly Idolaters and Mahometans. The natives of Bissao, who at present possess the island, having expelled the Biafaras, will willingly co-operate with the Europeans in making such establishments as it might be proper to form on this island. In short, every thing concurs to facilitate the success of one of the grandest designs that could be formed by any European nation*.”

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530. M.

* The above is a pretty good *general* description of Bulama: but from his manner of mentioning the rivulets, it would seem that the Abbé visited the island during the rains, or shortly after their cessation; and his account of its extent appears to be merely conjectural. It is true that the whole of it has never been regularly surveyed; but Mr. Beaver's professional experience and ability, may be fairly supposed to have rendered him more competent than the Abbé, to deliver an opinion on such a subject; especially as he surveyed the whole eastern end of the island, and the channel which divides from the Biafara coast. According to Mr. Beaver, then, the island of Bulama is between 17 and 18 English miles in length, and from 4 to 5 in breadth, at the east end. He found the lat. of it's centre to be 11° N. long. 15° W. from the meridian of London.—The land in general rises gradually towards the centre of the island, to between 60 and 100 feet above the level of the sea. The small hill, on which the Blockhouse is situated, rises to nearly the same elevation.—The landing is remarkably easy and safe, there being no surge. The tide ebbs and flows regularly; and spring tides rise 16 feet. See the map, plate III.—From Mr. Beaver's daily observations at noon, between the 20th July, 1792, and the 28th April, 1793, it appears that the medium heat was 85° of Fahrenheit's scale, in which the range of the mercury was from 74° to 96°, except that it once rose to 100°, in a calm which intervened between the N. E. breeze in the morning, and the S. W. breeze in

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530. M. Demanet proceeds to describe the articles of commerce, with which the adjacent continent abounds. He mentions further, that the Rio Grande, in the mouth of which Bulama is situated, is navigable above 150 leagues, and finishes with the following remarkable expression. '*It is mortifying to see countries so fine as these, so rich and luxuriant, so well adapted for commerce, and so advantageous for the subsistence of a colony, totally abandoned and neglected.*'

a third time
by Mr. Barber.

531. This beautiful island was in 1787, during my stay in France, proposed a third time to that government as proper for a colony, by a Mr. Barber, an Englishman then residing at Havre de Grace, with whom I had much conversation, and whose knowledge of that part of the coast, was at least equal to that of any man I ever met with : and had not the French revolution taken place, a colonial expedition to Bulama would certainly have been undertaken, by order of the Government of that nation.

But it's colonization actually undertaken by the English.

532. But, this "little paradise," as Mr. Beaver calls it in his last dispatches from Bulama, appears to have been reserved for a people better acquainted with the commercial utility of ultramarine establishments, I mean the English nation; for, in the beginning of the year 1792, above £9000 were raised by subscription, which enabled

the afternoon, of the 19th Feb. 1793. The difference between the meridian heat and that of the morning and evening, is from 20° to 30°.—Oct. 23d 1792, hail of the size of a pin's head fell for two minutes; but not a cloud was to be seen during this phenomenon. The mercury then stood at 85°. The wind was at N. E. in the morning, and at S. W. in the evening.—The rains set in about the end of May, or the beginning of June, and continue till Oct. or Nov. They do not fall every day; for there are many intervals of clear weather. In the first and last months, the showers are neither very frequent nor very violent; but sometimes, on the other hand, they resemble torrents, especially about the middle of the season. — In the beginning and close of the rainy season, the air is frequently purified by those strong gales called *tornadoes*, which seldom last above an hour, and are easily foreseen. But hurricanes, which are sometimes so destructive in the W. Indies, are unknown in this climate.

275 persons to sail from London (in three ships) with a view to form a colony on the island of Bulama*.

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533. Preparatory to this expedition, various papers and proposals, some of them, perhaps, rather hastily drawn up, were printed and circulated. But, as most of them were afterwards altered, it seems unnecessary to quote them; and I shall therefore proceed to lay before the reader, an

Abridgment of the Report of the Institution, Proceedings, Present State, and Future Purposes of the Bulama Association, as laid before a General Meeting of the Subscribers, at the Globe Tavern, in Craven Street, on Tuesday, the 11th Dec. 1792, by

PAUL LE MESURIER, ESQ. M. P.

SIR JOHN RIGGS MILLER, JAMES KIRKPATRICK, ESQ.
BART. MOSES XIMENES, ESQ.

DAVID SCOTT, ESQ. M. P. GEORGE HARTWELL, ESQ.

Trustees of the said Association.

534. Towards the end of the year 1791, several gentlemen formed themselves into a society, for endeavouring to establish a colony, on or near the coast of Africa, and fixed

Association,
1791.

* My situation in England was such, at that time, as to enable me to apply my personal knowledge of Africa, to the benefit of this undertaking. When the subscription was proposed in Manchester, where I then resided, I had the satisfaction to see my representations of the nature and object of the enterprize so much attended to, that I believe, any reasonable sum might, in consequence, have been raised in Lancashire and Yorkshire alone, from whence many persons came to take my opinion, before they subscribed. But after about £3000 had been contributed in that quarter, I was induced by the uncertainty of the enterprize, and the delicacy with which that uncertainty inspired me, to recommend a cessation of the subscriptions, till the undertaking had been fairly set on foot. For I thought that the Manchester subscriptions added to those of London, would then be sufficient to defray the expenses of the first essay, especially on the small scale which appeared to me the most eligible; and the eventual success of which, I thought, would not fail to bring forward more subscribers to support the undertaking in its maturer stages.

on

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influenced by
Le Brue's de-
scription.

on the island of Bulama, at the mouth of Rio Grande, as a place fit for their joint purposes of cultivation and commerce. Among other descriptions, oral and historical, that of the Sieur de la Brue, particularly contributed to fix their choice on Bulama*.

535. The trustees have the satisfaction of informing the meeting, that they have found La Brue's description tolerably accurate, upon the whole; and they think they can reasonably join him in opinion, as to the easy culture of the valuable productions he enumerates, and the facility of trading with the neighbouring natives.

536. The views of those concerned, having been thus directed to a particular spot, the next object of the gentlemen, who then conducted the business, was to devise the means of defraying expenses; and, after several meetings, they resolved to receive subscriptions on the following terms, viz.

Original terms
of subscrip-
tion.

537. (1.) That each subscriber, willing to become a colonist, should receive, as soon as possible, after the purchase and possession of the territory, a grant of 500 acres for £30, payable before the embarkation, and in that proportion for fewer or more acres, as far as 2000†.

(2.) That each non-resident purchaser of land, should have a grant of 500 acres for £60, and in that proportion, for fewer or more acres.

(3.) That the lands of purchasers shall be allotted in the same manner, and at the same time, as the lots of colonists; the site of the town, and the town-lots to colonists and purchasers, excepted.

* In the corresponding part of the Report, follows La Brue's description of Bulama (published in 1700) which very much agrees with that above extracted from Demanet, published in 1767, and which I have preferred, because it is much later than La Brue's; and I dare say, it would have been also preferred by the trustees, if they had happened to meet with it. C. B. W.

† As it was not certain, that Bulama, in particular, could be purchased, it was agreed that if it could not, or if the colonists, after having formed a temporary settlement, should think proper to abandon it, the engagements were to be understood to extend to any other spot, that it might be chosen by the colonists, on or near the coast of Africa; all the concerns and engagements of the purchasers of lands, and of the colonists, to be thereto transferred.

(4.) That

(4.) That each purchaser shall have one acre within the town, for erecting stores, &c*.

(5.) That all lands which should not be subscribed for, or granted to purchasers, or given to yeomen†, on the day of the sailing of the expedition, should be considered to belong to purchasers and original colonists, according to the proportions subscribed for by colonists, or granted to purchasers; provided such purchasers did not renounce their right, to be so expressed in their grants; and that such surplus land should not be cultivated as a joint concern, but be left till sold or divided, save and except 35,000 acres of the said surplus land, to be exempted from such sale or division, to accommodate future colonists‡.

(6.) That every person, entitled to 125 acres, or upwards, should have a right to obtain a grant for a colonist, on the reserved land, in the proportion of 30 acres to each individual, for every 100 acres so subscribed for by him, provided no expense to the colony be thereby incurred.

(7.) That every purchaser of land be allowed to send out an agent to superintend his interests, through whom he shall have liberty to cultivate or not, traffic or not, as he may think fit, and be legally competent to any act which a colonist may do; except that he be not permitted to draw goods from the public store for the purchase of labour||.

(8.) That no power in the colony be competent to levy any tax on the uncultivated property of absentees, which shall not equally affect the property of colonists.”

* It was afterwards agreed, that the town-lots of the colonists should be in the proportion of one-tenth of their land, provided such lots exceed not 100 acres.

† To induce labourers and yeomen to embark, and become colonists, every married man was, at the same time, offered 40 acres of land for himself, 20 for his wife, and 10 for each child, provided such grants exceeded not 100 acres, to one family; and to every unmarried yeoman, or labourer, 40 acres.

‡ The clause restricting the colonists from cultivating the surplus land, before it was allotted, was introduced to prevent the absentee purchasers, from becoming liable to a joint responsibility with the colonists, for any debts they might contract. In order farther to exonerate the absentee purchasers, an advertisement was published in the London Gazette, &c. to the following purport, viz.

“BULAMA COLONY.

“Notice is hereby given, That the *subscribing colonists* are alone responsible for articles purchased, and expenses incurred, by the Association, and that the purchasers of land from the colonists, are not liable to any responsibility whatever; also that the subscribing colonists do not intend to have any dealings upon credit, or any joint commercial concerns, beyond the amount of the first investment: and all whom it may concern are desired not to credit any persons whatever, in the name, and on the faith of the Association.”

No. 103, *Hatton Garden*, Feb. 9th. 1792.

(Signed) J. HERIOT, Sec.

¶ See in the Append. Notes, &c, respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE C C. also § 180, 181.

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£9000 sub-
scribed, goods
bought, colo-
nists engaged,
trustees ap-
pointed.

538. Previous to the publication of the preceding terms, the society's intentions were respectfully submitted to the Prime Minister *. In a few weeks, near £9000 were subscribed and paid in; and a committee of subscribers immediately bought a considerable investment of merchandize for purchasing, from the neighbouring natives, the property of Bulama, for the purposes of trade, and for the hire of labourers. The committee, at the same time, "engaged a number of yeomen and labourers to go out from England†," chartered two vessels of about 300 tons each, and purchased a sloop of 34 tons. On board of these were shipped an ample supply of stores, provisions, arms and ammunition, for the use of the colonists.—

H. H. Dalrymple, Esq.

John Young, Esq.

Sir William Halton, Bart.

John King, Esq.

Philip Beaver, Esq.

Peter Clutterbuck, Esq.

Nicholas Bayly, Esq.

Francis Brodie, Esq.

Charles Drake, Esq.

John Paiba, Esq.

Richard Hancorne, Esq.

Robert Dobbin, Esq. and

Isaac Ximenes, Esq.

were appointed to manage the affairs of the Society abroad;

and *P. Le Mefurier, M.P. Esq.* Lord Mayor of London, 1794,

Sir J. R. Miller, Bart.

George Hartwell, Esq.

David Scott, Esq. M.P.

and

James Kirkpatrick, Esq.

Moses Ximenes, Esq.

Trustees for the concern in England. The vessels finally sailed from Spithead, on the 11th of April; but having been separated, in a storm, the *Calypso*, after touching at Tene-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE D D.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE E E.

rife and Goree, arrived first at Bulama, about the end of May. Mr. Dalrymple, having landed 30 men, intended to wait for the Hankey, on board of which was the investment for purchasing the island, and trading with the natives. In the interval, an event happened, fatal to some individuals, but, in it's consequences, beneficial to the society*.

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539. The Canabacs, inhabiting a neighbouring island, and to whom Bulama belonged, having been prepossessed against the Society, landed a party on the island. After lurking some days in the woods, on the 3d of June, they took advantage of Mr. Dalrymple's absence, who had gone with four men, to explore the island, and surprizing the remaining colonists, killed five men and one woman, mortally wounded two men, and carried off four women and three children. Upon this, Mr. Dalrymple judged it prudent to draw off his men, and to proceed to the Portuguese settlement on the neighbouring island of Bissao, where he found the Hankey and the Beggar's Bennison, safely arrived, after having touched at Tenerife and St. Jago.

Colonists attacked by the Canabacs.

540. The Portuguese at Bissao received them with great kindness, and assisted by Mr. Sylva de Cordosa, a Portuguese merchant, they dispatched a sloop to the Canabacs, for the women and children they had carried off, and who were brought back in perfect health, having been, in every respect, well treated†.

Colonists well received by Portuguese.

Prisoners well treated by Canabacs.

541. On the 10th of June the king of the Papels, who resides on the island of Bissao, sent a message by his brother to the settlers, of which the following is an explanation.

Transactions relative to the purchase of Bulama.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE F F.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No 7, 15.

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BULAMA.

K. of Papels's
message.

(1.) The King of the Papels sent to me; he told me, he was given to understand, that you wanted to settle; but the Portuguese would not allow you to settle here. But it is not as they chuse. The King of the Papels wants to know, whether the country belongs to them? The king wishes much you would settle here, though he doth not know what terms you may have come upon. He wishes much you may settle here, though the Roman Catholics wish you to go elsewhere. The king wishes you would let him know any part you would like to pitch upon, provided you could agree, and come upon good terms, as at this time, they wrote some other government was here. He has sent his cane as a proof of his fidelity and attachment. Yesterday, don't you recollect my hailing for a boat? There were then Papels on shore from the king to settle this affair, as they say themselves, that the inhabitants of Bissao do not wish for any other company but themselves; but it is as I, the King of Papels, chuse.

You may depend on the king's word, as he declares he is ready to take up any cause against the Portuguese, that may hinder you from landing on any place you may wish to settle on. This is the business those Papels are upon, to know if you are willing to buy any ground, from the point as far down as you please. You may rely the King of Papels will protect. If you do mean to purchase the ground, I will go on shore with you to the king's to-morrow, and show you the ground.

T. BIRCHALL, INTERPRETER.

*Received on Board the Hankey,
the 10th of June.*

Answer.

(2.) To this message Mr. Dalrymple returned the following answer, viz.

"The British settlers, now at Bissao, gratefully return thanks to the King of the Papels, for his hospitable offer of a settlement in his dominions; but as they are desirous of avoiding all occasions of offence to their friends the Portuguese, that may tend to weaken the firm and faithful alliance that has long subsisted between their respective sovereigns; and, as the object of these settlers is to make an establishment elsewhere, that cannot interfere betwixt the claims or interests of any European power, they beg leave respectfully to decline the invitation, at the same time professing their wish to remain on terms of perpetual amity and alliance with the King of the Papels, and his subjects, and in peace and friendship with all men.

"Signed for myself and the rest of the settlers, on board the ship Hankey,
"June 11, 1792."

"H. H. DALRYMPLE."

542. The friendly disposition of the Canabacs being now ascertained, the ships returned to Bulama, from whence
Messrs.

Messrs. Beaver and Dobbin were sent to Canabac, where they readily succeeded in purchasing Bulama for 473 bars, agreeable to the Deed of Cession; executed by the kings of that nation, of which the following is a copy, viz.

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(3.) "*Deed of Cession of the Island of Bulama, by the Kings Jalorum and Bellchore, to the British Colonists.*"

"Whereas certain persons, subjects of the King of Great Britain, conducted by H. H. Dalrymple, J. Young, Sir William Halton, Bart. J. King, Philip Beaver, Peter Clutterbuck, Francis Brodie, Charles Drake, J. Paiba, Richard Hancorne, Robert Dobbin, Isaac Ximenes, and Nicholas Bayley, Esqrs. as a committee to manage their affairs, having arrived on the windward coast of Africa, adjacent to the river Grande; and the said committee having invested P. Beaver and R. Dobbin, Esqrs. two of their members, with full power to treat with, and purchase from, us our Island of Bulama: we the Kings of Canabac, being fully convinced of the pacific and just disposition of the said persons, and of the great reciprocal benefits which will result from an European colony being established in our neighbourhood, and being desirous of manifesting our friendship and affection to the King of Great Britain and his subjects; do hereby, in consideration of four hundred and seventy three bars of goods by us received, for ever cede and relinquish to the said King of Great Britain, all sovereignty over the Island of Bulama, which sovereignty our ancestors have acquired by conquest, and have ever since maintained undisputed in peace."

Conveyance
of Bulama.

"We do further solemnly guarantee to the said persons, their heirs, and assigns, against all enemies whatever, the full and peaceful possession of the said island: and, by these presents, do bind ourselves and our subjects to aid and assist them against all their enemies whatever; and the same shall have all the force of a firm and faithful treaty of defensive alliance between the king of Great Britain and ourselves: and, together with the island aforesaid, we do relinquish all claim to any future treaty, subsidy, or composition whatever."

"And of all the premised conditions, we, the two parties, do bind ourselves to the mutual observance, in the presence, and in the name of the Omnipotent God of truth and justice, and the avenger of perfidy; and we have hereunto set our hands, this 29th of June, 1792.

P. BEAVER. }
R. DOBBIN. }

his
JALORUM KING.
Mark

his
BELLCHORE KING. †
Mark

† Captain Moore, who afterwards brought home Mr. Beaver's important dispatches of March 16, 1793, signed this paper, as a witness.

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543. It having been also deemed expedient to purchase the Island of Arcas, and the adjacent land on the continent, application was made for that purpose to the kings of Ghinala, who very readily, and in consideration of three hundred bars paid them, ceded the same to His Britannic Majesty, as appears by the deed executed by the said kings, of which the following is a copy, viz.

(3.) "*Deed of Cession, the King of Ghinala to the British Settlers of the Bulama Association.*"

Conveyance of
Great Bulama.

"Whereas certain persons, subjects of the King of Great Britain, conducted by Philip Beaver, J. Munden, Charles Aberdein, and J. Reynolds, Esqrs. as a committee to manage their affairs, having arrived upon the windward Coast of Africa, adjacent to the Rio Grande, and the said Committee, having invested Mr. Philip Beaver with full power to treat with and purchase from us certain land adjacent to the said river, we, the Kings of Ghinala, and the Rio Grande, being fully convinced of the pacific and just disposition of the said persons, and of the great reciprocal benefits that will result from an European colony established in our neighbourhood; and withal being desirous of manifesting our distinguished friendship and affection for the King of Great Britain, and his subjects; do hereby, in consideration of the value of three hundred bars of goods, by us this day received, for ever cede and relinquish to the King of Great Britain, all sovereignty over our territories lying to the southward or westward of a line extended from Ghinala, West N. West, until it reach the sea, together with the island, and all other islands whatever, adjacent to the aforesaid territories*; which sovereignty our ancestors have enjoyed from time immemorial: We do further solemnly guarantee to the said persons, their heirs and assigns, against all enemies whatever, the full and peaceable possession of the said territories and islands aforementioned; and by these presents, do bind ourselves and subjects to aid and assist them against all their enemies whatever; and the same shall have all the force of a firm and faithful treaty of alliance between the King of Great Britain and ourselves: and, together with the territories and islands aforesaid, we do relinquish all claim to any future tribute, subsidy, or composition whatever; and of all the premised conditions, we the two parties do bind ourselves to the mutual observance, in the presence of, and in the name of, the Omnipotent God of truth and justice, and avenger of perfidy: in witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this 3d day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

P. BEAVER.

Wit. J. W. PABIA. }

his

NIOBANA X KING. MATCHORE

Mark

his

King†.
Mark

* See the large Map at the end of this work.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE H H.

544. Possession was taken of these purchases, in His Majesty's name, and the ship Hankey and the sloop were left at Bulama, with 49 men, 13 women and 25 children, abundantly supplied with provisions, stores, plantation tools and goods for the payment of labour.—The whole under the conduct of Philip Beaver, Esq. a lieutenant in the royal navy.

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Possession taken in His Brit. Majesty's name.

545. Some of the society quitted the ship at Bissao, and others went to America and the West Indies. The rest, dreading the rainy season, resolved to return to England, in the Calypso, and first to proceed to S. Leona, hoping to find there, accommodation for some of their number, who wished to return to Bulama, at the cessation of the rains. But, from the want of accommodation and provisions at Sierra Leona, added to the protraction of the voyage, disease was generated on board the Calypso, and many deaths took place, which probably would not have happened, had the ship returned from Bulama directly to England*.

Different destinations of the colonists.

546. Of the 275 colonists who embarked, 6 died on board the Calypso and 3 on board the Hankey, in the voyage outward; 8 were killed; 13 died on the coast; and 42 on board the Calypso, in the passage home from Sierra Leona. Some of the deaths, on the coast, were owing to drinking, and the rest to fevers, contracted at Bissao, before the purchase of Bulama; for we are so far happy, as to be able to assert with truth, that *not one death can be attributed to the climate of Bulama†.*

Mortality out and home.

* See § 390, and the NOTE thereon.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G No. 1, 9.

547. The

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Ship of war
ordered to call
and assist the
colony.Reasons for
additional
subscriptions.

547. The Calypso returned on the 14th. Nov. 1792, in 9 weeks, from Sierra Leona, with between 80 and 90 of the colonists. And the trustees, considering that, from the unparalleled length of her passage, the colonists remaining at Bulama, would probably be mortified at not hearing from England; and, being informed that a man of war would soon sail for Africa, immediately applied to the Lords of the Admiralty, who were pleased to order Commodore Dod, of the Charon, to visit Bulama, and to give the colonists every assistance consistent with His Majesty's service.

548. The subscriptions, it has been already observed, amounted to near £9000. The amount of the charges is about £10,000; not that there is a balance of £1000 against the concern; for its effects are much more than adequate to the last sum; nor would there have been any immediate call for money, so nearly was the expense of the first expedition estimated, had not the voyages of the Calypso and the Hankey been unexpectedly protracted. But the trustees had anticipated the want of farther supplies, (1.) *for soliciting an Act of Parliament,—(2.) for conveying to the subscribers their lands,—and (3) for future support to the colony,* and proposed to the General Meeting,

(1.) That a subscription be opened for a participation of the benefits to arise from the Islands of Bulama and Arcas*, and a part of the adjacent coast, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, all purchased by the Association; at the rate of £50 for every 200 acres, and not less to be subscribed.

(2.) That the subscriptions remain unappropriated, till a charter, or an Act of Parliament, be obtained; except a sum adequate to the payment of the balance

* Mr. Beaver, in his letter from Bulama of the 10th Oct. 1793, says, "People should not be taught to believe that the Isle of Arcas is of any value; for, I believe, no water has ever yet been found upon it. Besides it is very small and marshy, and environed with mangroves that extend a great way. The other purchase, I think much more valuable than people are aware of." See the Map, Plate II.

owing on the first expedition, to the supply of Bulama with stores, and to the solicitation of a charter*.

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549. To these propositions the General Meeting unanimously consented, and a subscription is now opened for £10,000, to prosecute the present plan.

550. In corroboration of the preceding account of the climate and soil of Bulama, and the probability of establishing cultivation and commerce on and near that Island†, the following extracts are adduced from letters, to the trustees‡.

From Mr. Dalrymple's, to the Trustees, dated the 7th of November, 1792.

“ At Goree, I had frequent conversations with Mr. St. Jean, son of a former governor, who informed me that his father had often visited Bulama, and that he, (governor St. Jean) considered it as the most eligible place, on the coast of Africa, for a colony; and, in consequence of that opinion, had endeavoured to prevail on the French Senegal company to purchase that island. As at the time I quitted Bulama, none of us had sailed round it, I cannot exactly ascertain it's dimensions; but I suppose it to be about 25 miles in length, and 20 in breadth. The middle part of it consists of small hills, none of which are more than 100 feet above the sea. These hills are covered with very large trees, with little underwood; and yams, edoes, and other tropical roots, grow in great abundance, under the shade.

“ The north end of the island is one continued Savannah, covered with long grass, with a few trees interspersed, but without any rocks or stones. The soil of this plain is deep and rich; and in order to cultivate it, it is only necessary to set

* The disparity between these terms, and the original ones, will not, it is presumed, be thought greater than is justified by the difference of circumstances. Originally, even the smallest success was extremely doubtful. It is now certain, that a valuable territory has been fairly purchased, and taken possession of. In compensation of the advanced price, the right to a lot in or near the town, the right of sending a settler to have 30 acres *gratis*, and a share in the neat profits of lands to be sold in future—in short, all the collateral advantages of the first purchasers, are understood to extend equally to new subscribers, except indeed a priority of allotment of land in favour of the former, which from some steps already taken, and engagements made, is become unavoidable.—The land purchased appears to be at least 400,000 acres, of which about 110,000 are subscribed for.

† The Island of Bulama is one in an Archipelago, known by the name of the Bislaos, or Bissagos, called by the ancients the Hesperides. Few of these fine islands are inhabited at present, owing to the ravages made by the slave-trade in their population.

‡ I have taken the liberty somewhat to abridge the language of these extracts, carefully retaining the sense, and every material circumstance. C. B. W.

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fire to the grafts, after which the plough may be immediately used. Horses are cheap; the best may be purchased at Goree for 11. 10s. a head; and cattle, in any number, may be had, within a few miles of Bulama, at 10 or 12s. a head. Hence cultivation might be carried on at a small expence; especially as the Papels and Bifaras may be hired for a great bar (about 5 or 6s.) per month.

“On the south-east end of the island, there is one of the finest bays in the world. The land is here covered with wood, and there are great varieties of excellent timber for cabinet work and furniture, also dying woods, &c. There are buffaloes and elephants on the island, and the seas abound with fish.”

From a Letter to the Trustees, dated Bulama, 18th July, 1792, and signed by Messrs. Dalrymple, Young, King, Paiba, Brodie, Drake, Munden, Reynolds, Hancorne, Ximenes, Beaver, Aberdeen, and Clutterbuck.

“We find the air remarkably salubrious, and the climate of the coast, as far as we have been, beyond expectation temperate: the channel, called the Biffaos entrance, is spacious and safe: the harbour in which we live is, in the opinion of our nautical people, the best they ever saw, and capable of containing the whole British navy: the channel to it being sufficient for the largest ships.

“The people have been employed in fishing with the seines. This has proved a successful and salubrious labour*. This situation is admirably calculated both for inland and maritime commerce. The shore, rising gradually from the strand, extends to a plain that affords a commodious site for a town. There is fresh water in the vicinity; whether supplied by the rains or the springs, remains to be ascertained†: but from the concurrent testimony of those who have penetrated into the island, it contains many streams. The island appears to be between 5 and 6 leagues in length, and as much in the broadest part. The soil, as far as we have seen, is a red loam, and so luxuriant, that the garden seeds we sowed came up vigorously in two days. The island, we learn from the gentlemen who have explored it, has extensive savannahs of a deep black mould. The animals we have seen are buffaloes, deer, antelopes, wild hogs, monkeys, and tigers. We have also seen frequent and palpable vestiges of elephants, and have found the skeleton of one. The Bijugas of Canabac often come over to Bulama, to hunt and cultivate, but there are no inhabitants settled on it.

“Had we not been unavoidably interrupted, we are persuaded that we should have been sheltered, and have had our grounds prepared before the rains set in.

* They took at one haul of the seine, as much as supplied the whole settlement (three hundred in number, including the ships companies) with a good and hearty meal.

† An entry is made in the public journal of the colony on the 29th of July, that many springs were on that day discovered, within the distance of a mile from the ship.

We should have laboured with that cheerfulness which the alluring prospect of the land is calculated to inspire. But few enterprizes succeed in all their extent, and though ours has failed in part, we have abundant reason to think, that if the colony be seasonably supported, there will be secured to it a rapid and permanent establishment.”

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From Messrs. Beaver, Munden, Aberdeen, and Reynolds, to the Trustees, dated Bulama, 7th August, 1792.

“ WE have now to enter on a subject of great importance to all concerned. Having learned that there might be a possibility of purchasing the opposite island belonging to the kings of Ghinala, (a district of the Biafara country,) who were formerly the sovereigns of Bulama, but driven from it by their more warlike neighbours the Canabacs, it was thought advisable that Mr. Beaver should proceed with the sloop up the Rio Grande, to negotiate the business, which he accomplished in a manner far beyond our most sanguine expectations. The original Treaty, No. IV. accompanies this (§ 543); and we beg to refer you to the following copy of his letter from Ghinala, for a further explanation.

‘ *Gentlemen,*

‘ FINDING the shore, called the Greater Bulama, not an island, it was my intention to return without purchasing it*: but, at my first interview with the two kings of this country, they claimed Bulama, having, as they said, inherited it from their ancestors. As I know there is some justice in their claim, I thought it absolutely necessary to stop and satisfy them, and I expect them on board every minute, to talk the palaver.

‘ Now conceiving it to be a favourable opportunity, when purchasing Bulama, to purchase also the adjacent shore, which I think may be done for very little more value, I shall endeavour to buy all the uninhabited land which lies between them and us; that is, all the territory south of a line drawn from this place to Goly, which territory you will see is bounded to the E. by Ghinala creek, to the S. by the Rio Grande, and to the W. by a branch of the sea, which separates it from Bissao*. The fides, bounded by Ghinala Creek and the Rio Grande, are elevated and cleared in many places, forming a chain of fine bays and creeks, with deep water, through their whole extent. Should our colony flourish, which I have no reason to doubt, this will be found an invaluable acquisition, as there is no one part of its banks where a town may not be built, with every advantage for commerce. I hope to leave this place in two days, and to bring with me refreshments for the sick.

‘ I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

Ghinala, 2d Aug. 1792.

‘ P. BEAVER.’

To the Gentlemen of the Committee, on board the Hankey, Bulama.

* See the large Map.

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“ We congratulate you, Gentlemen, and all concerned, on the possession of a country equally fertile, and much larger than Bulama, together with the cession of that island from the Biafaras, as well as the Canabacs, the only nation that could claim it, for a sum not exceeding 35*l.* sterling.—The rains have not yet proved so terrible, as we were taught to believe; and our sick list has been owing rather to the imprudence of individuals, than to the climate. Every opportunity has been embraced of procuring fresh provisions, of which the colony stood much in need; for, though the island abounds with buffaloes and deer, we are too few, and too busy, (in planting and building) to send parties to kill them, and Mr. Beaver will sail for Bissao to-morrow, to contract with Mr. Cordoza, for a regular supply.

“ P. S. We conceive that, (if necessary,) a large sum may be raised by the newly purchased land, but we wish it may not be sold under forty shillings an acre.”

Extract of a Letter from Mr. George Fielder, to Colonel Kirkpatrick.

“ THE island is well wooded and watered round the coasts, and the inland parts entirely clear, except the small divisions of trees, which form the exact appearance of fields, and their fences in England. It abounds with buffaloes, elephants, deer, Guinea fowls, pigeons, &c. and, on the whole, several gentlemen, well acquainted with the West-Indies, judge it superior to any of the West-India islands. I have enjoyed uninterrupted health since I left England.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ GEORGE FIELDER.”

Extract of another Letter of Mr. Fielder's, dated S.E. End of Bulama, July 3d, 1792.

“ SOME of us surveyed part of the island, which we found covered with wood all round, and for about two miles inward; but within the woods is open land, covered with high grass, and divided into small fields by narrow ridges of high trees, like hedges in England. The soil is a rich black mould, several feet deep, and capable of producing any thing; the woods abound with Guinea fowls, doves, and other small birds; also with elephants, and the Asiatic buffalo; and are interspersed with small springs of fine water; in short, Mr. Aberdein, who has lived in the East and West Indies, says it is the finest island he ever saw, and that it is superior in soil and water to any of the West India islands.

“ I have lived principally on the fruits, of which there are abundance of a very fine flavour, have worked hard, and never was better in my life.—My constitution perfectly agrees with the climate, having undergone as much fatigue as any; and though the rainy season has set in these three weeks, I am yet as well as ever I was in England: and my hopes are sanguine of our success, from the excellence of the

soil

foil and water; there being several thousand acres perfectly clear, and partly cultivated by the Bifagoas.—There are on the coast people called Grumettas, who work for the Portuguese, and other Europeans, at the rate of 6s. 8d. a month in goods.—We bought oxen of his people (the Papels) at the rate of about one Guinea each in goods, and many cheaper.”

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. Francis Donnelly, to James Mangles, Esquire, dated East Harbour of Bulama, 18th July, 1792.

“MANY of the Subscribers return to Europe to dispatch more ships, and to obtain a charter.—Some of the interior part of the island is a clear and beautiful pasturage, where there has been millet, and other grain cultivated, about two thousand acres in one spot, and many more Savannahs, equally good; supposed 40,000 acres of excellent clear land. The appearance of the island is really beautiful beyond description, with woods of valuable timber, plants, and fruits of different sorts; wild yams, and casada in abundance: little difficulty will be found in clearing the wood lands. It is worthy remark, that no brambles, &c. annoy us in going through the woods; the land could be ploughed with facility, there not being any stones. In short, every appearance inspires the hope of our being able (by proper exertions) to establish an advantageous settlement here. We hope most sincerely, that the strictest attention may be paid to the character and abilities of the tradesmen and labourers next sent out; we find that the lands can be cultivated with ease and safety by European labourers.—Our provisions come on apace. It is expected the rains will continue till September.—The climate is pleasant, not intensely hot any time of the day; the morning and evening I think as moderate as the climate of England. My health is perfectly re-established; and the voyage and the climate agree very well with my constitution.”

An Abridgment of the Report, which the Trustees of the Bulama Association intend to lay before the next General Meeting of the Subscribers, and with a M. S. Copy of which I have been favoured.

551. The Trustees of the Bulama Association, pursuant to the directions of the General Meeting at the Mansion-house, June 25th, 1794, proceed to lay before the members, the

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The Hankey
leaves Mr.
Beaver with
only 20 men.Bijugas medi-
tate an attack.

transactions at Bulama, as stated by Mr. Philip Beaver in his letters, and since confirmed by him in person*.

552. From the 2d Aug. 1792, to which the first report brings down the proceedings at Bulama, nothing material occurred there, till the 22d Nov. following, when the ship Hankey sailed from thence, leaving Mr. Beaver as chief of the colony, with about 20 men (including the crew of the sloop Beggar's Bannison) 4 women and 4 children.

553. Immediately on the Hankey's departure, it was reported, that the Bijugas meditated an attack. As the rumour was not without foundation, we cannot wonder at its casting a damp on the spirits of the colonists; but it is mortifying to add, that even the heroic example of Mr. Beaver, was ineffectual in recovering them from this panic.

* " BULAMA ASSOCIATION,

" At a general meeting of the subscribers to this Association, convened by public advertisement, at the Mansion-house, London, the 25th June, 1794,

The Right Honourable Paul Le Mesurier, Esq. M. P. Lord Mayor, in the Chair.

" *Resolved unanimously,*

" That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Philip Beaver, Esq. Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, late chief of the settlement on the island of Bulama, for the ability, zeal, activity, and perseverance, with which, under many difficulties, he conducted the affairs of that settlement, and for his constant attention to the interests of the Association; and to assure Mr. Beaver that the members of this Association will ever hold his services in grateful remembrance."

" That a gold medal be presented to Mr. Beaver, expressive of the sense entertained by the Association, of his very meritorious services."

" That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. John Hood, for the spirit and resolution with which he supported Mr. Beaver, during the whole of his stay at Bulama, and that he be assured the Association will ever gratefully remember his services."

" That these resolutions be fairly transcribed, signed by the Chairman, and respectively delivered to Mr. Beaver and Mr. Hood, and that they be published in some of the daily papers."

A true Extract from the Minutes.

I. K. MALLESON, *Secretary.*

554. Mr.

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554. Mr. Beaver's first object was to give security to the people, by completing the block-house, begun before the Hankey failed. The strong hold formed a quadrangle of 116 feet by 115, and contained two store-houses 53 feet by 14 each, a governor's house, and small houses sufficient for a considerable number of people. Mr. Beaver, with the help of two, and sometimes three, colonists, completed the logging, by the 28th Nov. There were four gates into the quadrangle, one on each side, secured by Tambours; and as the logging, though musquet proof, was but 6 feet high, Mr. Beaver began to board the upper 6 feet of the outer wall, which, with the same assistance, he finished on the 21st Dec. (See plate IV.)

Block-house,
&c. erected.

555. At this time, a general despondency prevailed, and such was the sickness, that, on the 30th Nov. every man except Mr. Beaver, and every woman and child, was ill. (See § 84, 86, 91.) From the 1st Dec. to the 21st, there died 9 men, 3 women, and 1 child, being nearly half of the colony.

General de-
spendency and
sickness.

556. To add to this calamity, Bellchore, one of the kings of Canabac, remarkable for his exploits and his treachery, having heard of the departure of the Hankey, lost no time in visiting the colony. On the morning of the 5th Dec. he was seen coming round the point, with two canoes. Mr. Beaver immediately beat to arms, saluted him, and loaded the great guns with grape-shot. By this time, Bellchore had landed, and marched up in battle array, at the head of 32 well appointed men, to within 40 yards of the east gate, where he halted. Mr. Beaver's whole force then consisted of only 4 colonists, whom he could not call well, and 7 grumettas. Having placed two centinels at each gate, with orders to kill the first man who should attempt to enter by force, Mr. Beaver went out to meet Bellchore, who knew
and

Suspicious vi-
sit of the Ca-
nabacs.

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and embraced him very cordially. As the only defence of the place was a cannon covering each gate, of which the Bijugas were much afraid, Mr. Beaver informed Bellchore that he never admitted any one into the square; but that he would give up to his people the grumettas' hut, which were under a large tree, and that he himself would live with him in his tent, which was pitched a little way without the gate. Appearing contented, after he had dined with Mr. Beaver, he begged to be admitted into the block-house, in which he was gratified, and then returned to his own people. A grumetta soon after reported to Mr. Beaver, that he heard Bellchore say to his men, That most of the white men were dead, that those living were all sick, except the captain, and that they were his people whenever he pleased; that he put them there, and whenever he chose could take them away; adding that *they were his chickens*, an expression which Bellchore applies to the Biafaras, to signify the ease with which he takes them.

which alarms
 and harasses
 the colonists.

557. This alarming language induced Mr. Beaver to divide his small force into two watches, 2 colonists and 3 grumettas in each. One watch was commanded by himself, and the other by Johnstone, a grumetta; for not one of the colonists was well enough to execute the order with vigour. Mr. Beaver took other precautions, and, resolving to perish rather than yield, he took out the heads of two barrels of powder, and kept a match burning between them all night, signifying to the colonists, that there was no alternative between preserving the place, or blowing up himself and them. Only one of the sloop's crew then remained, and he was on board, with orders to fire into the huts, if he should hear the report of two musquets. The night passed quietly; but two of the people were much worse in the morning, from
 the

the cold dews and the fatigue of watching; and two of the grumettas, still less able than the whites, to bear such hardships, were taken ill.

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558. Mr. Beaver, seeing his force thus diminish, intimated to Bellchore, in the morning, that "there was much work to do; that the people would not attend to it while his men were on the island; that he would be happy, if he would stay with him, and send his men away." Bellchore, pausing, replied, "My son has reason: I see that you have a great deal to do, and we are in your way—we will depart." Mr. Beaver made him some handsome presents, and he quitted the island an hour before dark. Bellchore undoubtedly came to act with hostility or peace, according to the weakness or strength he might observe; and it must be attributed solely to the presence of mind, firmness and vigilance of Mr. Beaver, that this alarming visit terminated so happily.

Mr. Beaver
gets rid of
them.

559. He was employed in putting the place in a state of defence, till the 11th Dec. when the grumettas, dreading another visit from the Bijugas, determined to leave the colony. Mr. Beaver told them, that every man in the island was free to go where he pleased; that they had voluntarily come to work for him, and that he would not detain them a minute against their inclination; adding, that though he wanted a few grumettas, if they did not like their situation, they might depart in the first boat. Accordingly, a canoe arriving on the 14th, they were paid their wages, and all went away, except Johnstone and another grumetta, who remained to assist in navigating the pinnace to Bissao, in quest of more men. Mr. Beaver also permitted Harrison, one of the colonists, to depart in the pinnace, agreeably to his maxim, "never to ask a man to stay in the island, who wished

The colony
reduced to ex-
treme weak-
ness.

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wished to leave it." * When the pinnace left Bulama, there remained with Mr. Beaver *only one man*, fit for duty. They slept in the east gate-way, having the sick, 7 in number, in the adjoining birth, to be ready to act in a body, in case of an emergency. In this critical situation, hourly expecting another visit from the Bijugas, they remained till the 21st, when a Bissao canoe arrived with five grumettas, "a cargo," (as Mr. Beaver calls it) "more valuable than gold." The whole colony was then scarcely able to dig a grave. The grumettas were immediately set to perform that duty, for two subscribers who had died in the morning. The loss of one of them, Mr. Aberdein, was severely felt. Of that gentleman, Mr. Beaver writes thus: "In him the Association lost one of its best members, the king lost a good subject, the weak lost an advocate, society lost an ornament, and I lost a friend. He was unfortunate in this world: may he be happy in the next."

Another visit
from the Ca-
nabacs.

560. On the 27th, Johnstone returned in the pinnace, with 18 grumettas, 3 women and 2 children, among whom were all who had before left the colony, except one. This proved to be a very seasonable reinforcement; for, on the second day after, two Bijuga canoes arrived, with two sons of Jalorum, the other king of Canabac, and about 40 men. Mr. Beaver saluted them, kept under arms, and giving the men the outside huts, as when Belchore was there, kept Jalorum's sons with him. In the middle of the next night, they departed, owing to one of the men having, in discharg-

* "On the contrary," adds Mr. B. "when the Hankey left us, I advised them all to go home; for so many lazy and cowardly people were never, before, I believe, collected together, in so small a number."—See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE GG. No. 5, 8, 16.

ing his piece, accidentally lodged a ball in the foot of another.

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561. Till Jan. 1st, 1793, the colony was employed in finishing the upper part of the outer wall of the block-house, in logging the tambours, and in making plaister for the logging. On this day, they began to set up the inner posts for the houses, on the north side, and to dig up the roots of the trees, cut down during the rains.

Employment.

562. Jan. 3d, a cutter arrived from S. Leona, bound to Bissao, for stock; and the master reporting that salted, as well as fresh, provisions, were wanted at that colony, Mr. Beaver sent them 10 barrels of pork, and 6 tierces of beef, promising 5 bullocks, if a sufficient number could not be procured at Bissao*.

Mr. Beaver
assists S. Leona
with provisions.

563. Jan. 4th, Mr. Beaver was informed, by a Bissao canoe, that a ship bound to Bulama, with a number of colonists on board, had got on some shoals between that island and Arcas, and wanted a pilot. He therefore went, in the two-oared boat, to conduct her in, leaving the block-house with a strong band of grumettas, and strict injunctions to Mr. Hood, the only surviving subscriber, to preserve good order and a strict watch. On the 8th, he found the ship, which was the Scorpion sloop of war, having orders from the admiralty, to give every possible assistance at Bulama, and to report to them the state of the colony. She had not been in any danger, but had only got into the wrong channel, and the captain, not thinking it prudent to proceed, had, since Mr. Beaver's leaving the block-house, sent his boat thither, for the necessary information, and which returned an hour before he got on board.

Man of war
arrives in the
offing.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G.
No. 2, 12.

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Bad charts
mislead the
man of war.

564. Had not Mr. Beaver joined the *Scorpion* when he did, Capt. Ferris would immediately have returned to his commodore, at C. Roxo. Mr. Beaver's visit was therefore fortunate, as it prevented the captain from returning without visiting Bulama, when he might have said, and very properly, that there was not water for large ships. His mistake was owing to a very bad chart. Mr. Beaver observes, that "the charts are all erroneous; but the one published by Sayer, in Fleet street, with draughts and observations by Woodville, is the best, and it is sufficient for the purposes of navigation *."

Formidable
visit of the Bi-
jugas.

565. The officer from the *Scorpion*, said that, at daylight, when he landed at the block-house, he saw 12 canoes close to the S. W. point of the harbour, and that they immediately retired to the other side. This intelligence made Mr. Beaver very uneasy, as he had never seen above two canoes there, and that very seldom. He was indeed convinced, that they were Bijuga canoes, and on a hostile errand. But perverse winds prevented his return till the 10th, when the *Scorpion* anchored before the block-house, having, the preceding day, spoke with an English merchantman, commanded by Mr. Moore, who piloted the expedi-

* At this place, in the original Report, the Trustees have been pleased to introduce a note, expressing their approbation of the large map at the end of this work, as well as of the author's general exertions in the cause of the Africans. Were he insensible of the kind attention paid to him, in this instance, he would be unworthy of it. He certainly has spared no pains or expense, to render his map the best; upon the whole, hitherto published. Yet he would by no means be understood to offer it to the public, as incapable of improvement, being sensible how much remains to be done, before our geographical and nautical knowledge of that coast is complete. See the remarks on the map itself.

tion

tion, when Bulama was purchased. He was bound to Bissao, and said he should, in three weeks at farthest, sail for England. Mr. Hood corroborated the account of the Scorpion's officer; and said that they thought the block-house in great danger, and had been under arms ever since the 5th.

566. On the 11th, the fort saluted the Scorpion, which being returned, Capt. Ferris came on shore to muster, and receive a state of, the colony. This was the first holiday the people had enjoyed on the island. On the 12th, the Scorpion sailed, after an interchange of the kindest offices between Capt. Ferris and all his officers, and Mr. Beaver and the colonists. Unfortunately, Mr. Beaver did not think of writing by the Scorpion, which, in her way home, was to call in the W. Indies. He depended on Moore bringing his dispatches directly to England; but he also, ultimately resolved to take the same circuitous route.

Capt. of man
of war musters
the colony.
His kindness.

567. Jan. 17th, Mr. Beaver turned away, and sent to Bissao, 7 grumettas, and the boat brought back 9, who confirmed the suspicions respecting the errand of the Bijugas on the 5th. There were at least 150 of them, in 12 canoes, 7 from the Island of Warang, or Formosa, and 5 from the Island of Canabac, all commanded by Bellchore who, that night landed his men, and at 8 o'clock, came so near the block-house as to distinguish the words of the grumettas, who were all at play in the square, and luckily making much noise. Bellchore then halted and said, "I hear too many tongues; besides they all speak Portuguese, and if we attack them, that will bring on a palaver with that nation and the Papels." He also knew that there was an English ship at the back of the island, and had twice heard

Bijugas 150
strong. Cause
of their re-
treat.

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her evening gun. While he hesitated, by good Providence, the Scorpion's boat came into the harbour, and fired two musquets, which were answered both by the cutter and the block-house. Bellchore, thinking that he was discovered, and that these were concerted signals, thought it prudent to decamp; and thus ended the third expedition, which, in six weeks after the departure of the Hankey, the Bijugas had made to Bulama. They twice afterwards visited the island; but retired peaceably; owing doubtless to their being discouraged by their three former failures, and to the state of vigilant preparation in which they found the colony.

568. By the 3d of Feb. 1793, the block-house was completely plaistered, and on the 26th the gates were finished. Since Sept. the clearing of the land had been suspended. But, from Jan. to March, the grumettas were chiefly employed in that labour. By that time, they had cleared 50 acres, by which is meant, the cutting down, and burning the branches of all the trees, except the very large ones, leaving the roots in the ground. But 4 acres round the block-house were completely cleared, and the roots taken up. This spot Mr. Beaver intended to *plough* (see § 132 *et seq.* 499) and plant with yams, at the beginning of the rains*. About this time, he had finished the tambours, and erected a tower over each gate, to cover the tambours, and to flank the block-house. (See plate IV.)

Land cleared
and ready for
ploughing.

Sunday first
observed, Feb.
10th, 1793.

569. Till Sunday, Feb. 10th, self-preservation had obliged the colonists to work on the Sabbath; but, from that time, they discontinued that irregularity; and Mr. Beaver, on those days, read prayers to the colonists, and in the evening, taught them the use of artillery and small arms.

* See in the App. Notes, &c, respect, S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 3.

570. Feb. 17th, the Nancy, Capt. Moore arrived, with a schooner he had taken from under the Portuguese fort at Bissao; and complaining of ill usage, Mr. Beaver sent his boat to that place, with a letter to the Governor, whose answer convinced him that he had been imposed on. Moore returning to Bissao, settled his affairs very amicably, and sent his boat to Bulama, when he was ready to sail for the W. Indies. In his vessel, Mr. Beaver procured a passage for two labourers*, who wished to leave the island, also for the widow of another, and for a girl, the only surviving females. Mr. Beaver wrote by Moore very fully on all the particulars before stated, and inclosed a variety of papers. But though Moore had a very good passage to the W. Indies, and thence to Liverpool, he did not send the trustees these important dispatches. What could be his motives, or who his advisers, to this act, the Trustees shall not say; but certainly his suppressing this letter has kept them in absolute ignorance of the state of affairs at Bulama, and thus has prevented them from taking measures which might have preserved the colony†.

571. The letter just mentioned was dated the 16th of March, when there were 5 men and 2 boys, with 20 grumettas on shore at Bulama, and 3 men on board the sloop.

* Mr. B. in his letter seems to call them *labourers* ironically; for he immediately adds. "They are both indolent, worthless people, and have not done a day's work since they landed. I conceive their land is forfeit, and have told them so."—See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G; No. 5, 8.

† The Trustees did not receive the letter mentioned in the text, till Sept. 1794, above 3 months after Mr. Beaver himself arrived in England, and consequently long after the evacuation of Bulama was publicly known! C. B. W.

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Capt. Moore quarrels with the Portug. at Bissao; and detains Mr. B's dispatches.

which ruins the colony.

Mr..

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Mr. Beaver thus concludes that letter, "If you ever give a thought to this island, you must perceive that, if we are to be succoured, it must be soon. I am just as liable to death as any other man, and the moment I die, the colony is lost. I have had serious conversation on that head, two or three times since the departure of the Hankey; and every man is determined to go, as soon as I may be in the ground. The grumettas too have always said the same; and, without them, our people, even if they were inclined, could not keep the place. Therefore, as you prize this island, send out a sufficient number, at least to keep it†."

Harmony between the colony and its neighbours.

572. During Mr. Beaver's stay at Bulama, the most perfect harmony subsisted between the colony and the Portuguese at Bissao. Reciprocal good offices were interchanged; and the colonies conducted themselves as became the subjects of two allied monarchs. Indeed no misunderstanding took place between the colonists and any other set of men; but Europeans, Americans and natives were all received in strict amity and confidence (except the Bijugas.) It is pleasing also to reflect, that no person was put to death; but that all who died fell by intemperance or disease.

573. Having thus stated the proceedings at Bulama, to the 16th March, 1793, it is necessary to remind the Association, that, about that time, the subscribers here had several meetings, to consider what could be done for their friends at Bulama, for whose safety, the want of information had excited serious apprehension. About the same time, the

† Here Mr. B. adds, "But, for Heaven's sake, keep from us such subscribers and such labourers as the first embarkation brought out."

Hankey,

Hankey, Capt. Cox, arriving from Grenada, with sugar, cotton, &c. an extravagant, unfounded and malicious clamour was raised, that this ship had brought the plague from Bulama to Grenada, and thence to England. It might easily have been ascertained, that the mortality at Grenada, while the Hankey was there, was owing to one of those disorders to which the W. Indian islands are unfortunately subject. But, so flaming was the zeal of the Grenadians against the Abolition of the Slave-trade, and the *free* colony at Bulama, that they employed every illiberal art to prevent Capt. Cox from getting a cargo at Grenada. But their malice did not end here: they sent home representations, or rather misrepresentations, respecting his ship, which were so strenuously supported by the W. Indians, that government thought it proper to put the Hankey under quarantine, and to have her cargo unloaded and examined, before it was brought up the river. *Every examination proved the falsehood and malignity of the report.* Yet several months elapsed before the owners could unload their ship. Lightermen, wharfingers and lumpers, all had caught the West India fever: all believed, or pretended to believe, the imposture. Grave citizens and official men were not ashamed to countenance the wild opinion. Magistrates and members of the corporation of London were applied to, for their influence with Government, to avert the impending pestilence. And, so successfully was the deception managed, that, on the famous 9th of November, a citizen of the greatest respectability, then master of one of the first city companies, forgetting that his sole province on that day was to dispense mirth and good cheer, sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, then on board the city barge, a representation

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Hankey falsely reported to have brought the plague from Bulama,

and put under quarantine

of

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of the alarming consequences that would ensue, if this terrible ship and her cargo were not destroyed! The *alarmists* gravely asserted, that *all the Hankey's crew had died, and that the captain was dying*. It is true, that Capt. Cox had almost died with grief, from the report cruelly circulated respecting his ship. But it is equally certain, that *not one of the crew had died*, either on the passage from Grenada, or in the river *. The calumniators, however, had in view another object than truth; and their success was such as might gratify the most malignant spirits; for they had nearly caused the death of a man who never offended them, materially hurt the property of the ship's owners, and, what must have been still more pleasing to *them*, greatly injured the Bulama Association.

This calumny
prevents ap-
plication for a
charter.

574. The prejudices thus industriously raised against the colony at Bulama, and which, from the want of information, it was impossible to repel, deprived the Trustees of all hopes of success in *then* applying for a charter. They preferred waiting till the torrent of malicious, or ignorant, clamour had spent itself, and till time and undoubted intelligence should confirm or contradict, the reports. The prejudices against Bulama rendered it extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to succour a colony, *then deemed pestilential*; and there can be no doubt that this was one great object of the calumniators.

* Mess. Henry and Samuel Cox, of Great Prescot-street, the owners of the Hankey, have been so good as to favour me with a perusal of her log-book, which justifies the above statement. It also confirms Mr. Beaver's letters respecting the transactions at Bulama, up to the time when the Hankey left that Island; and contains numerous proofs of his unremitting exertions and attention to the interests of the infant colony. C. B. W.

575. But

575. But the Trustees omitted nothing that depended on them, towards the relief of the colony. One of the ships belonging to the Sierra Leona Company having been then ready to sail, application was made to The Honourable the Court of Directors of that Company, to order their ship (the *Fecility*) to touch at Bulama, which was granted with the greatest readiness and liberality. (See § 391.) A supply was accordingly sent by this ship, with a credit to Mr. Beaver, on the officers of the Sierra Leona Company, for any articles he might want, to the amount of £100, and assurances of farther supplies of stores, and an additional number of colonists.

576. The Subscribers, however, having a general meeting, empowered the Trustees to raise 10 per cent. on the subscriptions, for relieving the colony, the sum of £403 : 5 : 0 was collected, including £140 remitted from Manchester, and £144 paid by the six Trustees. An assortment of cloathing, medicines, provisions and ammunition was accordingly put on board the ship *John*, Capt. Cloufson, who engaged, for £150, to land the stores at Bulama, together with such passengers as might come on board. The Trustees offered every reasonable encouragement to good men to embark as colonists, and six were engaged; but, from the bad accounts industriously propagated against the colony, only one man, a black, had the courage to embark. The *John* was cleared at the custom-house, in June 1793; but, having been obliged, from the war, and her having provisions on board, to wait for convoy, it unfortunately happened that she did not finally sail till October *. French flying squadrons and

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S. Leona Co.
kindly order
the *Fecility* to
call at Bula-
ma, with sup-
plies.

Greater sup-
plies sent; but
did not arrive
in time.

Colonists pre-
vented by the
calumny from
going out.

* The present war, so injurious to the S. Leona colony, contributed to the entire ruin of that of Bulama. I shall afterwards notice the baneful effects of war, on the Swedish design to form a colony in Africa. *C. B. W.*

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Lands cleared,
enclosures,
buildings.Hens and
goats in plen-
ty.European and
tropical vege-
tables thrive.

contrary winds prevented the convoy, the Diadem of 64 guns, from getting sooner out of the Channel. The supply thus sent to Bulama, by the Felicity and the John, amounted to £387 : 17 : 8, including freight and primage.

577. We now return to Mr. Beaver's transactions at Bulama, subsequent to the 16th March, 1793. The Felicity brought a letter from him to the Trustees, dated July 24th. He writes that, since the 15th March, he had been particularly employed in the tedious and laborious work of grubbing up roots; that he had made some enclosures, and was making more; that he had built two houses, each 34 feet by 21, one for the sick, and the other, divided into three, for the grumettas, (see plate IV.) No material occurrence had taken place; and the rest of the letter, being confined to the state of the colony, it will be best to give it nearly in his own words. "With hens and goats I am plentifully stocked, and, in a few days, I shall have cattle in abundance. All our garden feeds, that came out last year, thrive very well; but, from our cattle breaking through the hedge, and our building afterwards over a great part of the garden, every thing in it was destroyed. This season, our European feeds, which are not only old (at least 3 or 4 years) but mouldy, could not be expected to produce. Some few I have procured from Bissao, and they do very well. Oranges, limes, pawpaws, malaguetta, goavas, ground-nuts, yams, Guinea corn and cotton thrive to admiration—Towards the end of the dry season, most of the rivulets near us dried up; but the spring whence we have always taken our water, though it was never dry, yielded not more water, at it's lowest ebb, than would supply 50 men. About two miles from us, there is a run of water sufficient for at least 2000 souls, and it is also convenient for watering ships.

I am

I am induced to think that there are many other springs near us; as, for the last 3 months of the dry season, elephants were continually swimming across the river, from the Biafara to this shore; but I never yet saw one swim from this island to the opposite land. This I can only account for, by supposing that, on this side, there is plenty of water, and, on the other, little or none. One of these fleets of elephants I attacked, and killed two. The proboscis is excellent food.—The rains, which set in between 7 and 8 weeks ago, are much more violent this season, than the last, and have damaged some of our stores. I have therefore been obliged to cover our wooden roof with thatch, which, for security from fire, I shall take off at the commencement of the dry season. Wooden roofs * will never keep out the rains in this country.”

578. At this time, Mr. Beaver had with him 23 grumettas, 5 women and 1 boy, as many as he wished for, with the Europeans he had; but, had the number of the latter been increased, he would have employed 100 of the former, and he was, at any time, sure of obtaining double the number.—He had then 27 hhd. of bread, 46 bls. of pork and 33 tierces of beef. But the bread was very bad, and the salted provisions spoiling, which had induced him to receive 10 bls. of pork which the Sierra Leona Company had generously ordered the captain of the *Felicity* to deliver him, if he desired it.—The goods with which Mr. Beaver paid the grumettas, were then nearly exhausted; but he had about 300 lb. of

C H A P
XI.
BULAMA.

Number of
labourers.

S. Leona Co.
generously
furnish 10 bls
pork.

* Mr. Beaver must here mean *boarded* roofs; for shingles, or thin pieces of board, in the form of tiles or slates, make excellent roofs in any climate; and I am assured, are very commonly used in all parts of the W. Indies. Their only disadvantage is their being combustible; but they are much less so than thatch.
C. B. W.

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BULAMA.

Colony defensible, and only wanted men.

Biafaras, &c.
invite Mr.
B. to build.Mr. B. soothes
the impatient
colonists.

ivory, which he meant to exchange, with some trading vessel, for cloth.—Mr. Beaver concludes this interesting letter with observing, that he could defend the place against any force of the natives; that the island only wanted colonists; that, to such as would come out, success was certain; that, with one tenth of the support given to the Sierra Leona colony, he could ere now have easily acquired lands sufficient to maintain 500,000 souls: that the Biafaras often requested him to build at or near Ghinala; and that a similar invitation had come from Bulola, about 70 miles up the Rio Grande, but that, having neither goods nor (European) men, he was tied down to a few acres, and was inactive from necessity, not from inclination*.

579. In Sept. a cutter belonging to the Sierra Leona Company went to Bissao; and by her Mr. Beaver received tea, sugar and molasses. From the great damps, owing to the want of medical assistance, dry and elevated houses, and proper drains to carry off the water, accumulated by incessant rains, the colony was then very sickly. They were indeed so reduced as to be obliged to have the mate of the sloop to act as cook, not another man, either on shore or on board being then equal to the task. On the 20th Sept. the men, observing that the time when they were to expect the vessel with new colonists had elapsed, and their spirits having been depressed by sickness, all agreed to quit the colony, when they could†. Mr. Beaver, with his usual spirit and presence of mind, told them that the time in which the vessel was expected, had barely elapsed; that she might have been detained by

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 5, 8, 10.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 11.

contrary

contrary winds, or might then be refitting, after a gale, in some harbour; but that, if they would stay six months longer, they would undoubtedly be reinforced*." To this proposition they assented: Mr. Beaver concluded that the vessel was taken; but hoped that, by Feb. or March, he would receive succour. He then found some difficulty in engaging grumettas; for the prime articles with which he paid them were exhausted, and he could offer them nothing but powder or tobacco.

580. While in anxious expectation of a reinforcement, a report was received from Bissao that the Bijugas meditated a formidable attack. This rumour operated so strongly on the minds of the colonists, now enfeebled by sickness, that, on the night of the 22d. Oct. the mate (then commander) of the sloop, and another man ran away with the boat. Mr. Beaver the less regarded this loss, as he had still two white men left who, he hoped, would remain till more arrived. Two days after this desertion, a Mr. Lawrence, a factor in the Rio Nunez, touched at Bulama, in his way to Bulola. The next day he sailed, and was to return in a week to Bulama, and thence to sail for Bissao. Four days after his departure, the colonists delivered to Mr. Beaver a written request, that he would not only permit them to leave the island, but that he would leave it with them. The latter request he positively refused, and, again succeeded in persuading them not to urge the former. But, 15 days after, Lawrence not having returned, they delivered

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BULAMA.

But they persist in their intention to leave Bulama.

* The resemblance of Mr. Beaver's situation, at this trying juncture, to that of Columbus, in the voyage, in which he discovered America, is too striking to escape the notice of intelligent readers. May the magnanimous perseverance of this able officer, inspire the supporters of this undertaking with similar zeal! May his success be equal, and his reward superior to those of the discoverer of the new world! (See Robertson's Hist. of America.)

him

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BULAMA.

Mr. B. reluctantly yields.
His reasons.

him a second paper, exhorting him to consider their dangerous situation, and signifying their resolution to seek their own safety, by quitting the island, as soon as possible. Mr. Beaver, repeatedly and earnestly expostulated with the people on "the folly of leaving a place where they had laboured so hard, at a time when all difficulties were over," But finding that such was their positive determination, he was under the painful necessity of yielding*. "I did not quit the island," to use his own words, in his letter from S. Leona, of Jan. 19th, 1794, "because I could not keep it; for I might still have retained 20 grumettas with me in the block-house, a number sufficient to maintain such a strong hold not only against the Bijugas, but all the Islanders of Africa†. But their pay would have been much. They would not have wrought; and instead of labourers, I should have been paying 20 masters, who would besides have plundered me. The cutter too, I must inevitably have lost, having no mooring-chains, nor a single man to take care of her." To preserve her, therefore, and the remaining stores, Mr. Beaver consented to carry the people to S. Leona; and, by letter, he chartered Lawrence's schooner for that colony, to carry the goods which the cutter could not contain. He sent Mr. Hood to Bissao to inform the governor of his resolution; and transmitted to Jalorum and Bellchore, kings Canabac, Matchore, king of Rio Grande and Woody Toorey, queen of Bulola, presents of 20 bars each, informing them that he was going home, but should return after the next rains.

Mr. B. arrives at S. Leona. His opinion of the undertaking.

581. Mr. Beaver having shipped almost all the goods, in three small vessels, on the 29th Nov. "had," as he says, "the

* See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G. No. 4.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G. No. 9.

mortification

mortification to see that spot abandoned, which the labour of a year and a week (from the Hankey's departure) had rendered a little paradise." Dec. 23d, he arrived at Sierra Leona, where he sold the sloop Beggar's Bennison and the goods. "The hospitality and attention," says he, in his letter of the 19th Jan. 1794, "which I have experienced from Mr. Dawes, the Governor, Mr. Macauley, the Lieut. Governor, and all the gentlemen of the colony, demand my grateful acknowledgments *." The Governor and Council kindly gave him and Mr. Hood, a passage to England, where they arrived in May 1794, with a few hundred pounds, "the only remains of £10,000 raised to colonize Bulama. Yet," says Mr. Beaver, "the scheme cannot be called a bad one. I have a better opinion of it now, than ever I had; and am confident that a very small portion of industry and perseverance on Bulama, will answer the expectations of our most sanguine subscribers. We have not miscarried, but we have been unfortunate, &c." See his letter from S. Leona, of 19th Jan. 1794.

582. Having thus finished the history of this first attempt to form a colony at Bulama, we must add, that the John, which failed in October, got to Bissao about a month after the evacuation; and finding a letter from Mr. Beaver, advising any ship that might arrive, to return home, Capt. Clouston sold a part of the goods at Bissao and the C. de Verd islands, and invested their value in salt, with which and the remaining goods he arrived at Corke, where they are now selling for account of the Association.

* I feel the greatest satisfaction in joining Mr. Beaver in a similar acknowledgment to Mr. Dawes, to whose liberal communications I owe several interesting particulars in this work, especially in the maps. Though I have not the happiness of Mr. Macauley's acquaintance, I have been so fortunate as to procure, and have taken the liberty to insert, some of his valuable remarks.

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BULAMA.

583. The Trustees will now give a general statement of the accounts of the Association.

DUBLIN.		DR.		CR.	
General statement of accounts.	To the amount of outfit, &c. to the 7th June, 1792, paid, is	-	£7155 12 10	By sale of 42,000 acres to purchasers	£5040 0 0
	To paid since, freight of ships to 21st Aug. 1792	-	897 0 0	By Do. of 41,875 Do. to colonists	2512 10 0
	To balance of Do. of the Calypso paid	-	633 0 0	By extra subscriptions of colonists, after time	15 0 0
	To Ditto Ditto. of the Hankey, paid	-	640 0 0	By stamps on grants received	73 16 0
	To bills drawn on the Trustees, and small charges	-	211 7 0	By subscriptions raised by the Trustees	1336 4 0
			£9536 19 10	By advances made by Do.	619 9 17
					£9536 19 10

The assets of the Association, as laid before the general meeting, on the 25th of June, 1794, are as follow, viz.

By value of sloop, &c. to be remitted from S. Leona	£300 0 0
By Cash in the hands of the Lord Mayor (Paul Le Mesurier, Esq.)	234 14 5
By Do. in the bank of England	77 9 6
By Do. in the hands of Messrs. Biddulph and Co.	93 18 6
By Do. in the hands of J. K. Mallison	4 7 2
By estimate of goods at Corke	150 0 0
By Do. of books, and surveying instruments	20 0 0
By debts due in Africa	259 9 11
By debts due of no value, or not ascertainable	140 7 6
	£1280 7 0
Debts owing by the Association	360 6 9
Balance, in favour of the Association	£920 0 3

Trustees' opinion of a future undertaking.

584. The Trustees having now fulfilled, as well as they can, the directions of the General Meeting, respecting past proceedings, are now to give "their opinion as to the probability of future success." By this, they understand that the General Meeting wish to know, What would be the probable expence of colonizing Bulama, and how the same could

could be raised.—And here the Trustees must take for granted, that a charter from His Majesty, sanctioned by Parliament, will be obtained; for, without such authority, they could not recommend a renewal of the colony.

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585. Supposing then a charter obtained, the scale of the undertaking will much depend on the state of Europe, at the time; if, during war, the Trustees would recommend a small scale; and they have Mr. Beaver's opinion, in his letter of the 10th Oct. 1793, that 20 Europeans, would at first be sufficient, namely, a governor, a store-keeper, two surgeons, a surveyor and his assistant, with 14 labourers, who should have regular pay, keep guard, if necessary, overlook the native labourers, accompany or head them in excursions through the island, &c *. To these whites, 50 natives might be attached (and we know that any number may be hired) who should perform all the hard labour of building and clearing land, this having been one chief cause of the mortality of the former colonists†. It might be proper also to encourage some proprietors of lands to go over. About 50 seem an eligible number, who might have a free passage, and an allowance of provisions, for the first year. None but healthy, sober, industrious men of a proper age, should be permitted to go, nor any (speculating) “merchants or traders‡.” They should be advised to hire at least one native labourer each: and thus, barring accidents on the passage, the governor would enter upon his charge with 70 Europeans

If in war, a small scale recommended.

* See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leo. and Bula. NOTE G G. No. 6, 8, 10.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leo. and Bula. NOTE G G. No. 1, 5, 8, 16.

‡ I am happy to find that the opinion of the Trustees so perfectly agrees with my own.

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and 100 natives, a strength sufficient for defence, as well as to erect buildings and clear land for future colonists*.

Estimated ex-
pense.

586. As the Trustees are inclined to think that an undertaking, on this small scale, will be most generally agreeable, they will confine their estimate to its probable expense.— If the war continue, they think it will be necessary to purchase fast sailing packets, of between 70 and 100 tons, of which three may be sufficient for the first expedition.

	£.
These, copper-bottomed and fitted for sea, may cost about £1200 each	3600
Wages of 9 men for each will be about £162 per month, or for 6 months	972
Insurance out and home, 20 per cent on £5000	1000
Goods for trade	1000
Arms and ammunition, about	500
Dry and wet provisions, for twelve months	2000
Plantation and building tools, feeds, &c.	1000
Salaries for one year for Governor £300, Store-keeper £200, two Surgeons £400, Surveyor and assistant £400, and 14 others £40 each, is †	1860
Cash to pay port charges, &c.	500
Expenses at home	500
Total estimated expense	£12,932

Means of de-
fraying it.

587. The means of defraying this and all future expense, are obviously to arise from the sale of lands, of which millions of acres may be advantageously purchased. Besides Bulama island, and the large district, called Great Bulama, purchased by Mr. Beaver, and which, together, may contain 500,000 acres, he might, with equal ease, have bought the

* See in the Append. Notes &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G. No 14.

† In my opinion all these salaries should be doubled; for it cannot be expected that men of *real* worth and ability, will *cheerfully* enter on the laborious duties of a new undertaking, in a new and untried climate, for incomes which, (except those of the labourers,) are scarcely equal to what such men can obtain at home. In particular, I think £300 a year for a Governor, £400 for *two* surgeons, by far too little for persons, on whose abilities and exertions, under Providence, the success of a new colony, in a great measure, depends. See § 125, 127.

opposite shore of the Rio Grande, and the valuable territory of Ghinala, and, in short, any lands belonging to the Papels and Biafaras that he chose. (See the large map.) It is therefore perfectly within bounds to calculate that 1,000,000 of acres may be bought by the Association, and sold again to Europeans, which at £60 for 500 acres (the reasonable rate of the first subscription, see § 180, n.) would raise £120,000 ster. a sum which the Trustees deem amply sufficient to colonize any lands which His Majesty may, by his charter, be pleased to authorize the Association to purchase*.

588. The Trustees are farther of opinion, that if an expedition, on the small scale they have pointed out, should be thought advisable, and should succeed, the lands should be divided at the beginning of the second year, and the proprietors be called upon to locate their purchases. (§ 181.) The surveyors will then have had sufficient time to make such surveys, as will be necessary for the division of the lands: and it is obvious, that the sooner this takes place, the sooner may a vigorous cultivation be expected to commence.

Lands should be divided, at the beginning of second year.

589. The Trustees are fully warranted in entertaining the most favourable opinion of Bulama and it's neighbourhood. They are convinced that the country, when cleared, will be healthful for Europeans; that the soil is rich; that, even in it's present neglected state, the country abounds with valuable woods, plants, fruits and animals, with a great variety of spices; that the harbours are excellent and swarm with fish; that the native tribes are few, and, except the Bijugas, friendly; and the Rio Grande, and other navigable rivers in the neighbourhood, afford a prospect of opening a most advantageous commerce with the interior parts of Africa.

Trustees' opinion of the soil, &c. of Bulama.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE H H.

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590. It only remains for the Trustees to apologize for the length of this report, and to bespeak the same candour and regard to truth in judging of it, which have guided them in discharging the delicate task of it's compilation.

Petition for a
charter for
Bulama pre-
pared.

591. **T**O the above (abridged) Report, and the notes and papers in the appendix therewith connected, I have only to add, that a petition for a charter to incorporate the Bulama Association, has been prepared, and will, no doubt, be communicated to the British Ministry, as soon as circumstances seem to promise success to the application. But, in the present posture of public affairs, Ministers are of course so much occupied in concerns of a more pressing nature, that they cannot reasonably be expected to consider this proposition with that collected attention which it deserves, and which, it may be hoped, the return of peace will shortly enable them to bestow on this and similar subjects.

African facts
not yet pub-
lished.

592. As to that part of the Appendix which relates to Sierra Leona and Bulama, I would observe, that it contains every paper and document, which can with propriety be given to the world, at this time, from my African collection, the whole contents of which I hope to be, one day, at full liberty to communicate to the public. Not wishing to excite expectations which I have not some prospect of gratifying, I can only say, at present, that I have long been, and now am, engaged in collecting every kind of information respecting Africa; and that, when all obstacles to publication are removed, I may be able to contribute my share towards convincing the Europeans of the value of that neglected quarter of the globe.

593. From what has been stated in the four foregoing (abridged) Reports, respecting the British colonies at Sierra Leona

Leona and Bulama, every intelligent and candid reader will easily collect, that the leading principle, in both undertakings, has been a sincere desire to communicate to the injured nations of Africa, the blessings of civilization. Not that mercantile considerations have been entirely excluded. The reader will perhaps trace a few ideas of this kind, which, like tares among the wheat, have intruded into both institutions. But he will also discover that, far from having been suffered to predominate, they have been, on every occasion, rendered as subservient to the generous views of both the Associations, as circumstances would permit. He will candidly remember too, that the minds of the present generation of Europeans have been so entirely *pecuniarized* (if I may venture to coin a word) that no enterprize, quite free from the base alloy of mercantile speculation, can be expected suddenly to be undertaken. So violent a transition could scarcely be permanently beneficial, and might ultimately be very injurious. Social improvement is, in it's nature, progressive, and though it's advancement may not be perceptible to vulgar eyes, the philosopher will trace it by comparing the present with the past; and the Christian will rest satisfied, that every real improvement which, in the course of Providence, has once been begun, will in due time, arrive at perfection.

594. Some persons, I know, who are apt to doubt the existence of disinterested motives, because, perhaps, they do not feel them stirring in their own bosoms, have not scrupled to attribute to the promoters of the grand enterprizes we have been describing, *the same* selfish views which actuate all commercial adventurers. I believe few of my readers will suspect me of partiality to commercial speculation: several
of

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Civilization
the great
object of the
British colo-
nies in Africa.

The present
generation of
Europe PE-
CUNIARIZED

C H A P.
XI.Names of Sub-
scribers to
African colo-
nization.

of them know that I have been jealously watching the rise, progress and objects of these interesting enterprises; and, so fully am I convinced of the general purity of the motives which actuated the Directors of the S. Leona Company, the Trustees of the Bulama Association, and the Subscribers to both, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adorning my Append. with their respectable names. I wish it were in my power to convey them to the most distant regions, and to nations yet unborn. But I can at least indulge the pleasing hope, *that their meritorious exertions will be attended with the respectful imitation of their cotemporaries, the grateful remembrance of posterity, and above all, with the blessing of Providence.*

I am sure I cannot better employ the remainder of this page, than by respectfully submitting to the benevolent in general, especially to the promoters of African colonization, the following

Case of real and pressing Distress:

A respectable tradesman in this metropolis, whose imprudent zeal in the Bulama undertaking, had filled his mind with high expectations of *immediate* success, embarked for that Island, with his wife and three unmarried daughters, and his and their whole property, leaving behind him two daughters married in London. The disappointment of *such* expectations, added to the hardships and losses he experienced, in the unfortunate catastrophe which befel the colony, preyed so much on his health and spirits, that he died at S. Leona, shortly after the Calypso arrived there. (§ 545.) Having lost their protector and their property, the disconsolate females returned to England, filled with anxious cares respecting their future subsistence. They have since struggled hard to maintain themselves by needle-work, which their good education both enabled and disposed them to execute. But, unfortunately, they have never been able to procure a regular supply of this kind of employment. While subsisting thus precariously, sometimes with, and sometimes almost without, the necessaries of life, the husband of the eldest married daughter was imprisoned for debt, and, after languishing for 10 weeks in the Fleet prison, in a damp cellar, laid with flag-stones, and crowded with 8 other persons, he expired in a galloping consumption. The husband of the other married daughter, who was his surety, has lately been also arrested, and is now confined. Thus, to this disconsolate family are now added, the two married daughters, with their two children. In short, these six helpless females and two infants, are now pining with want, in the house adjoining to that in which I live.

Those who are disposed to relieve them with money or needle-work, may receive fuller information respecting their case, from DARTON and HARVEY, No. 55, Gracechurch-street.

N.B. I was unwilling to commit the above to the press, till I had fully satisfied myself of the truth of this statement. But, in addition to other enquiries, I have since viewed the wretched apartment above mentioned, and was informed by the person who attends it, that the debtors confined in it, are generally seized with a galloping consumption, which soon carries them off. (See § 197.)

DANISH.

D A N I S H.

595. While the slave-trade was under a tedious and hitherto ineffectual investigation in the British Parliament, the Danish Government, convinced, by a much shorter enquiry, of it's impolicy and barbarity, determined that their part of it should be abolished in the year 1802: and, preparatory to this measure, they resolved forthwith to open their African ports to all nations, and to establish a colony in some eligible part of that country*.

596. Dr. Isert may be regarded as the founder of this Danish colony†. He had accumulated a mass of information respecting Africa, which appeared so interesting to the Danish ministry, that they sent him out to make observations on the country. Having made a very satisfactory report, he was then empowered to look out for the most

Dr. Isert
founds this
colony.

* See His Danish Majesty's Edict, of the 7th November, 1792.

† It is worthy of remark, that medical men have contributed much to remove the prejudices which have so long obstructed the civilization of Africa, by the useful observations which their liberal education enabled them to make. Not that we can suppose the doctors of the slave-ships to be generally men of liberal education. But it is certain, that several excellent surgeons and physicians, have visited the coast in this disagreeable situation, and that others have gone there to increase their fund of natural knowledge.—Van Riebeck, a surgeon, founded the colony at the Cape of Good Hope, and Doctors Lind, Smeathman, Sparrman, Isert, Trotter and Falconbridge have all recommended the establishment of colonies in Africa—Dr. Fothergill's extensive information suggested to him the same measure; though, I believe, he never visited that part of the world.

eligible

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AQUAPIM.

eligible situation for a colony, and even to make the experiment, if he judged it advisable or practicable. This was just the enterprize in which, above all others, the doctor wished to be employed. He intended to make his first attempt on a large and beautiful island in the river Volta. But, having been opposed by the natives, or rather by the influence of the white slave-traders, he was induced to look out for a more secure situation, among the mountains of Aquapim (which he had before visited) 10 Danish miles (60 English) above Arca, about the same distance from the western bank of the Volta, which is navigable to the latitude of the colony, and about 5 Danish miles from the river Pony, which is only navigable for canoes. Such a situation cannot be supposed very convenient for commerce. But this disadvantage, if it be a disadvantage, is more than compensated by the salubrity of the air; and the fertility of the soil appears, from the success with which cultivation, particularly that of Guinea corn, millet and cotton, has been already attended.—It may be worth while to remark, that the Caboceer, or chief, at Aquapim, ceded as much territory as the colony at present occupies, or might hereafter occupy, for a monthly quit rent of 8 rix-dollars, or about 16s. sterling.

Danish go-
vernment
support it.

597. The Danish ministry, pursuant to their general plan of eradicating the slave-trade and introducing civilization, seem determined to support this establishment. Among other colonists whom they have sent out, and who continue very healthy at Aquapim, is a skilful farmer who has gone there to introduce the plough, and there is little doubt but he will succeed.

598. Unfortunately, however, that kind of mercenary cultivation which prevails in the West Indian islands, has
not

not been excluded from this establishment; for the Danish government has thought it advisable to permit a few slaves to be sent from Christiansburg to perform that hard labour which would injure the health of the unseasoned Europeans. But it is to be hoped they will be recalled to Christiansburg, when the colony shall have surmounted the first difficulties; and, in 1802, the year fixed for the termination of the Danish slave-trade, their system of slavery will probably undergo some reform. It must indeed be allowed, that if social and political evils are once tolerated, even in the smallest degree, there is danger that they may take so firm a root, as not to be easily eradicated, especially out of colonies very distant from the seat of government. But persons who, from contemplating the enormities of personal slavery, justly dread its introduction, will remember, that many of its evils are moderated by the vigilant superintendence of an arbitrary government; especially when administered so ably and faithfully, as that of Denmark is acknowledged to be, at present, by the great and humane Count Bernsdorff*.

599. Dr. Isert's indefatigable exertions having unfortunately terminated in his death, Lieut. Colonel Roer, who to great botanical knowledge, adds much experience in W. Indian cultivation, was appointed to succeed him; but I know not whether he has yet arrived at Aquapim.—M. Biorn, the Governor General of the Danish settlements on the coast,

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AQUAPIM.

Colony begun
with slaves.

* I hope I need not caution my readers against supposing that I mean to justify arbitrary power, which I abhor. I only state the fact, that slaves are more moderately treated by masters who are themselves restrained by arbitrary power, than by free masters, whose bad passions are not under such control. (See Hume's Essays.) Accordingly, Chastellux, in his Travels in America, reckons the Spaniards and Portuguese the most humane masters, the Danes somewhat more rigorous, the French more rigorous still, and the English and Dutch the most rigorous of all.

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who passed through London, in August 1793, on his way home from Africa, where he had resided above twenty years, assured me, that the colony was in as great forwardness as could be expected. He added that it was the more likely to succeed, as the spot, which he had visited himself, is one of the most fertile in that part of Africa, that the native inhabitants are of the best dispositions, and, above all, that the country, at that distance inland, is much more salubrious than any part on or near the coast, (see § 80.)—Dr. Isert, in his letters to his father, published in 1788, says the natives of Aquapim, where he afterwards fixed this colony, live in a state of social harmony, which inspired him with the idea of paradisaical happiness and simplicity; and that the soil yields them most luxuriant crops, with very little labour*.

* I expected to be enabled, by the letters of some respectable correspondents, at Copenhagen, to give a fuller account of the Danish Colony at Aquapim; but the unaccountable and unprecedented detention of the mails from Hamburg, 23 of which are now due, has deprived my work of the benefit of those communications. If they arrive, however, before the Appendix is printed off, I shall certainly give them a place in it.

While the foregoing imperfect sketch of the Danish colony was in the press, I was fortunate enough to discover another source of intelligence; having been informed that M. Moe and M. Hanson, two gentlemen of ability, sent by the Danish Government, to the Gold Coast, to investigate some affairs of national importance, had arrived at Dublin, and were shortly expected in London. Such additional information respecting the Danish colony as they may think proper to communicate shall be inserted in the Appendix, if not printed off before they come to London.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAP. XI.

SWEDISH DESIGN or ATTEMPT.

600. Although the execution of the Swedish design of forming a Colony in Africa, has not hitherto been carried farther than the exploration of some part of that continent ; yet, as I can take upon me to affirm, that it originated in the purest and most disinterested motives, and had for it's object the advancement of the happiness of mankind, some account of it seems to deserve a place, at least as a supplement, in a chapter, set apart for brief histories of similar institutions.

601. Some members of a Society, formed for the purpose of diffusing those principles, and that species of civilization, which appeared to them best calculated to promote social order and happiness, met at Norkioping, in Sweden, in the year 1779.

Meeting at
Norkioping,
in 1779.

602. Among other matters which were considered on that occasion, was an objection commonly made to emigration in general, namely, That as all reforms ought to originate in our own bosoms, so colonies or associations might be formed within Europe itself, where waste land and degenerate morals too much abound, and from which, as from the

C H A P.
XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.Propose to
form a new
Community,out of Eu-
rope,

and in Africa.

heart in individuals, the vital principles of philanthropy, might be propelled to the most distant extremities.

603. A full investigation of this momentous subject, led them to a firm conviction, that though several of the present European governments even should be disposed to grant, yet not one of them could secure and guarantee, to a little community, however useful, (existing in their dominions as a *STATUS IN STATU*,) the privilege of *enacting their own laws*, of *coining their own money* and of *exemption from imprisonment for debt*. (§ 142, Qu. 51.) privileges which appeared to form an indispensable part of their plan.—For being placed, as it were, in the great current of the prevailing selfish principles and fluctuating politics of Europe, it was easy to see, that what such a community might build up to-day, was liable to be swept away to-morrow.

604. The gentlemen, therefore, soon agreed that the chaos of jarring interests, involved in the present politics, finances and commerce of Europe, opposed a formidable obstacle to their design: and they were clearly of opinion, that the only measure which promised any reasonable hopes of success, would be the establishment of a new community, some where out of Europe, in the *original organization* of which, such regulations might be adopted, as would effectually exclude every political, financial and mercantile principle, which was not deemed consistent with the happiness of mankind. But the question was, to what part of the habitable globe they were to turn their views?—Though many large tracts of Asia and America were unoccupied, few of them were unclaimed, and still fewer were within a convenient distance of Europe.—To the western coast of Africa alone, these weighty objections did not apply.—Abounding with tracts, neither occupied nor claimed by European

European powers, sufficiently near to Europe to afford an *infant* society the advantages of her fostering care, yet sufficiently remote to place a *mature* community beyond the reach of her influence, particularly, her commercial influence:—in *these* respects, the Coast just mentioned appeared the best adapted for the proposed undertaking.

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SUPPLE-
MENT.

605. Such were the general considerations, which among others, directed the hopes of these gentlemen to the western coast of Africa; and farther enquiry convinced them, that, upon the whole, their plan would be more easily practicable in that, than in any other, quarter of the globe. Their opinion was particularly influenced by the Chev. Des Marchais' interesting Voyage to the Coast of Guinea, made by order of the French Government, some passages of which, together with extracts from other authors, not generally known, I have considered so much connected with this work, that I have inserted them in the Appendix*.

Their opi-
nion confirm-
ed by Des
Marchais.

606. It was concluded then, that there was a probable prospect of establishing in Africa, with little opposition, either from European claims or from the natives, a colony on their own principles, which might serve as a basis for a new and free community. In order, therefore, to give the reader an idea of their plan, I shall here insert the general principles on which they proposed to form their association†.

* See in the Appendix, Documents, &c. respecting the Swedish Colonial Design, No. 1.

† The following articles are *general* articles, there being no room for particular explanations, which indeed would not be very amusing to most readers. It is also necessary to observe, that various circumstances occasioned various little deviations to be afterwards made from the articles inserted at p. 45 *et seq.* of a "Plan for a free Community, &c. printed in 1789, and which were found applicable to a later period,

C H A P.
XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.Outline of
the Plan.

Outlines of a Plan for forming an Association, in order to establish a new and free Community out of Europe, and beyond the sphere of it's political, financial and (especially) commercial influence.

(1.) A certain number of friends to this undertaking (say 10 heads of families) to assemble, in order to make choice of members to form the first elements of this new community. Each of these 10, to recommend 9 others, and the whole 100 so chosen, to select from among themselves a certain number, (say 40 families) to embark.

(2.) A committee to be chosen to provide for the embarkation, and to manage all the concerns of the community, (see the whole of Chap. IX. and particularly § 179.) This committee to be furnished with maps and every other necessary information.

(3.) This whole Association to divide themselves into three Classes, viz.

PRODUCTORS, MANUFACTURERS and MERCHANTS, (See § 194 †.)

Their political influence in the community to be in a certain definite proportion (say Productors to have 12 votes, Manufactures 8, and Merchants 4.)

(4.) To prevent all undue influence, the representatives in the Legislature to be ballotted for by each head of a family separately, and without assembling for such purpose.

(5.) When the (40) families have determined to embark, they are to give up a certain part of their property to such public use, (§ 170) as may be found proper by the committee mentioned in article 2d.

(5.) In order that no prejudice may arise to that country, from which one or more of these (40) families may emigrate, all the 100 heads of families are to bind themselves as sureties, that such property of those individuals as may be employed in this undertaking, shall be restored to that country from which he removes, within a stipulated term of years, together with a certain annual interest.

(7.) This new community to make an agreement with those nations, where they

† The present European communities appear to be all more or less infected with prejudices, not easily eradicated, arising from the unnatural classification of states into Nobility, Clergy, Burghers, Peasants, &c. The whole community except the two first classes, are called *Roturiers* in France, *Commons* in G. Britain, and *Ofwelsé*, (that is UNSAFE) in Sweden. These distinctions appear to have encouraged pride and idleness in the first class, bigotry and intolerance in the second, money pursuits and an artificial credit in the third, and to have increased the misery and poverty of the whole last class, who form, however, the greatest part of the state.

are going to establish themselves, and which agreement, for the safety of both parties, shall not be inconsistent with any of the articles herein mentioned*.

(8.) Persons of any nation, who may be disposed to emigrate on these conditions, may apply to any of the members in the committee, mentioned in the 2d article, from whom they may receive all necessary information; and, upon satisfying the committee, respecting their characters, may subscribe the Social Contracts (see § 152 *et seq.*) and receive certificates of their having become members of the community†.

(9.) The government of the community to be organized, from the very beginning, according to such system, as they may adopt among themselves, (see § 179,) and to be changeable or permanent, agreeable to the determination of the community, (see also § 154 and 171.)

(10.) That the Chiefs, in every Department of Government, be answerable to, and checked by, the whole Community, in the execution of its *will*. In like manner, the *understanding* of the Members of the Community, relative to the public happiness, to be enlightened by the knowledge and example of the government; and, if these prove ineffectual, the evils arising from error to be checked by the existing laws‡.

(11.) All the Members wishing to emigrate, who possess property, and are unacquainted with the commodities necessary to be procured, may deposit such property in the hands of the Committee (Art. 2.) who will give security for the application thereof, according to the proprietor's desire, consistent with the regulations agreed upon. Members not residing in that country where the embarkation may take place, and not able to be present till near the time of the sailing of the expedition, may empower the Committee, or any number of the Association, to transact their concerns, and to vote in their behalf.

(12.) All humane persons of property who may be inclined to contribute to the formation of a capital, for the support of this undertaking, may deposit such sums as they think proper with the Committee, for which they will receive a bond, signed by all the 100 members. By this bond the subscribing members will oblige them-

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SUPPLE-
MENT.

* The emigrating colonists to agree about a tract of land sufficient for the maintenance of an increasing community. (§ 196.)

† With respect to the cautious choice of the colonists, see § 1, 125, 128, 145, 355, 398, 404, 408, 446, 476, 559 note, 570 note, 571 note,—and without signing such contracts no body to embark.

‡ That nothing may obstruct the improvement of the understanding, it is here meant that every individual may speak, write or print whatever he thinks proper, subject to no other restraint than the known laws existing *before* such speech or publication. For the same reason, it is farther meant that news papers and other prints, calculated to diffuse public information, shall be circulated, and the postage of letters defrayed, at the expense of the public.

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XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.

selves, in behalf of the whole community, to pay a certain annual interest till the whole principal is discharged, which, however, must not be done before the expiration of 10 years, after the arrival of the colonists on the spot fixed on. In the same bond, the community shall bind themselves, after the expiration of the 10 years, besides paying principal and interest of the sums advanced, to convey and make over to the lenders, a certain quantity of cultivated land, as a gratification, for every sum (say £ 1000) with which the undertaking may have been assisted in its infancy.

(13.) Differences arising among members of the association to be decided by the arbitration of 12 persons, chosen equally of each party, till other regulations may be agreed upon; and any difference, that may arise between the community and other communities or nations, to be decided, if possible, in a similar manner.

(14.) As soon as this community increases to 100 families above 10,000, they are to purchase more land, in order to settle a fresh community, upon the same principle.

(15.) That all kinds of private monopoly shall be excluded; or, if any monopoly be allowed, it shall reside in the community, and be exercised by the government. Consequently coining, hitherto monopolized, will be in the power of every individual.

(16.) That no individual in this new community, shall ever be liable to be arrested for credit given to him.

(17.) That there shall be in this community, public checks to prevent any individual from employing his property in any manner that may be found destructive of, or inconsistent with, good morals.

(18.) It is the design of this plan, that our free community shall be erected in Africa, consequently among the negro nations; not for any of the baser purposes of usurping dominion over them, disturbing their peace, enslaving their persons, or debauching their manners; but for the nobler purposes of civilizing, and gradually incorporating them into our community, by every gentle means, as by regular marriages, the education of their children, &c. It will therefore become the indispensable duty of every member to spare no pains for promoting this beneficial purpose, particularly by educating one or more of their children, under control of the whole community.

Opposition of
the slave-trade

607. The more the local situation of the intended colony was considered, the more the gentlemen were persuaded that no part of the western coast of Africa, would admit of being peopled by a body of men actuated by principles, which, in their view, promised to eradicate corruption, unless the slave-trade, the chief commerce pursued in those regions, could be removed to such a distance from the spot where the colony might be fixed,

as would secure it from all future intrusion of that formidable enemy.

608. The result of these deliberations, (in which I had the honour to assist) was a resolution to explore that part of the western coast of Africa to which our attention was directed. But the execution of this plan was, at that time, retarded by the American war which, though it threatened ruin to some of the parties engaged in it, relieved Africa, by interrupting the slave-trade, and has since appeared to be the harbinger of an event which, it may be hoped, will terminate in real and rational liberty in Europe. Yet this obstacle, though then insurmountable, never induced us for a moment to lose sight of our object.

609. Previous to that period U. Nordenfkiöld, (a brother of the late A. Nordenfkiöld, see § 400) a zealous and well informed traveller, had published an interesting treatise * on the subject of the present work, and which, seasonably supported by his influence and activity, at the Court of Stockholm, promoted the business so far as to induce His late Swedish Majesty to grant a charter to 40 families to emigrate to the western coast of Africa. By this deed, they were empowered to organize their own government, to enact their own laws, and to establish a society in all respects independent on Europe, and even of Sweden itself, by which, however, they were to be protected, during the infant state of their community. The only conditions annexed to these privileges were, that the Society should defray every expense attending their expedition and establishment; and should abstain from all infringement on the territories possessed, or claimed by every other European power†. But these preparatory

C H A P.
XI.

SUPPLE-
MENT.

The King of
Sweden grants
a charter to 40
families.

* See in the Append. Documents, &c. respect. the Swedish colonial design, No. 1.

† The obstacle mentioned in the note to § 599, namely, the detention of the mails, puts it out of my power to present the reader with a copy of this singular charter, as also of several other documents relative this Swedish undertaking.

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XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.Plan for
searching for
gold.

steps, however important, could, in fact, avail but little, while no systematical plan had been devised for carrying the scheme into execution, and while the two most powerful, not to say the most enlightened, European nations (France and Great Britain,) were tinging the ocean with human blood, and, in various ways, preventing the intended enterprize.

610. Knowing, however, that the eminent mercantile house of M. Chauvell of Havre de Grace, was embarking in various enterprizes to Africa, we offered to engage in an expedition to that part of the world, on his account; and accordingly he drew up a plan for exploring the interior parts of Africa, which was communicated to us*. But, as we soon found, that M. Chauvell had *no other end* in view than the discovery of gold, *the sole object of the merchant's pursuit*, and that his plan was better accommodated to the *financial* interests of Gustavus III. than to our particular object, it was immediately laid before the Senator Baron Lilljencrantz, then Secretary of State in Sweden. But though it did not excite in us any very sanguine expectations; yet, by keeping alive the attention of the Swedish ministry, it contributed to give rise to a more interesting enterprize; and no time was lost in calling for the co-operation of several friends to our design in different countries, and applications were even made to certain governments

The author's
petition
granted.

611. At length Providence was pleased to grant me a nearer approach to the bourne of my wishes, by giving me an opportunity of embarking, on a voyage so long meditated and so anxiously desired. For, having again petitioned His Swedish Majesty, he was pleased to favour my views, not only by granting me leave of absence from my

* See in the Append. Documents, &c. respect. the Swedish colonial design, No. 2.
public

public office, but also to interest himself in my behalf with the Court of France.

C H A P.
XI.

SUPPLE-
MENT.

612. It may here be observed, that Gustavus III. in granting the Charter before mentioned, obeyed a kind of warm and generous impulse which indeed seemed congenial to his character, and often operated instantaneously and visibly on his conduct. But without any disrespect to His Majesty's memory, I may venture to add, that when he came to consider the proposition coolly, he allowed some private interest to blend itself with his generosity; for it was very apparent that one of his views, in giving his consent to, and encouraging, this expedition, was the discovery of natural productions, especially gold, which, it is well known, His Majesty esteemed above all the curiosities in the three kingdoms of nature. Hence it was, that those able naturalists, Dr. Sparrman and the Chevalier Capt. Arrhenius, were also ordered on the expedition. But, had His Majesty's great natural talents been more engaged in promoting the happiness of mankind, than the partial interests of the sycophants who surrounded him, he would probably have paid less attention to *metallic* discoveries, and more to the original object of the undertaking; the success of which, however, would have assigned to that unfortunate monarch a singularly distinguished place among the benefactors of the human race.—But the truth is, that the King loved gold, my worthy companions loved natural science, and I loved colonization. It must be confessed too, that so warmly did we prosecute our respective pursuits, that a phlegmatic observer would not perhaps have scrupled to pronounce each of us an enthusiast in his way; especially if he had known that we had also seriously de-

Objects of the
voyage to
Africa.

C H A P.
XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.Difficulties in
France sur-
mounted.

terminated on an attempt to traverse the continent, and to return home by the eastern coast of Africa.

613. Animated by our different prospects, we left Sweden, in May 1787, and our journey to Paris, through Denmark, Germany and a part of France, we took every opportunity of collecting such kinds of information as had any connection with our undertaking. Though our reception at Paris, fully answered the expectations we had formed from the letters of introduction with which we had been favoured; yet we soon began to feel the effects of an exclusive commerce, in the selfish spirit which actuated the Senegal company, in common with all other monopolists, and which very much retarded our business in that capital. This circumstance the Swedish ambassador, Baron Stael von Holstein, had but too much reason to remember from the repeated applications he had occasion to make to the ministry, in our behalf. To our difficulties in Paris I may add those we afterwards experienced at Havre de Grace. These formidable obstacles, however, were at length removed by the Marechal de Castries, then minister at war and of the colonies, who expressly ordered the directors not only to give us a passage, but to instruct their agents on the coast, to give us every possible assistance, and to place all the expense to the account of government. He, at the same time, furnished us with similar orders to the superintendants of those French factories, on the coast of Guinea, which were independent of the Senegal company, and to the consuls at Sallee, and other places on the coast of Barbary*. Thus, after some delay, unavoidable perhaps in such business, our

* See in the Appendix, Documents, &c. respecting the Swedish colonial design, No. 3, 4 5, 6.

views were promoted with that liberality which certainly forms an amiable feature in the national character of the French.

C H A P.
XI.
SUPPLE-
MENT.

614. All our difficulties in Europe, having been happily surmounted or eluded, we sailed from Havre de Grace in Aug. 1787, in a ship belonging to the French Senegal company; and arrived at the coast, at the end of the rainy season. We intended to touch first at Senegal; but, from the lowness of the coast, the strength of the currents, and perhaps the ignorance of the captain, we missed the entrance of the river. We therefore proceeded to the Island of Goree, where we delivered our dispatches, from the Marechal de Castries, M. de Malsherber and others, to the Chevalier de Boufflers, then Governor of French Africa, and who, I must gratefully acknowledge, received us in a manner that needs not be explained to those who are acquainted with the amiable character and various accomplishments of a man who does real honour to his country, and to civilized society.

Arrival in
Africa.

615. During our stay at Goree, we made several excursions to different parts of the adjacent continent, and met with many whites, negroes and mulattoes, who were extremely well acquainted with the whole coast, and some whose knowledge extended to very distant parts of the interior country. The Chev. de Boufflers promised us a vessel, in which we might survey the whole coast, and particularly S. Leona, where he had been himself, and which he described as one of the most beautiful places he ever saw. But, to our great mortification, these agreeable expectations were disappointed, by events which it was impossible for us to foresee or control.—(1.) Unfortunately for us, our worthy benefactor, (for so I may well call him) the Chev. de Boufflers, resigned his government and returned to France; and with him

Disappoint-
ments there,
and their
causes.

C H A P.
XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.

him every idea of liberality seemed to have departed from Goree: for (2.) After this inauspicious event, we were very uncivilly treated by the agents of the Senegal company, who would neither grant us a vessel to proceed along the coast, nor furnish us, as they were ordered, with those goods which they well knew were absolutely necessary, for our proposed journey into the interior parts. (3.) A French corvette which arrived at Goree, brought the disagreeable news, that hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and France. Though this report afterwards proved to be groundless, it greatly increased the difficulties in our arrangements with M. Blanchau, the new governor. (4.) The general war, which the most powerful negro nations were provoked, by the oppressive monopoly exercised by the Senegal company, to declare against the French, rendered it impossible for us to penetrate to the interior, through the extensive maritime territories of those justly irritated princes*.

Return to
Europe.

616. Controlled by these irresistible causes, we were obliged to return to Europe, and to content ourselves with those observations on the adjacent coast, and that intelligence respecting remoter parts, which our opportunities enabled us to make and to collect; and which, though not so extensive as we wished, afforded my fellow travellers no mean specimens of the natural treasures of Africa, and fully convinced me of

* The late Senegal company of France, had contrived to obtain perhaps the most extensive privileges ever enjoyed, by any similar establishment. Every article from which a mercantile profit could be squeezed, not excepting the natural curiosities of the country, fell under their gripe. As an instance, I may mention that I could not get a parrot, without it's passing through the hands of the company's agents. In short, such was their unconscionable rapacity, as not only to rouse the vengeance of the negro nations, but also to excite the silent but deep felt resentment of the mulattoes of Goree and Senegal, whose very existence depended on their commerce with the neighbouring continent.

the

the practicability of establishing European colonies, on several parts of that coast.

617. Of all the places we visited, Cape Verd appeared to me the most eligible situation for a new colony*. The natural advantages of this promontory, are indeed so numerous, that nothing but the general inattention to Africa, which has so long prevailed in Europe, can account for the neglect of such a situation. (See § 2 *et seq.*) Being nearly surrounded by the sea, and abounding with bold elevations, and rich vallies, watered with excellent springs, it is undoubtedly as healthful, fertile and defensible, as any part of that coast, within a convenient distance from Europe. Besides an easy intercourse with Europe, this Cape has an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, in the vicinity of the cleanly, airy and healthful town of Goree, where the colonists might be well accommodated, till they could erect houses on the adjacent continent, and from the same town the colony might derive occasional assistance, during the delicate period of its infancy. But political considerations forbade me to cherish any hope of forming a colony at Cape Verd. The French had twice purchased that whole peninsula, from King Damel, for that express purpose†. The last bargain was made by the

C H A P.
XI.

SUPPLE-
MENT,

C. Verd, &c.
eligible for
colonization.

* I might have observed, in the text, that Joal, Portudal, Cape Rouge, and one or two other places which I visited, are all more or less proper for colonies. But it may be necessary to add, that the whole country adjacent to Fort Louis, in the river Senegal, is so unfavourable to health, as to be an unpleasant, not to say an unsafe, habitation for Europeans. See § 80, 97.

† The necessity of sometimes re-purchasing the same tract of land from the negro princes, may arise, (1.) from their simple idea of property, which appears to depend intirely on immediate occupancy. If the purchaser do not reside on the land, and cultivate it, they conclude that, having no use for it, he has given it up, and consequently

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MENT.

the Chev. de Boufflers himself, the liberality of whose sentiments led me to think that he would have countenanced our scheme, if the communication of it to him had been then proper. But, in strict conformity with the terms of the King of Sweden's charter, I directed all my views and enquired to places neither occupied, nor claimed, by any European power, of which there were several about Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado. I also thought it my duty to submit the result of my observations and enquiries to that monarch, in the first instance. But, in case he should not accede to such propositions as our Society might, in consequence, make, and which I feared would be the case, my intention was to recommend to them an application to the Court of France, through the Chev. de Boufflers, for permission to establish a colony at Cape Verd, on the principles of our association.

Causes of the
author's stay
in England.

618. Having thus given a short sketch of our expedition, the attention I owe to a certain class of my readers, induces me to state briefly, the causes which have obliged me to remain so long in England, and which I hope, will convince those worthy persons, that I have never, for a moment, forgotten the great end and aim of all my labours.—(1.) One of those causes has been anticipated in the introduction (p. 2.) in which I observed, that Dr. Sparrman and myself, on coming to London, were summoned to attend the Privy Council, where we were examined (as I was afterwards, in a Committee of the House of Commons) respecting the slave-trade, the abolition of which has been agitated so long, and apparently to so little purpose, in the British Parliament.—

consequently that it reverts to the former occupier, or proprietor;—or (2.) from the unfaithfulness or ignorance of the interpreter who assists in making the agreement, whence the prince may mistake the price paid, for a periodical present;—or (3.) from the mere forgetfulness of the negroes, who do not record such transactions.

(2.) About

(2.) About the same time, an Association was formed in London, for exploring the interior parts of Africa, a design in which the knowledge acquired by Dr. Sparrman, in his former travels in another part of that continent, was found of great use*.—(3.) The same period was distinguished by the commencement of the colony at S. Leona, for which Mr. G. Sharp was fitting out a vessel, at his own expense, when I arrived in London.—(4.) The emancipation by purchase, of a son of the King of Mesurado, from his *pretended* friend, and which I had then the happiness to effect in London, seemed likely to induce his father, to favour the establishment of our intended colony in his territories†.—(5) In case such of our society as might determine to emigrate, should chuse to form a part of the new colony at S. Leona, Mr. Sharp endeavoured to facilitate their reception, by recommending it to the colonists to reserve lots of land for them‡.

619. These nearly cotemporary events certainly afforded, upon the whole, no unpromising prospects of obtaining effectual support to our plan, in Great Britain, where science, liberality and wealth seemed to conspire with a laudable zeal to promote philanthropic undertakings. At least it will be acknowledged, that I had much greater reason to hope

The author's
promising pro-
spects in Eng-
land.

* See the Resolutions of the " Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior Parts of Africa," dated June 9th, 1788.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Z.

‡ In the same recommendation, Mr. Sharp included the King of Mesurado's son, to whom, it was obvious, a little possession at S. Leona might prove serviceable. Nor was it improbable, that Mr. Sharp's grand design might be advanced, by giving land and privileges at S. Leona, to an African who was receiving his education in England, and was likely one day, to possess both lands and power, at Cape Mesurado, and thus might be able to promote civilization in two parts of the coast, at the same time.

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XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.

for support in this, than in my native country, where the absurd war with Russia was absorbing the attention, the treasure, and the blood of a nation *then* suffering under the influence of ruinous councils*. Nor were my hopes ill founded, though they have hitherto been deferred; for my applications to the British Ministry, were so effectually supported by persons of the first respectability, that, in 1789, a vessel was ordered to be equipped, for an expedition to discover the most proper situations for colonies, on the Western coast of Africa.

620. The command of this vessel was, undoubtedly with great propriety, conferred on Captain Roberts of the

* I am sorry to observe, that I myself have, in more than one instance, been made the dupe of such councils. In particular, in the year 1774, I was sent to Sollingen in Westphalia, by order of the late King of Sweden, to engage sword-cutlers to come over to that country. M. Sandels, counsellor of the board of mines, who was at the head of this political, or rather warlike, manœuvre, hinted to me, in confidence, that the King even then, (viz. so early as 1774,) meditated an attack on Russia, and was determined to have swords made in Sweden, without the knowledge or assistance of any other European power. Young and inexperienced in court machinations, I was prevailed on to undertake this business, without being well apprized of the hazard to which I exposed myself. For, after engaging some cutlers, I found that a slavish law in *that* place, prohibited those poor creatures from endeavouring to better their condition, by emigrating to other countries. I was therefore arrested, and confined for several weeks in the citadel of Duffeldorf. But this did not make me abandon my object, in which I at last succeeded so well, that I brought over with me 27 persons, who were established at Eskilstuna in Sweden, where their destructive manufacture is now carried on, in a great perfection as at Sollingen, an acquisition to my country, which I now blush to have been the instrument of introducing; and, for which I have nothing but the inexperience of youth, and mistaken notions of patriotism and honour, to offer in excuse. When engaging therefore with Gustavus III. in the African expedition, I ought to have recollected how little reason I had to depend on the philanthropy of a monarch invested with unlimited power, and beset, as he was, on all sides, by wicked and interested courtiers.

Royal

C H A P.
XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.Disappointed
by a threat-
ened war with
Spain;

Royal Navy, whose nautical education under the great Cook, whom he accompanied in his voyages round the world, eminently qualified him for such an undertaking. I had the daily satisfaction of seeing the equipment proceed, under the able inspection of Capt. Roberts, when a *mercantile* dispute about a paltry cargo of skins, purchased by a British ship on a barbarous coast, *claimed* (forsooth) by Spain, had nearly ended in a war between the two nations. Ridiculous as was the cause of this contest, its consequences to my scheme were serious; for the ship having been equipped, Capt. Roberts waited a considerable time for orders; and, after all, I had the mortification to see him commanded to proceed on a secret expedition, which I had every reason to believe, was connected with this Nootka Sound business. (see § 324.) From the year 1790, to the commencement of the present war, the peace of Europe was too precarious for me to hope for attention to any application on this subject; and the destroying sword must be sheathed, before I can rationally think of renewing them*. Thus has this undertaking been four several times interrupted by preparation for,

* When in Africa, I was much struck with the inclination I every where observed among the negroes, to spin and weave cotton; and was often surprized at their perseverance under all the disadvantages which attend imperfect machinery. I brought home, however, one of their simple looms, and several specimens of their cloth, of different qualities, some of which are even elegant enough, to have convinced every English manufacturer, who has seen them, that the fabricators want nothing but instruction and encouragement, to make them excellent artizans. As I had hopes of returning one day to Africa, I thought I could not better employ that time, during which I was obliged to wait for the final determination of the British Government, than in endeavouring to obtain a competent knowledge of the cotton manufacture. Accordingly, I entered into that business at Manchester; and, I trust, the knowledge of it I there acquired, has qualified me, in one respect, to contribute to *give* the natives of Africa, that instruction, which has hitherto been denied them by civilized nations.

C H A P.
XI.SUPPLE-
MENT.yet not hope-
less.

or the actual ravages of war, that scourge of the human species, that invariable disturber of every enterprize, calculated to advance their moral improvement, or their social happiness.

621. Yet I do not think these discouragements, should make me despair of the ultimate success of the proposed plan; though it must be confessed that, in any preceding century, *such* a plan would probably have been regarded as an instance of enthusiasm, approaching to insanity. But the cruel reign of prejudice, especially respecting the war-system, appears to be drawing fast to a period, and mankind are apparently advancing to a new and exalted degree of improvement. Those great, yet simple truths, which craft and ignorance have hitherto concealed, begin to be unveiled by a light, which, though occasionally intercepted by lowering clouds, seems destined to display Social Harmony, in all her lovely proportions, to the admiring and obedient nations.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X,

Containing explanatory Notes, Quotations and Original Documents; some of which, had the Author obtained them sooner, would have been, with more Propriety, inserted in the Body of the Work.

Substance of two Letters addressed to Dr. Knowles, of London, on the Productions and Colonization of Africa.

BY DR. HENRY SMEATHMAN. See § 62.

SIR,
621. **T**O posterity it may perhaps appear extraordinary, that the Europeans should for near 200 years, have carried on a brisk trade with Africa for little else but slaves. A short reflection on the situation of Africa must certainly countenance this opinion. It lies in climates, which in the other continents produce the richest materials of commerce: and it's productions are actually similar. The principal are gold, ivory, dying wood, gums, honey, wax, ambergrease, &c. and probably there are few of the riches of the eastern or western hemispheres which may not be found in this middle region.

622. This is not mere conjecture. I have, by observations made in a 4 years residence, a moral certainty, that on a proper plan; a most lucrative, safe and honourable traffic may be carried on to that quarter, from Europe. The Grain Coast, from it's fertility in rice, would, if a proper vent was opened, in a few years produce of that commodity alone, and the finest in the world, an immense quantity. And nothing is wanted but encouragement, to procure great quantities of cotton, as fine as the E. Indian, and tobacco as the Brazilian; also sugar and a species of indigo infinitely superior to that of the west, and various drugs, some peculiar to Africa, others the usual result of industry in those climates. Among the former we may reckon various gums, spices, and woods; and of the latter the spirit of sweet potatoes, wild grapes, &c. from which I have made excellent brandy, various kinds of flax and hemp,

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hempe, &c. To these may be added palm oil, equal to olive oil, for food and other purposes; and of which an infinite quantity may be got merely by collecting the fruits or nuts, and boiling them. The coast abounds with fish and turtle, and would be an excellent situation for a whale fishery. But an enumeration of it's various productions would be tedious.

Tendency of
the Doctor's
plan.

623. My plan would tend to emancipate and to civilize every year, some thousands of slaves, to dry up one great source of that diabolical commerce: and if not to produce liberty to the slaves in the W. Indies, at least to meliorate their situation. The stopping some source would not only encrease the price of slaves, but alarm the W. India planters, lest they should soon have no fresh supply. This would make them more tender of those they already possess. And of this be assured, the planters will always buy slaves as long as they can calculate, that each will, in 7 or 10 years, repay his price. If such a plan would be agreeable to the society of FRIENDS, I should have pleasure in laying it before them, and to disclose, under a promise of secrecy, the latent hinge on which it will assuredly succeed. If they should find my proposals expedient, I will gladly dedicate the chief part of my future life to the carrying them into execution.

624. I conceived this project in Africa, where an industrious cultivation of the soil, with various excursions, made me well acquainted with the genius, customs, agriculture, trade and arts of the natives. My stay in the W. Indies was with a view to inform myself of tropical cultivation, previous to my return to Africa. I accomplished my intention, and have since, by studying various branches of philosophy and useful arts, qualified myself still further.

625. By the enclosed letter you will see, I had, previous to your speaking to me on the slave-trade, begun to seek out a method of executing my plan. Mr. Wilding is my particular friend, and though engaged in the slave-trade, is in other respects a man of great sense, honour and candor. But I should be glad to have no connection with any concerned in the slave-trade, and therefore, if no gentleman, in your truly respectable society, will take it up, I have been advised to make overtures to a foreign power.—I am, &c.

H. SMEATHMAN.

LETTER II.

SIR,

626. Not to take up much of your time in foreseeing and answering little objections, I shall only observe, that solicitations for employment on the coast of Africa are indeed extraordinary; since those who have concerns there, find it difficult to prevail on persons of abilities to reside in Africa, at any rate. And yet I am desirous to reside there, on a plan in which I must meet more difficulties, and hardships, and

and receive less emolument, than on one to which I am strongly recommended, wherein I should have every kind of support, and handsome commissions. APPENDIX.

627. The part of the coast I would recommend for this plan, possesses every advantage. Large, fertile and unoccupied tracts of land, adapted to all tropical productions, but now covered with endless forests of the finest gums, seeds and spices, and an endless variety of plants, and animals of known and unknown value. Among the former are gum copal, malaguetta pepper, cotton, capficum, tobacco, sugar canes, an aromatic seed called monkey pepper, ostriches, elephants, buffaloes, antelopes and monkeys, Ethiopian hogs, &c. Some of those lands are mountainous, but the greater part are flat and sandy within 10 or 15 miles of the sea; but the soil, from the frequent successions of vegetables, is very rich, and improves the farther we go inland. They are all watered with prolific rivers and refreshing brooks, having numerous fine creeks and ports, profusely stored with turtle and fish. Produce.

628. The country is governed by a kind of elective kings, who have a power similar to our mayors, and not much greater, though farther extended. It is but thinly inhabited, and is mostly subdivided into little independent states, rather headed than governed by chieftains. These states are seldom founded either in wisdom or justice. They have no law but custom, and no policy but to preserve their independence. Wealth is the most common means of becoming a chief; for as the children do not inherit the power or riches of their fathers, it is very rare that power continues in the same family for generations: and, while the wretched descendants of kings and chieftains cultivate the soil of cruel masters in the W. Indies, the descendants of their slaves rule the land in Africa. The subjects of many black chieftains have been mostly enslaved in the inland or neighbouring countries, by purchase, fraud or violence. After having been domesticated for a few years, they gain a kind of freedom, inasmuch that the chief dares not sell them, without first convicting them of some real or imaginary crime, which he finds no difficult matter: yet he must be cautious, since these people, having only a precarious liberty, make a point of combining against steps that may affect their common safety. They find their principal protection in the customs of the country, bad as they are; hence they scrupulously support them; and as fast as slaves are domesticated, take care to acquaint them with their interest, which, among other things, is not to aggrandize their master over much: hence a chief gains no internal, and very little relative power, by encreasing his people, neither does he add much to his wealth, whatever he may to his reputation. Exclusive of what redounds from riches, the chiefs obtain their power surreptitiously, seldom exert it for the advantage of their subjects, and govern rather by force and chicanery, than by justice and equity. They have rarely any view but to gratify their own appetites, and often by abusing power, sacrifice the liberties, and sometimes the lives, of individuals to their own bad passions. Hence it is evident their Government and state of the slaves.
government

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government is neither calculated to promote the happiness, nor the increase of the community.

White traders
become chiefs.

629. A white trader who can get 2 or 300 people about him, becomes virtually a Chief in Africa. Embassies have been sent to them, and they have often entered into the political disputes of the inhabitants. As these traders are generally illiterate, dissolute seamen, as ignorant and improvident as the black themselves, they seldom or never make a proper use of the power granted them by the courtesy of the country; and calculate only for a little more than to acquire luxuries, and a fortune to subsist on, or rather, perhaps, to dissipate, at home. It is then very obvious, that by a regular *Code of Laws*, a well concerted plan of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and with little more money than would buy a cargo of slaves, a free commonwealth might be founded, which would be a sanctuary for the oppressed people of colour, and gradually abolish the trade in the human species. In short, if a community of 2 or 300 persons were to be associated on such principles as constitute the prosperity of civilized nations, such are the fertility of the soil, the value of its products, and the advantages of such an establishment, that it must, with the blessing of the Almighty, increase with a rapidity beyond all example; and in all probability extend it's saving influence in 30 or 40 years, wider than even *American Independence*. The sources of this increase would be numerous: there is no state in the country, which gives not a certain protection to the unfortunate; and there are all over the country little communities, besides individuals, who have not been regularly emancipated. These people live in continual fear of their former masters, who often revive their claims, and continually squeeze out of them the chief produce of their little industry, and often make palavers*, and sell them or their children. A free state conducted with prudence, and exerting but a little regular industry in agriculture and commerce, would be enabled to redeem great numbers of slaves yearly.

Free society
might easily
be formed.

630. The laws being at first settled, every number gained to the community would be an addition to the internal, as well as relative, strength of the state; and there is the greatest probability that it would, in the natural course of things, very soon civilize the country, and gradually absorb all the petty tyrannies, and change them into subordinate free states, by offering advantages to all ranks too inviting to be resisted. The *Code of Laws* for such a community ought to be short and simple, and the police strict, but not sanguinary.

631. Success will depend, in a great measure, on the goodness of a plan of public education, which I hold, to be the best adapted to form valuable citizens, to

* *Palaver* means a quarrel, dispute, oration, amusing speech, &c.—Here it means actions at law. These are generally carried on to all appearance equitably; but in some of *these* cases they resemble tribunals of foxes trying geese.

make men as happy as the nature of things will admit, and consequently to make prosperous and happy societies. APPENDIX.

632. Rice is the staple of the country, which they cultivate with most care. But they also cultivate cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, a little Indian and Guinea corn, and a grain as small as mustard, called pine, plantanes, some kinds of beans, peas and greens. Their trade at present is in slaves, ivory, camwood, rice, palm oil, fish, venison, fowls, goats, and other provisions. Their manufactures are cotton cloths, which they rarely sell, matting and basket-work. They make also their own wood-knives, hoes, and other little implements of husbandry, fishing lines, small nets, &c. In their labours, however, they meet little advantage from being in society: the same man who weaves in the morning, forges in the afternoon; at one time makes a basket, at another thatches his house; to-day he works at his plantation, and to-morrow traverses the woods or the waters for animal food; or, takes his canoe, and with his young men rows and sails by the help of a rice-mat, 10 or 15 leagues, to buy of the nearest ship or factory, 4 or 5 pounds worth of European necessaries and luxuries. A pot or kettle, two or three pewter basons, cargo knives (18d. the dozen at Birmingham,) a gun, powder, shot, flints, a felt hat, a shirt, a ruffled cap, fish-hooks, needles and thread, coarse woollen, linen and cotton cloths, silk handkerchiefs, tobacco (though it grows round his door,) rum, brandy, &c. induce his voyage. He often gets drunk as soon as he gets on board, and sells not only his own goods, but those he had on commission from his neighbours, for rum, tobacco and gun-powder.

Cultivation
and trade.

633. They seldom unite their strength and their skill, but in making a plantation for the town, in rowing a canoe, and in building a house, in drawing an alligator or a shark on shore, and in poisoning a piece of water to draw the fish. Their strength is in general exhausted upon solitary and trivial exertions, and two-thirds of the product of their little industry is often, through a pernicious custom, or a disinclination to combine their powers at a critical moment, abandoned to the birds and beasts, or left to rot for want of stores and casks, of mechanic powers to clear it, or of Europeans to purchase it. Not knowing the use of wheels in spinning, they make lines and nets between the finger and thumb, or by rolling on their thighs. Hence perhaps it is they never have a seine of any tolerable size, though they often assist the seamen in drawing those of European ships; neither do they unite to make a weir in the sea, by which they might easily procure a constant supply of fish. They even hunt the elephant in solitude, just as they set a snare or a fish-pot.

They unite
not their exer-
tions.

634. From this improvidence, they are never blessed with any great superabundance, and sometimes not finding articles sufficient to barter with the Europeans for indispensable necessaries, they sell some friendless servant. And, as a slave will buy more necessaries than they want, they get more rum, which is apt to produce such a rage for it, as to induce them to sell another and another. Hence the country is so thinly inhabited, that we rarely find a town containing 2 or 300 inhabitants,

D d

within

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within 10 or 15 leagues of another of the same population. The finest rivers will not have towns upon them, where perhaps there are 100 persons within a long tide's distance of each other.

Their character misrepresented,

635. As they draw very little subsistence from hunting, and have every where good fishing places, and grounds for plantations, every little community chuses where to pitch its tents, without any regard but to the vicinity of good water; the land itself becomes of no value. From these accounts of this people, it may be conceived, that they want spirit and abilities, and that they have such a propensity to indolence, that no mode of legislature or education will inspire them with ingenuity and industry. But this is not a just opinion. This unhappy race have continually suffered by misrepresentation. While our moral and philosophical writers* have sacrificed them to system, and our travellers to prejudice, our merchants and planters, regarding them as mere beasts of burden, have devoted them to their avarice and cruelty†.

and might be improved.

636. Whatever may be said of the effects of local situation and the extremes of heat and cold, it will probably be found hereafter, that all men, in their dispositions and conduct in life, are formed more by artificial than natural causes, by the laws which impel, and the education which trains them; in short, by custom and habit. A very singular jurisprudence, and customs, which in some respects are wise, but in this pernicious, enchains the inhabitants of this part of the globe, and, till the charm is broken, must keep them in indigence, indolence and contempt. These are a jurisprudence, which renders improvement unacceptable to the public, and ingenuity dangerous to the possessor; which make reformers criminal, and takes away all merit from hospitality and generosity. Under this dispensation, customs, which are impolitic and degrading, have as strong a sanction, as those which are wise and improving. This cannot be better illustrated than by two simple facts:

Customs against industry

637. The cultivation of rice must always, according to their customs, be practised in a certain manner, and it is reaped by cutting the stalks 6 or 8 inches below the ears, one or two at a time, if they grow so near as to come within the grasp of the knife and right thumb. Thus 1, 2, or 3 ears are cut off and leisurely transferred to the left hand, till it is almost full, when they tie it up like a nosegay, and put it in a basket. When I sallied out to reap my first crop of rice, I was quite disappointed to see my labourers reaping it in this idle way, and expected to please them by shewing them how we reaped corn in England. Though I cut more in a few minutes, than 7 or 8 had done in half an hour, and though I begged them to save the straw for thatch, they disregarded my information and desire; and I was obliged

* See Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, and Wilson's Effect of hot Climates on animal and vegetable Bodies.

† See Long's History of Jamaica *passim*.

to compel them to use my method. The chief, who had been brought up in England, told me, that such an innovation would have cost a native his life. He would have been accused of intending to overthrow the customs (or laws) and would have been obliged to drink the red water, which seldom fails to find the culprit guilty. Thus there is a stop put to public improvement.—The law of hospitality is obstructive of industry. If there is provision in the country, a man who wants it has only to find out who has got any; and he must have his share. If he enter any man's house during his repast, and gives him the usual salutation, the man must invite him to partake. Thus, whatever abundance a man may get by assiduity, will be shared by the lazy; and hence, they seldom calculate for more than necessities. Hence also they seldom live in large communities. Industrious men, who have wives, children, and domestics about them, retire to some sequestered creek to avoid those interlopers, who lounge in every small town. Here they may thrive; but are often exposed to the dangers of slavery, from some neighbouring tyrant. But the laws of hospitality are not restrained to diet. A common man cannot quietly enjoy a spare shirt or a pair of trowsers. Those who are too lazy to plant or hunt, are also too lazy to trade, and begging is not disgraceful; so that if an industrious man gets a spare shirt or utensil, he will be teased to death for it, and he must not refuse; but he must talk the palaver. Whatever reasons the beggar offers for the want of any thing, he must give others for detaining; and such is their patience, that they will palaver as long as some gamesters will play—long enough for the detainer to have worn out the shirt or matter in dispute. A man in those cases must sometimes give of necessity, that he may keep with safety. The rich are continually plagued with such requests, and are in fact but stewards for the rest. As they are constantly drained by their dependants, and are themselves both improvident and extravagant, they often suffer a total want of European luxuries. A great chief who sells 20 or 30 slaves for cloths, laced hats, beads, rum, tobacco, gunpowder, (chiefly for salutes) salt beef, pork, hams, butter, flour, biscuits, porter, wine, tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, spices, &c. as they affect very much to live in the European manner, shall, in 6 or 8 weeks, be entirely exhausted, and be obliged to live on rice and cassava, and take his chance of fishing or hunting. What a dreadful trade, and how weak must be societies, where they part with those who constitute the wealth of other countries, for articles, from which they derive as little benefit as we do from the West Indian turtle!

638. From what has been said, it appears, that the indolence and ignorance of these men arise not from the climate; and that good government and education would change them wonderfully. Those Europeans, indeed, who are brought up in indolence and ignorance, generally remain at least useless to society. But many of the Gentoos, in a climate as warm as that of Africa, are, by wiser laws and a better education, rendered ingenious and industrious. We have then every reason

might be re-
formed by
good laws

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to imagine, that by a small encouragement to African productions, and by degrees introducing habits of industry, we might open a current of commerce, which would increase like one of their rivers, to which "our floods are rills." For hitherto we have been as little acquainted with Africa, as we were with America, during the first 20 years of our connection with that continent.

The Doctor's
plan of colo-
nizing.

639. "I have now stated on what grounds a new and profitable trade to certain parts of Guinea, without dealing in human bodies, seems very practicable. I could have mentioned many more, but they appeared unnecessary, since I have particularly described the produce of the country, and the manner in which it might be cultivated to greater advantage. Referring to that account, I shall conclude with submitting to better judgments an outline of the methods, which the information obtained seems to indicate as necessary to the success of a new and natural commerce to a country, which, for these 200 years, we have only drained of its population, without increasing our own, or that of the colonies, in any manner adequate to our own expense of men and money, or the desolation of a prolific continent.

Whites to be
chosen as co-
lonists

640. "From what has been said, it might seem, that nothing but princely fortune, or the power of government, is adequate to this undertaking. But this is not the case, since any two ships of 150 or 200 tons each, slaving on the coast, always carry more men, and cost a greater outfit, than would be necessary for our purpose; and at a time like this, (viz. in 1783,) when so many want employment, it will not be difficult to procure proper persons. These are chiefly tradesmen, as carpenters, joiners, coopers, smiths, rope-makers, sail-makers, weavers, tailors, masons, gardeners, men bred on West India plantations, viz. planters, distillers, &c. Many such having been pressed, or otherwise introduced, into the naval or military service, are now become ill-qualified to resume their occupations at home, or are supplanted by younger labourers. We very often find men of most of these professions on board of one Guinea ship, where they generally are very usefully employed; and, when at work under the awning, make the deck appear like a manufactory.

and blacks.

641. "Success would much depend on the conduct of those men. But I would also recommend the procuring of a great number of black men. There are, I conceive, now in this country, hundreds, and many of them persons of character, possessed of a little property, who under the sanction of a respectable company of Quakers, and the prospect of an independent settlement, would gladly engage. And if it once takes place, there are vast numbers of people of colour in the West Indies, who though *called free*, labour under such intolerable oppression, that they would almost to a man unite themselves to such a community. Even those of America would not be backward in emigrating to a country where colour would be no reproach, and where they would enjoy those privileges never allowed them in governments framed solely by white people. How far it might be prudent to acquaint the coloured

coloured people on the other side of the Atlantic of such a project, previous to its execution, is not easy to determine.

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642. "Supposing one large or two small ships, sufficiently manned and provided, I should propose sailing first to Madeira, to take in live stock and wine, for medical uses. From thence it might not be amiss to call at the Canaries, where we might probably procure volunteers. If it might be permitted to purchase a few slaves at Senegal, Goree, and Gambia, it would be political: many of the slaves from those parts have as just a sense of the value of liberty, as either Britons or Americans, and are brave and ingenious men. We should by these means vary our new subjects very usefully; for, not to mention their different kinds of knowledge, one great advantage is obvious. These people could not have the same customs and language, which they would give up for liberty, and readily agree to be governed by what they term *White-man's fashion*. Upon this every thing would depend; for by the singular, as well as the useful, difference, we should be enabled to exclude the bad customs of our ignorant neighbours. For the same reasons it would be proper also to call at the Western Islands, where the fine cloths are made, of which I have spoken in my account of cotton. The inhabitants were so oppressed formerly, as to offer by hundreds to emigrate with our Guinea captains, some of whom have been villains enough to sell them in the West-Indies. Here it has also been usual for Guinea ships to take in salt, live stock and fresh provisions, which we might probably want in that part of our voyage. When we arrive at that part of the coast destined for our settlement, we should immediately agree with one of the kings or chiefs for a sequestered port and tract of land. In a month or six weeks, we should have completed sufficient habitations, and be advanced a great way in clearing land, and that without much impediment to our trade. In a few months we might not only buy quantities of rice, but see the indications of plenteous harvests of our own. All sorts of plants will vegetate merely from the genial influence of the climate. Hence the loftiest mountains, which, at least most of those I have seen, are nothing but rocks, are covered to their summits with stately trees; and we often see fine rice flourishing on the steep sides of those mountains a mile and a half high. (§ 62.) Here then is the finest field for exerting that species of industry, which is the surest foundation of national prosperity. "Agriculture, as Dr. Johnson observes, not only gives riches to a nation, but the only riches we can call our own, and of which we need not fear either deprivations or diminutions." And again, "the nation which can furnish grain and wool, may have her ships welcomed at a thousand parts, or sit at home and receive the tribute of foreign nations, enjoy their arts, or treasure up their gold."

A mixture of people easiest formed into a society.

643. "As rice there is the finest and most nourishing of all grain, and cotton comes into universal demand; we shall have two solid objects of commerce on which to exercise our industry. I have two deserted rivers in my memory, enjoying all the necessary advantages. In either place we could have excellent situations for water-mills

Proposed situation.

for

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Seeds, &c. to
be carried out.

for the cleansing rice, grinding corn, and sawing timber, good ports for small craft, and fish in plenty. If I was to conduct this enterprize, I would lift the first axe and the first hoe myself; and may say without vanity, since it is said from experience, set an example of labour and industry in cultivation. For husbandry, far from being to me a drudgery, is the most delightful amusement. I attribute all the extreme good health I enjoyed by intervals in Africa, with the soundness of my constitution at this hour, to the hard labour I then sustained with infinite pleasure, often contemplating with how much greater enjoyment I could labour, in prosecuting such an attempt of civilization. It would be our business to take not only the seeds common in the climates, but also all the seeds to be procured from warmer regions, of use in food or medicine. Our own hot-houses would furnish us with coffee, American indigo, aloes and other useful plants; and I should think the chocolate tree (*theobroma cacao*,) might be procured. These are not indeed primary objects, but by the time they increase, will be very worthy of attention. As this settlement would require frequent supplies of European necessaries, our first endeavours would be to obtain such remittances, by trade or cultivation, as would at least support our credit. In the first year, the erection of store-houses and other public works, would necessarily abridge our efforts in agriculture. Else by that we might hope to make very important remittances. Probably 3 or 4 blacks might, by that branch alone, in one year, pay for their redemption, which will not probably cost us above 10 or £12 each; and our land will cost us nothing. The West India planters pay about four times as much for their slaves, and exorbitantly too for their grounds, with taxes and other expenses: and yet some few who have borrowed their capitals at 8 and 10 per cent, have made pretty fortunes.

644. " Besides artificers, I should propose taking out naturalists, to collect subjects in natural history, and draughtsmen to delineate them, &c. The collection I shipped under innumerable disadvantages, had they all arrived safe, would have sold for a very great amount.

645. " It would perhaps be the most prudent method, if practicable, to give the persons employed small wages, and allow them shares of the profits, as in distributing prize-money in ships of war. In these instances such a mode may increase rapacity, in our's it will promote industry and œconomy.

Preservation
of health.

646. " Among many other regulations which I have yet to propose, are the methods of preserving the health of our people. The district I propose, is as healthy as any between the tropics. And such is my confidence of that circumstance, and the knowledge I have of tropical diseases, that, let me have the care of 100 persons of good constitutions for 3 years, barring accidents and obstinate refusal of medicines, I would engage to bring them all home again. The mortality of Europeans on this coast may be objected; to which I shall oppose other facts and plain reasoning, in my account of the diseases of those climates.

647. "Here I shall only observe, that the British seamen and soldiers seem to be sent to those coasts, as if with a view to make them a sacrifice; so that the wonder is not that so many die, but that so many return. But by proper precautions, it may probably be as little surprising in a few years, that 100 persons should return hearty and well, from a 3 years residence on the coast of Guinea, as after a 3 years circumnavigation, which, till governments condescended to consult men of science, were generally attended with the loss of three-fourths of the seamen.

648. "Should any thing herein offered want elucidation, I shall be obliged to you for your remarks.

Hammer Smith,
21st July, 1783.

I am, &c.

HENRY SMEATHMAN."

"*Substance of a Plan of a Settlement, to be made near Sierra Leona, on the Grain Coast of Africa, intended more particularly for the service and happy establishment of Blacks and people of colour to be shipped as freemen, under the direction of the Committee for relieving the black poor, and under the protection of the British Government. By Henry Smeathman, Esq. who resided in that country near four years.*" London printed 1786, in 8vo. See § 338.

(1.) "ANY person desirous of a permanent and comfortable establishment, in a most pleasant, fertile climate, near SIERRA LEONA, where land is cheap, may do it on the following advantageous conditions. Head's of Dr. S's plan.

(2.) "They will be carried out at five guineas each person, and supplied weekly during the voyage, with 5lb. Bread, 1 ditto Beef, 3 ditto Pork, $\frac{3}{4}$ ditto Molasses, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto Flour, 1 ditto Pot Barley, $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto Suet, $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto Raisins, 1 pint Oatmeal, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto Peas, 2 ditto Rum for grog; with Pimento, Ginger, &c.

(3.) "They will also have the same allowance, for 3 months after their arrival, and which will cost 3l. 15s. ster. for each person.

(4.) "Those who can afford to go as steerage, steward-room, or cabin passengers, will be accommodated accordingly.

(5.) "On their arrival in Africa, a convenient tract of land will be purchased for the community, to be their joint property. A township will then be marked out, and houses run up by the joint labour of the whole, for immediate shelter: this may easily be effected there, as materials are so near at hand, that 10 or 12 men may erect very comfortable habitations, in a few days.

(6.) "Each person will be allowed, by common consent, to possess as much land as he or she can cultivate, to which they may always add as much more as their necessity, or convenience may require.

(7.) "It is proposed to take out proper artificers, for erecting the necessary buildings, and dividing the lands.

(8.) "Beside the produce obtained from their own lands, individuals, by moderate labour, will have other easy means of procuring, not only the necessaries, but also

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also the comforts of life. Fowls, hogs, goats, and sheep, are very cheap, being propagated with a rapidity unknown in Europe; plenty of fish may be easily caught; and the forests abound with venison, wild-fowl, and other game.

(9.) "Such are the mildness and fertility of the climate and country, that a man possessed of a change of cloathing, an axe, a hoe, and a pocket knife, may soon place himself in an easy situation. All the cloathing wanted is what decency requires; and the earth turned up of 2 or 3 inches, with a slight hoe, produces any kind of grain.

(10.) "These favourable circumstances, combined with the peaceable temper of the natives, promise the numerous advantages resulting from the quiet cultivation of the earth, and the exportation of its productions, which may be very advantageously exchanged for European manufactures.

(11.) "The climate is very healthy to those who live on the productions of the country. The cause why it has been fatal to many whites, is, that they have led most intemperate lives; have subsisted chiefly on dried, salted, rancid and other unwholesome provisions; and have indulged beyond all bounds, in the use of spirits. They have been also cooped up in ships, small craft, or factories, stationed for the advantage of trade, in close rivers or creeks, not choosing healthy spots, as is now proposed. Add to this, that the surgeons of ships trading thither, have hitherto been generally ignorant of the proper mode of treating diseases in that climate; or they have not been sufficiently supplied with medicines. Many persons have perished for want of good diet or nursing, and not a few from the total neglect of that mutual assistance, which the settlement proposed will furnish. (See § 74 *et seq.*)

(12.) "The adventurers on this new establishment will be under the care of a physician, who has had 4 years practice on the coast of Africa, and as many in the W. Indies; and who being well provided, accompanied by skilful assistants, in surgery, midwifery, &c. and by several experienced women, they will enjoy every necessary assistance.

(13.) "It is also intended that the adventurers shall be accompanied by a clergyman, and a schoolmaster and mistress, at the expence of the whole community.

(14.) "Such will be the situation of those, who cultivate their plantations for their own advantage: but, as many, instead of working wholly for themselves, may choose occasionally to serve the agent, or any other individual, for hire: some will employ their money in cultivation and trade: in that case the labourers will be supplied with provisions, and paid for their daily labour in the currency of the country.

(15.) "Only 8 hours of fair labour each day will be required, in summer or winter; and on Saturday's only 6 hours. The sabbath will be set apart as a day of rest, instruction, and devotion.

(16.) "The colonists being under the protection of the British Government, will consequently enjoy both civil and religious liberty, as in Great-Britain.

(17.)

(17.) " Disputes relative to property, or offences committed among themselves, will be settled according to the laws, by their own peers, in a town meeting.

(18.) " Offenders against the natives, in neighbouring districts, will be amenable to the laws of the country, unless the agent shall be able to compound for the penalty.

(19.) " In addition to those persons who are able to pay for their passage, it is intended to conduct this enterprise, on the most humane principles: it will be extended to others who have not money, on condition of agreements for their respective hire, to be calculated according to the ages and abilities of the parties; so that every one may be sure of having a comfortable provision made, after a short period, on the reasonable terms of moderate labour.

(20.) " And whereas many black persons, and people of colour, refugees from America, disbanded from His Majesty's service by sea or land, or otherwise distinguished objects of British humanity, are at this time in the greatest distress, they are invited to avail themselves of the advantages of the plan proposed.

(21.) " The committee, appointed for the relief of the Black Poor, having represented their unhappy situation to the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, Government has agreed to furnish them, not only with a passage and provision, but also with cloathing, provisions for 3 months after their landing, together with all sorts of tools and implements of husbandry, necessary for the establishment of a new colony, according to the schedules annexed. (See § 129.)

(22.) " Such persons will be also entitled to the necessary allotment of land, and other benefits, in as great a latitude as will render their lives easy.

(23.) " An opportunity so advantageous may perhaps never be offered to them again; for they and their posterity may enjoy perfect freedom. Settled in a country congenial to their constitutions, and having the means, by moderate labour, of the most comfortable livelihood, they will find a certain and secure retreat from their former sufferings.

HENRY SMEATHMAN."

SCHEDULES ABOVE REFERRED TO.

(24.) The Weekly Allowance of Provisions for the Voyage, and for 3 Months after their Arrival, the same as above.

Cloathing at the rate of 2l. 15s. for each Man.

- 1 Blue Jacket,
- 1 Striped Flannel ditto.
- 1 Pair of Canvas Trowsers
- 1 Pair of Flannel ditto.
- 2 Pair of Shoes,
- 4 Shirts,
- 2 Knives,
- 1 Razor,
- 1 Hat,

Bedding,
Cloaths for the Women in proportion.

Tools and Utensils at the rate of 19s. 2d. value for each person.

- 1 Hoe,
- 1 Wood Axe,
- 1 Pewter Basin of 2lb.

B c

1 Wooden Cann and drinking Horn.

For a Company of twelve persons.

- 1 Iron Pot of 5 Gallons,
- 1 Ditto. 2 Galls.
- 1 Ditto. 1 Gall.
- 1 Iron Water Cistern of 20 Galls.
- 2 Pails,
- 1 Iron Crow,

1 Whip

APPENDIX.

1 Whip Saw,
1 Crois Cut ditto,
2 Hand-Saws,
1 Cast-iron Grater,
2 Mefs Balons of 4lb.
1 Wheelbarrow,
3 Spades,
3 Shovels,

*Medicines, &c. for a Company
of 100 Persons.*

A Medicine Chest at 16s. for
each person, including 80lb.
of Bark.

Wine, Porter, Vinegar, &c. for
the Sick, for 100 Persons, at
9s. 10d. each Person.

*Tool Chest, and select Tools, for
100 Persons.*

6 Broad axes,
3 Felling ditto.
6 Adzes.
5 Dozen Chisfels and Gouges,
6 Claw Hammers, sorted,
6 Rasps and Files,
6 Pair of Pinchers,
2 Pair of Pliers,
1 Dozen Augers,
1 Chalk Line and Rule,
1 Tenon Saw,
3 Hand Saws,
12 Files and 2 sets,
2 Rules,
2 Iron Squares,
1 Bevil and Square,
3 Pair of Compasles,
4 Draw Boreis,
6 Brad Pinchers,

2 Whetstones,
6 Dozen Gimlets, sorted,
1 Doz. Brads, Awls and Handles
1 Mallet,
6 Drawing Knives,
Glue and Glue Pot,
1 Bench Screw,
2 Screw Drivers,
1 Philifter,
1 Plough,
3 Smoothing Planes,
1 Jack ditto,
2 Fore ditto.
1 Jointer,
1 Grindstone,
6 Pick and Matt Axes,
2 Mauls,
6 Splitting Wedges,
6 Hatchets,
3 Screw Jacks for Timber,
6 Trowels.

649. To Dr. Smeathman's plan is annexed the following hand-bill, which throws some light on the history of the Colony at Sierra Leona.

BLACK POOR.

"IT having been very maturely and humanely considered, by what means a support might be given to the Blacks, who seek the protection of this government; it is found that no place is so fit and proper, as the Grain Coast of Africa; where the necessaries of life may be supplied, by the force of industry and moderate labour, and life rendered very comfortable. It has been meditated to send Blacks to Nova Scotia, but this plan is laid aside, as that country is unfit and improper for the said Blacks.

"The Committee for the Black Poor* accordingly recommended Henry Smeathman, Esq. who is acquainted with this part of the coast of Africa, to take charge of all the said persons, who are desirous of going with him: and to give them all fit and proper encouragement, agreeably to the humanity of the British Government.

Batfon's Coffee-house,
17th May, 1786.

By desire of the Committee,

JONAS HANWAY, Chairman.

"Those who are desirous of profiting by this opportunity, of settling in one of the most pleasant and fertile countries in the known world, may apply for further information to Mr. SMEATHMAN, the Author of the Plan, and Agent for the Settlement, at the Office for free Africans, No. 14, Canon-street."

* A list of that respectable Committee is inserted at § 331, note.

650. Dr. Lettſom, to whose liberal communications I have been much indebted, has favoured me with the perusal of a great number of Dr. Smeathman's original letters to him, some of which are, in many respects, very interesting. From them it appears, that Dr. S. while in Paris, was much engaged in the improvement of air balloons, a pursuit natural enough to his philosophic mind: but I believe his proposed application of it was altogether peculiar to himself; for he declares his resolution to appropriate all the profits, which might result from his intended aeronautic adventures, to his African scheme. Men of a sportive fancy, may perhaps deride this idea, as little else than a project to build one aerial castle upon another. But a little reflection will remind them, that some of the greatest discoveries were originally projects. They will remember, that Galileo was not only derided, but persecuted; that Columbus was treated as a projector; and that even Newton, though supported by demonstration, was ridiculed and contradicted, before he was understood. Without ranking Smeathman with such names, it seems but just to allow him the praise due to that generosity, capacity and perseverance which prompted him, under many discouragements, to pursue an arduous enterprize, only as the means of attempting one still more arduous, and far more useful.—But my limits will not admit any farther particulars respecting this singular genius. This is the less to be regretted, as Dr. Lettſom well knew, better than I, how to apply Smeathman's letters, and the other valuable MSS. in his possession, to the benefit of mankind, which I am persuaded he ardently wishes to promote.—For a proof of Dr. Smeathman's taste for Natural History, especially the more useful parts of it, see his account of those destructive insects the *Termites*, (Wood-ants, Wood-lice, Bug-a-bugs,) in the Phil. Transf. for 1781.

Dr. S's letters
to Dr. Lettſom

The following interesting Paper is taken verbatim from a scarce Book, entitled,
" Philosophical Experiments and Observations of the late Dr. Robert Hook,
" S. R. S. &c." published by Mr. Derham, London, 1726.

" Transcript of a Paper of a Quantity of Gold up the River Gambay, in 1693.

651. "YOUR importunity, together with my gratitude to you, for your most curious informations and instructions in the mechanics (without which, I confess my labour had been in vain) has extorted that from me, which, I confess, the resolution I had a-new taken to the contrary, by resolving never to divulge, either for love, or force; to which end I expect, according to your faithful and solemn vows of secrecy, both of the business itself, and likewise of which I would not should be known to the King for £10,000, being content with what proportion it

The writer re-
quires secrecy.

APPENDIX.

The quantity
of gold great.

hath pleased God to assign me, as well as with the King's revenues. Nor shall I wholly, or fully, discover the vast proportion of gold I discovered there, being so much, not fit to be communicated to paper, as not knowing to whose eyes, or through whose hands this may come. I shall only tell you, I was more troubled to obfcurc its abundance from my fellows, than to bring down what I got; and I am confident, that if yourself go upon this design, and follow the directions of my journal, and attain your purpose, you yourself will be of my opinion; for, as it is said, "what will the whole world profit a man, if he lose his soul?" so I say, what will the riches of both the Indies advantage, if thereby you forfeit your security, life, and freedom? And how will you be assured of any of these, if these things should come to knowledge of such as have power of you, and to command you in what they please: that I do truly tell you, did I not value my own peace and quiet at so high a rate as I do, I should come willingly, and manifest it to his Sacred Majesty; though I am not satisfied in that neither, as not knowing whether the information may prove good or bad to the public; however, I conjure you a-new, that, whatever you attempt, you conceal me, so that directly or indirectly I be not discovered.

Directions re-
specting the
boat and
apparatus.

652. "If you go on the business, let your boat be flat-bottomed, for mine being some seven tons, or thereabout, and made after the common fashion, was extremely troublesome, both at fords and at falls, where we were forced to unlade her; and having unladed her, to heave her, or launch her over land: you ought also to have a little boat for common use, which you will find extreme useful. You advised me to take 20 pounds of quicksilver, for trials; if you go, take at least 100 pounds, for some in working will be lost, as you know better than myself: your advice also, for 50 pounds of lead, is too little; take 150 pounds, much more you cannot well carry, for the pestering of your boat.

653. "The Sal Armoniac I used little of, for it I can give you no advice: the Borax I used all, wished for more, if you go, carry 50 pounds; my sand ever did me rare service, I used it all, better have 10 pounds too much than too little, therefore take 40 pounds. I am confident, if I had carried the philosophers bellows, I had done very well; I was so troubled with fitting the other, though I confess them better when a-new placed. Antimonial Horn did me little service; I believe it rather from my ignorance, or wanting the perfect use and instruction you gave me. Ingots I would take two, I carried but one, I wanted another for expedition.

Wedges 12, with a sledge or two, or beetle; for about 12 English miles from the first fall, or somewhat more to the southward, in the side of a barren rock, looking westward, there is a cliff in the rock, rather most rich between the stones, almost half a handful thick in some places. Our pick-axes did here stand us in no great stead, but having with us some iron tools, that we could hardly spare, with much ado made a scurvy iron wedge, and presently we found the benefit of that, for some 12 or 14 days, till improvidently one of us driving the wedge

wedge up to the head, and not having another to relieve it, we were forced to leave it behind us, to our great loss and grief. Wooden bowls from England, six or eight, are very necessary, and will do better than gourds, that I was forced to make use of; you may take store of them, it is no fore.

654. "For the crucibles I must inform, that four large melting pots, in our large work, will stead you much, and make better dispatch than six nests of crucibles; though you cannot well spare those, I was forced to make use of a broken earthen pot, that I carried along with me; I made use of it till it broke, had I had crucibles, and pots enough, I had brought so much gold in sand or Tyber.

655. "For the separating and dissolving waters, I used but little, because their use was troublesome, neither had I conveniencies to erect a still a-shore; but for the Aqua Regis I used it all, and could have done more, if I had had it; yet, in my opinion, the trials of quicksilver are better, had I had it. But I carry coals to Newcastle; you know better the operation than myself. Let your mortar be of iron, and large; I wish I had followed your directions in that, for my brass one put me to a double trouble, and I was enforced to leave the refining of much, till I came into England, for the Mercury got a *spurca* from thence, which is communicated to my gold, which no art, I understand, could free it from; in this particular you left me lame, or my memory much failed.

656. "There is a tree much like our cornels in England, but very large, which we felled, and made a shift to make charcoal of, which we did thus; we cut off the boughs, for we wanted a saw, and therefore could not meddle with the body of the tree, and cut them into short pieces; then we digged a good large pit, or hole in the ground, about a yard wide, and so deep, or deeper; in the bottom we kindled a fire, and filled it with wood, and when it was well burned, threw earth upon it, and damped it; and when it was cold, we took out the coals: you will easily find the place, if you observe but the cautions; you will come to a broad gathering together of waters, not much inferior to Ronnander Meer, in the edge of Lancashire: here we spent a week in searching many creeks and in-falls of rivers; but we followed that which points south east and by east. My miserable ignorance, in the mathematics, cannot direct you, neither for longitude or latitude. Up the buffing stream, with sad labour, we wrought, and sometimes could not go above two miles in a day. You must pass the first fall; yet there my exceed of gold was 47 grains from 10 pounds of sand. When we, or you come to the upper fall, you will be much troubled, I believe, as well as I, to get your boat over land; but being up, proceed till you come to the in-fall of a small stream to the south, directly thence listen, and you shall hear a fall of waters; you cannot get your boat thither, by reason of the smallness of the brook; you will there find our reliques on the side of the rock, with many of our names, I mean, letters of our names, cut with our knives. Here, though the sand, by the wash, yield plentifully, yet do you ascend the top of the rock, and, pointing your

The writer
makes char-
coal.

Marks to find
the place.

face

APPENDIX. face directly west, you will observe a snug of rocks somewhat to the left hand of you; and, under that, if the rains and force of weather have not washed away the earth and stones, you will discover (they being unmoved) the mouth of the mine itself; where being provided with materials fit for that work, you will not desire to proceed any further, or with a richer vein.

657. "Take this, all along, for a constant rule, which I, in my search, observed up the river, that in the low, and woody and fertile country, I could never find either metal or rich mine, but always among barren rocks and mountainous countries, and commonly accompanied with a reddish kind of earth. Other instructions I shall not give you, being (as I conceive) a thing needless to you, unless I should return you your own principal, this being but only the interest of what is due, besides that obligation which tieth me unalterably to remain, &c.

Crew & cargo 658. "I began my voyage up the river, December the 4th, about two hours before the sun set; in my company no more than seven men, besides myself, all English, and four blacks, whereof one was a Maribuck, who, being acquainted with the Portugal language, I intended for an interpreter, if I should stand in need; but the main was, to help us in our labour against the stream. My provisions were chiefly of two sorts: for my voyage and for accommodation, three barrels of beef, ten gammons of bacon, two barrels of white salt, besides bay salt for trade; also two hogheads of biscuit, besides rice; half a barrel of gunpowder, and shot proportionable; strong-water, vinegar, paper, beads, looking-glasses, knives 18d. per dozen, some iron, little brass chains, pewter rings, and a deal of such like stuff, as occasion permitted: the other sort of provisions were a pair of goldsmith's bellows, crucibles four nests, scarnelles two nests, quicksilver, borax, sal-armoniac, aqua regis, aqua fortis, a mortar and pestle, and leather skins to strain, brass scoops and ladles with long handles, to take up sand, and other implements for my private design: all which had laden my boat far deeper than I desired; for thereby I drew much water, which, I was jealous, might hinder our progress over the flats, if we should meet with any.

Sea-horses and
crocodiles
troublesome.

659. "December the 7th, we arrived near Settico, being 14 or 15 leagues above where our men staid; but passed one half league further up where we anchored, the river there being broad, we always chusing the middle, as being freest from disturbance, though it oft fell out otherwise; for our ugly neighbours, I mean the sea-horses and crocodiles (it seems) ill pleased, or unacquainted with any co-partners in these watery regions, did often disturb us in the night, not only with their ugly noises, but their vicinity to our very boats, which caused us to keep watch.

660. "December the 23d, we were much troubled that day with getting over a flat, under the wash of a steep and high mountain bearing south. Here I first put in practice my design, and took up some sand at the first trial of the ford, and out of
five

five pound weight of that sand, got three or four grains of gold. I tried also in another place of the same ford, but did get less. I saw neither town, nor houses, nor people, since we left Baracunda.

661. "January the 14th, at a ford between two high mountains, I tried again; and out of ten pounds weight of sand, I washed 30 grains of gold. I made a trial likewise with mercury, and found out of five pounds, 47 grains. Here my hopes increased, yet resolved to try higher.

47gr. gold
from 5lb. sand.

662. "January the 27th, we were much troubled with great trees that lay in the water upon the side of a rock, on a craggy, barren mountain adjoining. I ascended, with three men with me, to make discovery; and carrying a pick-axe with me, which, as we were digging up a piece of ore, as I conceived; we were assaulted with an incredible number of monstrous great baboons; whom, no oratory, but our guns, could persuade to let us retreat to our boats; for, having killed two or three of them, so incensed the rest, that had not the report of our guns terrified them, I verily believe they would have torn us to pieces: having attained our boat, I fell to try my ore; which proved but a sparre.

663. "February the 6th, I made a trial of a certain glittering sand, which I took up from the side of a rock, the river here inclining southward, with a sudden turning like an elbow. The wash of this, afforded 41 grains from 10 pounds weight of sand: by other trials, from five pounds weight of sand, 57 grains. Here I thought to make a stand; yet, upon more serious advice, had resolved to proceed.

41gr. from
10lb. 57gr.
from 5lb.

664. "February the 15th at night, a sea-horse struck our boat through with one of his teeth, which troubled us sore, being all bad carpenters; which caused us to unload her on a small pinnacle to mend her; and, to prevent the like mischief for the future, I invented this device, to hang a lanthorn at our stern; and thereby we were freed from all after-troubles of that nature, they not daring to come within three or four boats length of light shining in the water.

665. "February the 24th, I tried the use of Virga Divina, upon a high, barren and rocky mountain: but, whether it afforded no metal, or whether my rod, being cut in England, and being dried and carried far by sea, had lost it's virtue; or whether it hath no such quality (which I rather believe) I am not certain. However, my companions laughed me out of the conceit.

Virga Divina
tried.

666. "March the 16th, between two mountainous rocks issued a creek; and, putting up therein, discovered a fall of waters from the south of the river. Here, making trial by the way, I found 63 grains of gold from five pounds weight of sand. Other trials, more exact, afforded very large proportions; so that here we spent 20 days; and, plying hard our work, in that time had gotten 12 pounds Troy, five ounces, two penny-weights, 15 grains, of good gold.

63gr. from
5lb.
Above 12lb.
5 oz. gold got
in 20 days.

667. "March the 31st, our materials wasting apace, I was willing to try further, here beginning our greatest toil; for, often in a day, we were constrained to strip ourselves,

APPENDIX.

River shallow,
water bad.

selves, and leap into water, with main strength to force our boats and the flats. Nor was this our greatest affliction; for the river water smells so sweet and musky, that we could not drink of it, nor dress our meat with it; and, as we conceive, by reason of the abundance of crocodiles, which have the same scent.

668. " April the 7th, we perceived the in-fall of a small river south, the current quick, the land all rocky and mountainous, and, in the silence of the night, could hear the noise, perfectly, of a great fall of waters; and before the mouth of it, anchored that night.

Gold in an
astonishing
quantity.

669. " In the morning, into that we put, and came as near the fall as we well could. Our water failed; but our indefatigable industry overcame all difficulties; for, what I could not by water, I did attempt by land: where arriving, I found the long expected end of our most toilsome and long voyage; for, I believe, never any boat, nor any Christians, have been so high in that river, as we. Here, upon the first trial I made, the exceed of gold was so much, that I was surpris'd with joy and admiration: however, here I was resolv'd to lay down my staff; and to that end, the first thing I did, was to go the boat; and, about a league and a half thence, I found wood. Here we practis'd to turn colliers, and laded our small boat with as much as she could well carry back; we went and fell to work, for which I hope (to God alone be praise) none of the company hath cause to repent, for the great pains and labour he took, though we chose the worst time of the year almost, the waters being then at the very lowest; but had we gone immediately after the rains, which is June, July and August, or before the waters were fallen so low, we had been free from much of that trouble, at fords and falls, by having water enough to carry us over.

" At the end of the paper are these words.

" Transcribed *verbatim* from a paper manuscript, lent me by Mr. Fr. Lodwick, Octob. 2, 1693, by

R. Hook."

" This paper (which I have here published exactly as I found it) I not long since lent to a person of great quality, for the service of the African Company (then setting out for an expedition into those parts) and I hope it hath, or will prove as much for their benefit, as my wishes are. The paper seems to have been written by one that had gotten great riches, in King Charles the II'd's time, by his progress up the river Gambay: and his descriptions of the openings, and turnings of the Gambay, the inlets of other rivers into it, the adjacent mountains, &c. may be a good guide to undertakers, how to find out the place, where our author met with gold, even to satiety. Who he was, can scarce be known, he conjuring his friend, Mr. Lodwick (to whom I conceive this letter was address'd) to the greatest secrecy, being, I suppose, afraid to be known, or talked of, lest he should be commanded away, by the King and government, upon another expedition, from that peaceable and satisfactory retirement he enjoyed, after his acquisition of sufficient wealth.

W. DERHAM."

The above curious paper is insert'd in F. Moore's " Travels into the inland Parts of Africa." But he does not say from whence he copied it; and has not mentioned the year, (1693) nor the names of Lodwick, Hook, or Derham. C. B. W.

From

From Dr. Franklin's "Essay on Luxury, Idleness and Industry," in his letter to B. Vaughan, Esq. written in 1784. Franklin's Works, Vol. II. p. 133.

See § 36, 37.

670. "I have not yet thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure that in a great state it is capable of a remedy; nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented. Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all unnecessary expence, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expence are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries, a great spur to labour and industry? May not luxury therefore produce more than it consumes, if, without such a spur, people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape-May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused to be paid. My wife understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape-May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But (said he) it proved a dear cap to our congregation."—"How so?"—"When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have cost less than a hundred pounds."—"True (said the farmer,) but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there; and you know that that industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes."—Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens.

Innocent luxury promotes industry.

APPENDIX.

From Dr. Franklin's Essay, entitled "Precautions to be used by those who are about to undertake a long Sea Voyage." Franklin's Works, Vol. II. p. 128.

See § 141.

Navigation,
when useful &
when noxious.

671. "When navigation is employed only for transporting necessary provisions from one country, where, they abound, to another where they are wanting; when by this it prevents famines, which were so frequent and so fatal before it was invented and became so common; we cannot help considering it as one of those arts which contribute most to the happiness of mankind.—But when it is employed to transport things of no utility, or articles merely of luxury, it is then uncertain whether the advantages resulting from it are sufficient to counterbalance the misfortunes it occasions, by exposing the lives of so many individuals upon the vast ocean. And when it is used to plunder vessels and transport slaves, it is evidently only the dreadful means of increasing those calamities which afflict human nature.

672. One is astonished to think on the number of vessels and men who are daily exposed in going to bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and sugar and tobacco from America; all commodities which our ancestors lived very well without. The sugar-trade employs nearly a thousand vessels; and that of tobacco almost the same number. With regard to the utility of tobacco, little can be said: and, with regard to sugar, how much more meritorious would it be to sacrifice the momentary pleasure which we receive from drinking it once or twice a-day in our tea, than to encourage the numberless cruelties that are continually exercised, in order to procure it us?

Sugar may be
said to be ting-
ed with human
blood;

673. A celebrated French moralist said, that, when he considered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number who of course perish in these wars; the multitude of those wretches who die in their passage, by disease, bad air, and bad provisions; and lastly, how many perish by the cruel treatment they meet with in a state of slavery; when he saw a bit of sugar, he could not help imagining it to be covered with spots of human blood. But, had he added to these considerations the wars which we carry on against one another, to take and retake the islands that produce this commodity, he would not have seen the sugar simply *spotted* with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

dearer in Paris
and London
than in Vien-
na.

674. These wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London, pay much dearer for their sugar than those of Vienna, though they are almost three hundred leagues distant from the sea. A pound of sugar, indeed, costs the former not only the price which they give for it, but also what they pay in taxes, necessary to support those fleets and armies which serve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.

Notes and Documents, respecting S. LEONA and BULAMA.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. See § 330.

675. I have already given some instances of the desire of improvement which animates the Africans, and have mentioned with the respect it deserves, the manly and humane policy of an African chief, in asserting his independence on the whites, in prohibiting the slave-trade, &c. (See § 16, 23, 38, 147, 497 *et seq.*) But notwithstanding these instances, and the very numerous proofs of African genius and docility, contained in the Evidence before the British Privy Council and House of Commons, as well as in the Reports of the S. Leona Directors, some persons may still entertain that kind of doubt on this head, which, even in well disposed minds, often arises from involuntary prejudice. Such persons will be surprised to find that an overture for civilizing Africa should have come from a prince of that country, and especially from one of those princes whose barbarity, having been first *purposely exaggerated*, has been largely insisted on, by *some self-contradictory* slave merchants, as an argument for their traffic. (See Lord Muncafter's Sketches of the History of the Slave-trade.)

Africans desirous of improvement.

676. It appears, however, that about the year 1726, after that great, and consequently bloody, conqueror, Trudo Audati, King of Dahomy, had subjugated the maritime kingdoms of Ardrah and Whydah, he sent Bulfinch Lambe, a servant of the English African Company, whom in 1724, he had made prisoner at Ardrah, to the Court of Great Britain, to propose the establishment of a British colony in his dominions. Lambe, it seems, was the first white man Trudo had ever seen, and he was so charmed with his accounts of the arts and policy of Europe, that, thinking to make him instrumental in introducing them into his own country, he had endeavoured, for above two years, to attach him to his interests, by a profusion of favours. On Lambe's departure, the king presented him with a number of slaves and 320 ounces of gold. In order to know whether Lambe's accounts of England were true, he sent along with him a negro, called Tom, whom he had also taken at Ardrah, who was a man of address, spoke good English and was to return with Lambe. The latter, however, like a true slave-dealer, sold poor Tom in Maryland. He afterwards traded among the W. Indian islands till 1728, when he heard at Antigua, that Capt. Snelgrave had said, that the king, notwithstanding his long absence, still spoke of him with regard. He then went to Maryland and redeemed Tom, whom he brought to London, in 1731. There he found Capt. Snelgrave who told him that, after so long and unaccountable an absence, it would be imprudent in him to return to Dahomy. Thinking, however, to profit by Tom's address and his own, Lambe had the impudence to announce him, under the title of "His Excellency Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, ambassador from His Majesty Trudo Audati, King of Dahomy, Ardrah and Whidah." In this character, Tom delivered to King George II. his credentials, which having been referred to the Lords of Trade,

Colony proposed by an African chief, in 1726,

but frustrated by a slave-captain's villainy.

APPENDIX. were declared spurious; as well they might, for Lambe had drawn them up in London. Capt. Snelgrave, however, having explained the whole inatter, His Excellency Adomo Oroonoko Tomo had his titles docked, and was reduced to plain Tom: but having been still looked upon as a person actually sent by the King of Dahomy, though in a very humble station, he was not a little noticed by the great. After spending some time in viewing the curiosities and enjoying the amusements of London, (see § 146 n.) he became impatient to return home, and having received some considerable presents for the King his master, he was sent over in His Majesty's ship the Tiger, Capt. Berkley; but Lambe did not think proper to accompany him. The king received the presents very courteously, and made a valuable return; but it never reached England, for Capt. Berkley, not having had time or patience to wait for a messenger from the inland country of Dahomy, had sailed before the King's present reached the coast.—See Smith's Voyage to Guinea, p. 83, 125, French translation, and Snelgrave's Account of Guinea, p. 9, 78, French translation.

NOTE B. See § 334.

Most of the first colonists of S. Leona an abandoned crew.

677. During the American war, many negroes entered on board the British ships of war, or repaired to the British standard, and were formed into regiments of rangers; and they generally behaved well, both by sea and land. At the peace in 1783, part of them, as well as of the white loyalists, were conveyed to the Bahama islands, part to Nova Scotia, and others to G. Britain, chiefly to London. These last, having been indigent, unemployed, despised and forlorn, soon added to the vices of common soldiers and sailors those of the numerous beggars who, notwithstanding the prodigious sums levied for maintaining the poor, disgrace the police of this capital. Such, together with a few whites, chiefly strumpets, were the first colonists of S. Leona! Their subsequent conduct was such as might naturally be expected from persons of their description. But it was necessary they should be sent somewhere, and be no longer suffered to infest the streets of London.

Provided with necessities by Government, and with comforts by Mr. Sharp.

678. Accordingly transports, provisions, tools, arms, &c. having been furnished by the British Government, many of the black poor embarked, in the river Thames before Christmas 1786; and, by confinement and living entirely on salt provisions, they began to be sickly, even before they left the river. Others delayed going on board till Jan. and Feb. 1787; having been deterred by an apprehension that they were to be sent to Botany Bay; for ships with convicts on board then lay at Portsmouth, where the ships for S. Leona were also to wait for orders. Many having pawned their cloaths, refused to go on board till they were redeemed. Mr. Granville Sharp, however, not only took up their pawns, at his own expense, but also furnished them with many comforts, in addition to the necessities allowed by Government.

On

679. On arriving at Portsmouth (20th Feb. 1787) it was found that, of 700 blacks who offered themselves, only 441 had embarked on board the three transports appointed to receive them. On the 22d Feb. they sailed from Portsmouth, under command of Capt. Thompson of His Majesty's sloop the Nautilus; but, having been immediately separated by a storm, they did not all rendezvous at Plymouth till the 19th March. Thus the best part of the season was lost; and many of the poor people had been on board above three months, and were very sickly. The rum furnished for their comfort proved their greatest bane. Many were daily intoxicated, by drinking their whole day's allowance at once—an irregularity which, with salt provisions, and a situation rather crowded, increased the sickness so much, that above 50 had died before they reached Plymouth. The rum also caused mutinous behaviour, for which 24 were discharged; and 23 ran away. But, having received some recruits, 411 finally sailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of April 1787, and having experienced the mortality stated in § 334, the survivors arrived at S. Leona on the 9th of May.

680. After several conferences with King Tom, Capt. Thompson obtained his permission for the black poor to land, which they began to do on the 14th. Divine service was performed on shore, on the Sunday following, and a suitable sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Frazer, Chaplain to the colony. But very few of the colonists seemed to pay any attention to the service, or to the duties inculcated. As Capt. T. could not learn who was the true possessor of the land, the purchase was not completed till the 12th of July, when the grant was ratified by King Naimbanna, his vassal King Tom, &c. Lots of land, of one acre each, were next drawn for, the site of the town chosen, and a store-house founded. But no sooner were these measures taken than the worthlessness of the colonists (if they deserved the name) began to appear. The immediate prospect of labour produced its usual effects on indolent and depraved dispositions. Instead of that harmonious exertion which their critical situation demanded, laziness, turbulence and licentiousness of every kind so entirely pervaded this wretched crew, that scarcely a man of them could be prevailed on to work steadily, in building the hut that was to shelter him, or even to assist in landing the provisions by which he was to be supported. The rains set in on the 28th of June, and the mortality became dreadful: yet the intemperate survivors persisted in their excesses.

681. On the 12th of July, Mr. Irwin, the agent-conductor died, leaving the whole weight of the undertaking on Capt. Thompson, whose well-directed, animated and humane exertions might have been attended with the best effects, if the people themselves had heartily co-operated. By the 25th of July, he got the store-house finished, and the provisions and stores landed from one of the transports (another which had but few stores on board having before sailed.) The rains now became so violent, that it was impossible to stir out with comfort, or even safety. The

APPENDIX.

Sail, under Capt Thompson. Their numbers and mortality in England.

Land allotted, &c. but the colonists would not work.

Store house built: mortality dreadful, from bad huts.

huts

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huts of the colonists were neither wind nor water-tight, which increased the mortality so much that, though in June only 9 died, no fewer than 42 were carried off in July. Such was the general distress and indolence, that the remaining transport, which had in the greatest quantity of stores, was not cleared and ready to sail till the 21st of August.

Necessity obliges the colonists to plant.

682. Her departure brought the colonists to some sense of their condition; for they then plainly saw that, without exertion, they must inevitably perish, when their present stock of provisions should be exhausted. In the intervals of fair weather, therefore, they began to plant rice, Indian corn, &c. which thrived very well. Stock was very scarce and dear; yet some of them had poultry in their yards, which they had brought with their spare cloaths, &c. and others had saved a part of their weekly allowance of provisions; for several individuals had all along been industrious and temperate.

Provisions &c. finally served out.

683. By the 13th of Sep. the provisions, the cloathing, tools, &c. were entirely served out to the colonists, and, on that day, the arms and ammunition were sent on shore. From the mortality which had taken place, there remained several surplus articles which Capt. Thompson stored on shore as public property, for the benefit of the community.

Capt. T. leaves S. Leona. Colony reduced to 276

684. On the 16th of Sep. (1787) Capt. Thompson, in the Nautilus, sailed from the colony, which mortality and desertion, chiefly the former, had reduced to 276 persons, namely 212 black men, 30 black women, 5 white men and 29 white women. Capt. Thompson having witnessed the reformation which the sailing of the transports and the approach of his own departure had wrought in the poor people, was not without hopes of their final success; for he considered that the survivors were then seasoned to the climate, and that necessity would oblige them to plant the ground and to build comfortable houses in the approaching dry season.

But, by Capt. T's care, his ship lost but one man.

685. Most of the above particulars are extracted from the journal of Mr. T. D. Woodin, kept on board the Nautilus; and some of the most material of them were confirmed by Capt. Thompson, in his evidence before the H. of Commons (Minutes of Evidence on the slave-trade 1790, p. 171.) It is a remarkable fact, that the Nautilus, surrounded as she was by the ravages of death, for above 4 months, lost only one man, the rest of the ship's company enjoying perfect health, though confined entirely to salt provisions, and on a station where a slave-ship would most probably have lost the greater part of her crew. This circumstance must surely be admitted as a proof, not only of Capt. T's prudent care, but that the mortality on shore was not so much owing to the climate, as to *want of shelter*, and to intemperance which had debilitated many of the poor wretches, long before they saw S. Leona. This, however, is far from being the only instance of King's ships being perfectly healthy on the coast of Africa (see § 78.)—Mr. Woodin mentions bad water as a frequent cause of disease on the coast, and affirms that, in two former voyages he made,

Bad water.

made, “ the water lower down the coast, gave the people Guinea-worms, some of which did not appear out of the flesh for 8 months after leaving Africa. These, continues he, “ the company of the Nautilus were not troubled with, and is a convincing proof that S. Leona is the most eligible situation on the coast for a settlement, having plenty of wood and excellent water.” (See § 52.)

686. In March, 1788, the Rev. Mr. Frazer returned, on account of ill health. Before his departure, many of the colonists had sold their muskets, &c. for rum. The sickness had entirely ceased: but so many had emigrated to the slave-factories, &c. as to reduce the number of the colonists to 130, whom he left in perfect health, he himself having been then the only sick person among them. The emigration he attributed partly to the fickleness of the people, and partly to the want of live stock, which even the more industrious, who remained, were too poor to purchase.

687. In May 1788, Mr. Granville Sharp chartered a vessel of 160 tons, at his own expense, in which he shipped two months provisions for 50 persons who had engaged to go out, with cloathing, arms, tools, &c. and a sum of money to buy live stock on the coast. On Mr. Sharp's application, Government furnished £200 ster. more, for the purchase of stock. On the 6th of June, the vessels sailed with 39 persons on board, the rest having deserted. The vessel touched at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, and did not arrive at S. Leona till the 6th of Aug. But the captain, who was also the *owner* of the vessel, took in no live stock at Saint Jago, or any where else; but, contrary to his own express contract, he delivered to the colonists *goods* to the value of a *certain number* of cattle. Those goods he doubtless carried out with him from England, in the way of a *job*, a species of *frugality* which the captain certainly had as good a right to practise as any other man. He appears indeed to have made a profitable job of this whole business. My reasons for saying so are, 1st, His being *owner*, as well as captain, of this *chartered* vessel. 2dly, The *unconscionable* length of his voyage outwards. 3dly, His having goods ready, cut and dry, to deliver in lieu of cattle; for it is not likely that he carried those goods from England for any other purpose, as he well knew the poor colonists were unable to pay for them. 4thly, Part of the money intrusted to him was *Government-money*, which was alone a strong temptation to a *job*. 5thly, I have heard persons of strict veracity, well acquainted with this whole business, declare that Capt. T—l-r acted as a ———. Thus did an unprincipled fellow dare to frustrate the benevolent intentions, not only of Mr. Sharp, but of the British Government itself.—I have been well informed that this expedition *alone* cost Mr. Sharp between 5 and £600 ster. exclusive of the £200 given by Government, and of 150 guineas, sent him by a worthy person whose name, if I could discover it, should accompany that of his friend; for, I think, all such examples ought to be made public, for the imitation of the rich, and the consequent comfort of the poor. Mr. Sharp, I know, is of a different opinion; but, from the nature of the transactions, his generosity, on this and similar occasions,

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In Mar. 1788, colonists healthy, but many had emigrated.

Mr. Sharp sends a vessel to relieve the colony;

but the captain deceives him.

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Many colo-
nists emigrate,
2 fold as
slaves. Man
of war ordered
to call at S.
Leona.

occasions, could not be concealed: and, indeed, I knew most of the circumstances of this expedition, at the time, having been often on board the vessel, while she lay in the Thames, and having taken care to inform myself of the result of this business.

688. By a letter from Mr. Weaver, the Chief Magistrate, dated S. Leona April 23d, 1788, which arrived after Capt. T—l-r had sailed, it appeared that most of the colonists had then emigrated, some to the slave-factories, and others on board slave-ships; also that King Tom, presuming on the weakness of the remainder (whose numbers Mr. Weaver did not specify) had sold two of them for slaves, and threatened to sell more. The surgeons and other whites, tempted by large salaries, had entered into the service of the slave-merchants, at the neighbouring factories. This disagreeable intelligence, Mr. Sharp immediately communicated, by letter, to Mr. Pitt, requesting that directions might be given to the captain of the ship of war, then under orders for the coast, to represent to King Tom the impropriety of his behaviour, and to secure the people from farther injury. Orders to this effect were accordingly given to the captain.—But I am sorry that the want of materials prevents me from pursuing this narrative.

St. George's
Bay Co. af-
terwards in-
corporated in-
to S. Leona
Co.

689. I think, however, I ought not to omit that, previous to the incorporation of the present S. Leona Company of Act of Parliament, in 1791, a number of gentlemen, anxious to promote the civilization of Africa, which, from the Report of the British Privy Council, seemed very practicable, and to collect the surviving, and really most deserving colonists, had associated, under the name of “the St. George's Bay Company.” Of the minute made at their first meeting, the following is a copy.

690. “At a meeting of the Gentlemen disposed to encourage a free trade to St. George's Harbour, on the coast of Africa, held this 17th of Feb. 1790.

Present,

Mr. Alderman Clark, in the chair,	Mr. Pritzler,
Mr. Granville Sharp,	Mr. R. Hunter, (<i>per proxy</i>),
Mr. Hardcastle,	Mr. Rayner,
Mr. H. Thornton,	Mr. Ludlam,
Mr. W. Sharp,	Mr. Whitbread,
Mr. Corbie,	Mr. Sansom,
Mr. Geo. Sharp,	Mr. W. Moore.

Members absent,

Mr. Heyman,	Mr. Shaw,
Mr. Wilberforce,	Mr. J. Philips,
Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier,	Mr. Vickeris Taylor*.
Mr. Morland,	

* Several of the above gentlemen were chosen Directors of the S. Leona Company, Oct. 19th 1791. (See § 333.) Indeed the S. Leona Co. was formed out of the St. George's Bay Co. or rather, it is the same association, incorporated (for 31 years) under a different name.

“RESOLVED,

(1.) "RESOLVED, That the erection of a Company, for the purpose of opening and establishing a trade in the natural productions of Africa, to the Free Settlement in St. George's Harbour, is a measure highly proper." APPENDIX.

(2.) "RESOLVED, that the thanks of the Meeting be given to Mr. Sharp, for the pains he has taken in the business: and he is hereby requested to take to his assistance, such professional and other advice, as he may find necessary to the project." Resolutions.

"In case the proposed establishment should take place, we agree to take the shares of £50 each, set down against our respective names."

Shares.		Shares.	
Granville Sharp	2	Philip Sanfom	1
W. Sharp	2	William Moore	1
R. Clark	2	Jos. Reyner	1
W. Wilberforce, Esq. (by letter, shares not specified.)		W. Long, for Robert Hunter ...	1
S. Whitbread	4	Mr. Pritzler (<i>per</i> W. Ludlam)	1
H. Thornton	2	W. Ludlam	1
Jos. Hardcastle	2	Ab. Harman (<i>per</i> Mr. Whitbread)	2
Jos. Corbie	1	H. Heyman (by letter)	1
		Geo. Sharp	1

"These undermentioned gentlemen were not present; but they have signified their desire to subscribe, viz. Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier, W. Morland, Esq. Mr. J. Phillips, Mr. Jo. Shaw, and Mr. Vickeris Taylor."

NOTE C. See § 335, 473.

691. The circumstances attending the breaking up of the first colony at S. Leona, in Nov. 1789, are stated in the second report of the Directors, (see § 473.)—The colonists having lost their houses and their little property, took immediate refuge in Bob's Island, belonging to the factory at Bance Island, where, however, they do not appear to have remained long. Mr. Alex. Kennedy, in a letter "to the St. George's Bay Company," dated Bance Island, Feb. 9th, 1791, writes thus concerning them. "Some settlers paid me a visit last week. When I gave them Mr. Granville Sharp's letter, they seemed very much overjoyed; and the thoughts of not being forgot in England seemed to give new life to them. About 50 of them live at Pa Bofon's, about 12 miles above Bance Island, and a few live and sometimes work on Bance Island. The others are scattered up and down the country. I cannot get any exact account how many there are, &c. I have been up where they live, and I understand, the chief, Pa Bofon, expects a considerable present for the time they have been living with him. They bear a very bad character among the slave-merchants here; but I am rather apt to believe it is not so bad as they say; for I saw every thing very regular; and they have a kind of church where they say prayers every Sunday, and sing the psalms very well. I attended, when there, personally, with such of my people as were with me, and they all seemed to pay great attention."

Situation of
the colonists,
after their
dispersion.

G g

Without

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—Without obtruding my own reasonings concerning their character, I cannot help observing, that such an account of them as the foregoing might naturally be expected, after repeated calamities had carried off the incorrigibly vicious and improvident, and doubtless had also improved the survivors. Besides, strong necessity would at length effectually recommend the examples of those who had all along been regular and industrious.

NOTE D. See § 336.

Mr. Falcon-
bridge fixes
them at Gran-
ville town.

692. At the palaver held on this occasion, Mr. Falconbridge, in behalf of the St. George's Bay Company, repurchased, from King Naimbanna, and the subordinate chiefs; for goods worth about £30 ster. all the land which had formerly been purchased by Capt. Thompson. But it was agreed that the colonists should not build on the former spot. Mr. F. therefore took possession of a village, consisting of 15 or 16 good huts, which the natives had recently abandoned, from a notion of it's being haunted; and he rightly thought that their superstitious fears would tend to prevent their hostile attempts, especially in the night. In about 4 weeks, he erected some additional huts, and a house in which he deposited the stores and ammunition he had brought out for the relief of the colonists. But, not trusting to the honour of the natives of the place, he regularly appointed a guard every night. This new village he named *Granville Town*, in honour of it's benefactor Granville Sharp, Esq.

NOTE E. See § 337, 367.

Accounts of
the climate of
S. Leona.

693. Lieut. Matthews is not the only author who has given a favourable opinion of the climate of S. Leona.—Old Purchas (Vol. I. p. 44.) gave a good account of that place, from the observations of a Mr. Finch, made in 1607.—In Ogilby's Africa, printed in 1670, we read that "Serre Lions, according to Jarrick, many take for the healthfullest place in all Guinea," and that "the air is better for a man's health, than, in many places of Europe, &c."—"We shall only mention," says Dr. Lind, "the high hills of S. Leona, upon whose summits the air is clear and serene, while thick mists and noisome vapours overspread the lower grounds: yet, even at this place, the English inhabit a low valley, merely for the benefit of a spring of good water, the carriage of which, to any part of that hill, might be easily performed by slaves," (Dis. of hot Clim. p. 158.)—And if by slaves, why not by freemen, especially blacks? for I do not believe that the Doctor would have recommended any labour that could injure either freemen or slaves. Is it not probable that the benefit of *trade* (which the Doctor elsewhere alludes to as the cause of the unhealthful situations of "trading factories," (see § 75,) may have partly dictated this most absurd and pernicious choice of the English residing, *in his time*, at Sierra Leona? And may we not hope that such *preference of trade to health*, is now at an end, in that river?—But farther: Mr. U. Nordenfkiold, brother of the gentleman of that name who lately died at S. Leona, among other places in Africa proper for colonization,

ation, mentions C. Mesurado, C. Monte, Rio Sherbro and Bance Island, in Sierra Leona river. "Treatise on the Utility of Commerce and Colonization in both the Indies and in Africa, Stockholm, 1776."—Sir Geo. Young of the Navy has a good opinion of the climate of S. Leona, especially (like Dr. Lind) of the higher grounds; and, before the black poor failed in 1787, he gave Capt. Thompson, of His Majesty's sloop Nautilus, particular directions where to place the town.—That excellent man, Mr. Harry Gandy of Bristol, who made two voyages to S. Leona, where he remained a considerable time, writes thus: "Gambia is a much deeper river, yet for want of a harbour near the sea and good water, it is, on these accounts, rather inconvenient; and, though some other parts of the coast may justly boast of their several beauties, richness and fertility, yet, for want of a good river, a safe harbour and fine water, they can, for colonies, by no means stand in competition with Sierra Leona; which has also this concomitant advantage, beyond a leeward situation, or any near the line, that being so far to windward, a passage from thence, (viz. S. Leona,) to England, might be made in half the time that is commonly done from the Gold and Slave Coasts." See his letter of the 3d Dec. 1788, in the N. Jerusalem Mag. No. IV.—See also the opinion of Mr. Woodin in Note B.—Thus it appears, that the gentlemen concerned had very good reasons for choosing S. Leona as a proper place for a new colony; for it is natural to suppose, they consulted most of the above authorities, and perhaps others which I may not have seen. But unfortunately, the intemperance of many of the first colonists, and the hardships suffered by them all, from the want of proper shelter and food, were such as no human constitutions could withstand, in any climate whatsoever.

NOTE F. See § 343.

694. The most useful products of that portion of Africa which I have included in the map, as the best adapted for colonization, have been already enumerated. S. Leona is a part of that tract of country; and an abridgement of those paragraphs of the report which describe its productions, would be little else than a repetition of all or most of the contents of the fifth chapter, to which, therefore, I beg leave to refer the reader—also to Note B B.

NOTE G. See § 335.

695. The blacks living in London are generally profligate, because uninstructed, and vitiated by slavery: for many of them were once slaves of the most worthless description, namely the idle and superfluous domestic, and the gamblers and thieves who infest the towns in the W. Indies. There are severe laws against carrying, or enticing, slaves from the Islands, without the knowledge of their owners. Yet some of those fellows contrive to conceal themselves, or are concealed by others on board ships on the point of sailing; a better sort come to attend children and sick persons on board, and others are brought by their masters, in the way of parade. Many of

Causes of the
profligacy of
blacks in
London.

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them, naturally enough, but perhaps without sufficient reflection, prefer “a crust of bread and liberty,” in Old England, to ease, plenty and slavery in the W. Indies. For, excepting the too frequent excesses of capricious, tyrannical, or drunken owners, the treatment of *such* slaves is as good as that of the truly useful field-negroes is bad. In London, being friendless and despised, on account of their complexion, and too many of them being really incapable of any useful occupation, they sink into abject poverty, and soon become St. Giles’s black-birds. Unhappily most of the first colonists of S. Leona, compleatly answered this description, before they embarked; though their original circumstances were different. (See note A.) The Directors, therefore, did right in rejecting a new embarkation of *such* London blacks; and it is to be hoped, they will always adhere to their resolution of strictly examining the characters of those, of whatever complexion, whom they send out as colonists. See § 127, *et seq.* and, above all, § 301.

NOTE H. See § 362.

First terms
offered to co-
lonists by the
S. Leona Co.

696. The Directors also published a paper entitled “Terms of the Sierra Leona Company, to all such Settlers as shall sail from England, within three months from the date hereof, in order to go to Sierra Leona.” Of this paper, which is dated Nov. 3d, 1791, it does not seem necessary to give more than an abridgment, which I shall do, by copying its marginal contents.

(1.) “Each settler to have twenty acres of land for himself, ten for his wife, and five for every child.” Mines, &c. reserved for the Company.

(2.) “No rent on the land to be charged till midsummer 1792. A quit-rent of one shilling per acre to be then paid for two years. A tax, not exceeding two per cent on the produce, to be chargeable for the next three years, and afterwards a tax of four per cent.” (See § 193.)

(3.) “A settler, by depositing fifty pounds for each ten acres, may have, besides his own proper lot, as far as forty additional acres, and shall have stores from the Company to the amount of his deposit.”

(4.) “Every such settler to be carried out at the Company’s expense. To have three months allowance of provisions, and three month’s half allowance, and baggage, if less than one ton, to be carried free of freight.”

(5.) “Lots to be forfeited, except those of women and children, if one-third is not cleared in two years, and two-thirds in three years. The clearing of lots of women and children, must, after three years, be proceeded upon, according to the same rate of progress.”

(6.) “No one to buy more than 20 acres, in the town district, till three-fourths of his land is cleared.”

(7.) “Settlers to give £50 security for their passage, and to be allowed thereupon, to borrow £30 worth of goods, from the Company’s stores.”

*

(8.) “Pas-

(8.) "Passage-money out never to be called for, if the settler stays 12 months, nor passage money home, if the settler or his wife is obliged to return on account of health."

(9.) "The settler may pay £50 in money, if he pleases, instead of giving a joint bond for it: the £50 so paid, to be returned him at the end of one year."

(10.) "Bond, or payment of £50 to be dispensed with in the case of artificers and husbandmen well recommended, and in similar cases, at the discretion of the Directors."

(11.) "Houses to be built by the Company, each settler paying ten per cent rent, or purchasing his house at prime cost."

(12.) "Settlers to assist jointly in clearing the ground for the town, or to pay a commutation in money."

(13.) "The Company to sell goods to the settlers at a profit of 10 per cent."

(14.) "The Company to buy the produce of the settlers, or to convey it for them at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission, and customary charges, giving them a credit for two-thirds of the value."

(15.) "No duty on articles imported or exported, ever to exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent."

NOTE I. See § 369

697. It gives me no small satisfaction to find that some attention has been paid to these my very able and worthy countrymen; especially as I had the honour to introduce them both, as well as the late Mr. Strand, another Swede, to the acquaintance of some of the Directors; and this I did at their own particular desire. Mr. Nordenfkiold and Mr. Strand, while they lived, did the credit I expected, to the character given of them, a character which Mr. Afzelius still supports, with honour to himself and satisfaction to the Company.

NOTE K. See § 370.

698. In the very outset, the whole undertaking at Sierra Leona was in great danger of being ruined by the secret efforts of slave-merchants, and slave-holders, to get their friends into the Direction. Had they succeeded, they would doubtless have proceeded in a manner very analogous to the too common practice of Mortgagees-in-possession of West Indian estates, and who frequently reside in England. Such a gentleman, by means of a *proper* agent, has perhaps buildings erected which are not immediately necessary, and, in short, increasing expense by various methods which I have not room to detail, at the same time, neglecting the crops, he, in a few years, makes an estate his own; while the unfortunate owner, in an island perhaps where few of the residing planters can help one another, hath not the means of contending at law with his powerful oppressor, nor even dares to murmur, for fear of exasperating him and making things worse. By such arts, are most

Danger of
enemies to the
colony becoming
Directors,

of

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to be avoided
by giving the
colonists a
share in the
government.

of the suddenly overgrown West Indian fortunes accumulated. By similar means, would *W. Indian* Directors have conducted the affairs of the S. Leona Company. They would have appointed *proper* agents, to make a feint of cultivation and commerce. These agents would have designedly failed; and yet would have made it appear, perhaps by witnesses examined *on oath*, (see § 185.) that they had in vain exhausted all their ingenuity and industry in the service.

699. In order, therefore, to exclude for ever all sorts of enemies to this establishment, enlightened and industrious colonists should be encouraged to go out, and be allowed to take part in their government, and to give their votes at the election of the Directors. For annual elections, by the subscribers independent of the colonists, as practised at present, expose the undertaking more or less, at every new election, to the machinations of its enemies, who, in spite of every precaution, may succeed at last, and then the ruin of the colony will be sealed. The present system lodges the *whole power* in the Directors, who reside in Europe, and whose orders the Governor and Council in the colony are bound to obey. The colonists can only petition or remonstrate; and remonstrances are commonly generated in, and seldom fail to increase, ill humour. Having no other means of defence against incroachment and oppression, it appears to me, that the colonists must inevitably be ruined or crushed, if ever a majority of the Directors, (which Heaven avert!) should be ignorant of, or adverse to, their real interests. But in my humble opinion, some such constitution as I proposed at § 181 *et seq.* would have greatly tended to secure the colony from such serious dangers. Indeed, when I consider, that, besides the dangers just mentioned, the present Directors may be removed by death and other causes, and that it is possible, they may be succeeded by persons less disposed, or less qualified, to watch over and promote the interests of the colony—I say, when I consider these circumstances, I certainly do wish, and even hope, that the colonists may obtain the exercise of the undoubted right of every free community, to elect their own government; and that this government and the Court of Directors may be incorporated into one body. For, as the interests of the colonists and subscribers, are, or ought to be, the same, their representatives ought not to be separated. See § 181, 182, 183.

NOTE L. See § 374.

Ill usage of
black American
loyalists.

700. I have already mentioned that, at the peace of 1783, many white and black American loyalists were conveyed to G. Britain, the Bahamas, and Nova Scotia. A few also went to Jamaica and other W. Indian islands; and, I believe some to Canada, and other places. The fate of the blacks who came to England, has been noticed, (Append. Note B.) Their brethren in the Bahamas fared far worse. The laws of those Islands, like the other slave-laws, presume all blacks to be slaves, unless they can prove the contrary, and *admit not their evidence against white men*. Hence free blacks are very often reduced to slavery, especially in the

more

more extensive colonies, by unprincipled whites; for such have only to swear to their property in any free negro, who cannot produce formal proof of his freedom, and he becomes *ipso facto* the slave of the swearer. Two very notorious instances of this practice, in Jamaica, one of them in the case of the wife and children of a free black loyalist, from Carolina, were stated in evidence to the House of Commons, by Capt. Giles of the 19th regiment of foot, who humanely interfered, and succeeded in a public trial, attended with much trouble and expense, the greater part of which, by the way, I am well informed, he never was repaid. In the other case, Major Nesbit of the same regiment, after a similar trial, delivered a free woman from a white villain who had seized her as his slave. And, but for the interposition of those worthy officers, these women and children, though really free, would, like many other free blacks, have been retained in slavery. (Min. Evid. 1791, p. 105.)

701. In Bahama this iniquity was practised by the white loyalists against the black ones, to such a degree, that the late worthy Governor Maxwell was obliged to take public notice of it, a step which rendered him extremely unpopular, among the guilty, and was ultimately ineffectual. The white loyalists carried the same disposition with them to Nova Scotia; but I have not specifically learnt that they proceeded to such flagrant excesses. The disposition, however, they certainly showed, and even indulged, to a certain extent. In particular, they in several instances, deprived the blacks of the houses they had built, and the lands they had cleared; and, at last removed many of them to an inhospitable part of that inhospitable country, so very distant from any market, that it was impracticable for them to sell their produce, and to procure necessaries. In short, a Chief Justice declared publicly from the bench, That the climate of Nova Scotia was too cold for whites to subsist there without the help of slaves,—a very significant hint to the blacks, what they were to expect. The fact is, that men who have once been suffered to indulge in the practice of slavery, must still have slaves. The W. Indian islands are too hot, and Nova Scotia too cold, for them to do without auxiliaries, whom the pride and laziness generated by slavery, have rendered necessary to their very existence.

702. Among other writers, Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, and Dr. Franklin, in his Thoughts on the peopling of Countries, have noticed the tendency of slavery to vitiate the minds of masters, as well as slaves. I have been seriously assured, that it is common in the W. Indies to describe the distress of a ruined planter by saying, "Poor man he has but one negro left to bring him a pail of water," an expression which, in the phraseology of that country, signifies the deepest distress. And indeed it must be no small hardship to be suddenly deprived of the attendance of 20 domestic slaves, or even double the number, who, Mr. Long assures us, are not unusual in a Jamaica family. Hist. of Jam. Vol. II. p. 281. By comparing account No. 3 in the Privy Council's Report, Part IV. with the Report or Answers of the Barbadoes Assembly, we find that on an average, every white man, woman and child,

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Iniquitously reduced to slavery.

Slavery enervates and corrupts masters.

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child, rich and poor, in that Island, keeps a domestic slave in waiting!—These facts, I presume, require not the aid of arguments to prove the necessity of absolutely excluding from every *new* colony, the practice of slavery which, in every view, hath been so destructive of the peace, the prosperity, the morals and the happiness of the *old*.

NOTE M. See § 337.

703. I should be inexcusable, were I to omit this opportunity of paying my little tribute of respect to the distinguished merit of those worthy brothers, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarkson, A. M. and John Clarkson, Esq. Lieutenant in the British Navy.

704. In order to appreciate the extent and importance of their services, it might not be amiss to enter a little into the history of the grand and important question of *the Abolition of the Slave-trade*. But my limits will scarcely permit me to mention the public and hazardous expostulations of George Fox, the founder of the respectable sect of Quakers, with the planters of Barbadoes, where, in defiance of persecution, he preached against slavery, in 1670: or the early and humane labours of Morgan Goodwyn, or those of Woolman and Benezet, Whitfield and Wesley; and Mr. Sharp's valuable exertions have been already hinted at (see Note B.) I must therefore content myself with observing, that, in 1784, the late Rev. Mr. James Ramsay, Vicar of Teston, in Kent, published his excellent "*Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves, in the British Sugar Colonies*." This work was the result of the worthy author's personal observation, during a long residence in the W. Indies; and, although it rather extenuated than exaggerated, the horrors of slavery; yet it very much alarmed the planters, whose retainers, in order to destroy its effect, attempted to ruin the reputation of the author. But they were disappointed; for Mr. Ramsay's character was too well established to suffer any permanent injury from their attacks, and their clamour excited that very enquiry which they so much dreaded. Mr. Ramsay, in his various replies, so ably maintained his ground, as to make on the public mind, a very considerable impression in favour of his cause; and in 1785, the University of Cambridge, to the application of whose eminent learning the liberties of mankind have, at various times, been so much indebted, proposed a question respecting the slavery and commerce of the human species. This produced a Latin essay on the subject, from Mr. Thomas Clarkson, which was honoured with the first prize of the University, for that year: and of which he soon after published an English translation.

705. About that time, Mr. Wilberforce, one of the Members for Yorkshire, appears to have formed his resolution of introducing the subject into the British Parliament, of which he is so distinguished an ornament. This noble design, which
he

he has since prosecuted with such ability and perseverance, I believe, was first suggested to his mind by the work of Mr. Clarkson, who was his cotemporary at the University; and the formation of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-trade can be distinctly traced to the same excellent publication.

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706. The merit of a performance thus distinguished, and thus persuasive, may be supposed to have been great; and it is but doing it justice to say, that it has always preserved a decided superiority over all the numerous tracts which succeeded it. His next works were “An Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave-trade,” and another on “the Inefficiency of Regulation as applied to the Slave-trade” both which contain a most valuable fund of information, then entirely new, but which, as well as Mr. Ramsay’s writings, has since been fully confirmed by the Evidence delivered before the British Legislature. But Mr. Clarkson’s active benevolence was not satisfied with merely writing in favour of the Abolition. His unremitting exertions, sometimes attended with great personal hazard, primarily contributed to drag into light the dark secrets of this horrid mystery of iniquity; and, it is to be hoped, will ultimately contribute to it’s annihilation.

Mr. T. Clarkson’s exertions,

707. His amiable and worthy brother all along participated, more or less, in his labours; and, when the transit of the Nova Scotia blacks to Sierra Leona was resolved upon, he generously offered his services to the Company, or rather to Government; though he was perfectly aware of the difficulty of the undertaking. The manner in which he performed it, is mentioned by the Directors in terms of approbation; and indeed it would have been very difficult for them to discover a person, whose amiable manners and strict integrity, so eminently qualified for uniting the minds, and satisfying the scruples, of a set of men who had but too much reason to distrust the professions of white men. His subsequent conduct, in the more delicate task of governing a mixed multitude, during a period of awful mortality and alarming discontent, appears to me, very meritorious, and so disinterested, that I verily believe the only reward to which he looked (certainly the best he ever received) was the consciousness of having done his duty—the only idea that can support the mind under unmerited neglect, in a world where it often happens,

and those of Mr. J. Clarkson.

“That Virtue, from preferment barr’d,
“Gets nothing but her own reward.”

NOTE N. See § 389.

708. When a colony may have been begun, upon such a system as I recommend, and is incorporated into *one social body*, of which the government is a part (§ 182, 183, 194.) they will consequently have *one common interest*; in which case, the government may be empowered to keep a store of *necessaries*, to be bought with the public money, and sold for prime cost and charges; for to require a profit on *such* articles, would, in my view of it, not only be unreasonable but inhuman. The income or revenue of the community ought *alone* to arise from taxes, and profits upon

H h

luxuries.

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luxuries. Perhaps also upon a certain moderate quit rent, for such land, as may be bought on account of the community. (See § 696 No. 2.) The Government of a new colony, whose object is civilization, ought to be empowered to regulate and controul the use of luxuries, with a view to moral improvement; and that, not so much perhaps by compulsive laws, as by example and influence. The government alone can be supposed competent to judge, whether or not any particular luxury be compatible with the happiness and improvement of the community; and if it be, when and how it ought to be introduced. In an infant colony, therefore, the government alone ought to be authorized to keep a public retail shop, or rather *sample-room*, where specimens of all approved articles of luxury should be displayed, with the prices, including a *determinate* profit, affixed. Having previously estimated the probable demand for such luxuries, by the orders lodged at the shop or sample-room, the government might then import them, in such quantities as would be likely rather to fall short of, than to exceed, the expected demand. (See § 114, *et seq.*) Thus there would be few or no luxuries imported on speculation, to wait for customers, till they are probably spoiled. It appears to me that, some such plan as this, executed with proper caution and management, would greatly conduce to civilization, which, as I before observed, the gradual and prudent introduction of innocent luxuries very much contributes to promote, (see § 36, 670.)

Public sam-
ple-room re-
commended.

709. Respecting the “money-medium” mentioned in the text, I shall hereafter have occasion to offer some remarks (see NOTE W. to § 424.)

NOTE O. See § 390.

Bulama colo-
nists wished
not to intrude
into S. Leona.

710. It appears from § 545, that most of the Bulama adventurers, who arrived at S. Leona in the Calypso, intended to return to England, and that their chief view in touching at the latter place, was to procure accommodation for some of their number who wished to return to Bulama, after the rains. But there seems to be no reason for supposing, that any of them wished to remain permanently at S. Leona. Owing to various causes of delay, the rainy season had overtaken them at Bulama, before proper houses were built. Such of them as were disposed to persist in the undertaking, but dreaded the rains, against which they were not provided, naturally enough expected to find accommodation during that dangerous period, in the S. Leona colony, which had then been some time set on foot. In this expectation they were disappointed; but the readiness with which the government executed the instructions of the Directors, by assisting those distressed people, as well as the liberal declaration of the Directors (§ 391) certainly call for the grateful acknowledgments of every friend to the civilization of Africa.

711. That among the Bulama colonists there were many persons of *an improper cast*, for such an undertaking, is evident from Mr. Beaver's letters (See NOTE G G, No 5,

No. 5, 8, 16.) But I think I can take upon me to affirm, that the Directors do not here mean to insinuate that all the Bulama colonists were of this description; for, not to mention Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Beaver, Mr. Hood and Mr. Aberdeen, (§ 551, 559) it is certain that several other persons, of the best characters and the purest intentions, embarked for Bulama. In like manner, it is evident from the context, that, by persons who might have “left *debts* in England,” the Directors do not mean *unfortunate*, but *fraudulent*, debtors; and it would be the extreme of rashness to affirm, that there were none of this description among the adventurers both in the S. Leona and the Bulama undertakings.

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Some of them persons of worth.

NOTE P. See § 397.

712. The severe discipline, necessary to preserve order among the convicts at Botany Bay, probably disgusted Mr. Dawes with the respectable station he held in that new colony, the principles of which are so diametrically opposite to those of S. Leona and Bulama. For the same cause, Mr. Watt and Mr. Macauley may have been displeased with their situations in the W. Indies, where the discipline is still more severe. For a more severe discipline is certainly necessary to compel slaves to drudge incessantly for the *sole* benefit of other persons, than to maintain tolerable order among the most abandoned convicts.

Mr. D. Mr. W. and Mr. M. how employed before they went to S. Leona.

NOTE Q. See § 398.

713. The circumstances intended to have been inserted in this Note have a very close connection with those which form NOTE BB (§ 527) to which I beg leave to refer the reader.

NOTE R. See § 400, 478.

714. I have already hinted at the merits of my late friend Mr. Nordenfkiold, (§ 70) but this melancholy paragraph (400) suggests the propriety, or rather the necessity, of inserting, though I cannot well spare the room, some account of the circumstances which preceded his death. But I shall leave to an abler pen the task of doing justice to the memory of a man whose abilities were so well known in his native country, and whose penetration of mind was so usefully employed in the investigation of truth, and in the improvement of his friends. This personal detail I hope my readers in general will excuse; as some circumstances convince me, that I owe it to my friend's relations, especially to his poor disconsolate widow and children, and to his respectable brothers*. Something seems also due to my own feelings.

Reasons for inserting an account of Mr. N's expedition and death.

* Otto Nordenfkiold, Chief Admiral of the Swedish Navy, Adolph Nordenfkiold, Colonel of the Swedish corps of Engineers, Charles Fredrick Nordenfkiold, Secretary to the King's Chancery and Ulric Nordenfkiold, Chamberlain to the King.

APPENDIX. I recommended Mr. Nordenfkiold to several of the Directors, as well as Mr. Afzelius, and the late Mr. Strand. But this recommendation was in consequence of their own express request, as Mr. Afzelius can testify; and I think I cannot take a more effectual method of convincing Mr. Nordenfkiold's relations, that I acted both as a friend and an honest man, than by showing that I have no objection to *publish* the following particulars, in a country where many creditable persons can confirm or contradict them.

Mr. N's sickness and distress before he embarked.

715. Mr. N's best friends must confess, that his attention to his health was by no means proportionate to his many good qualities. Before he sailed for Sierra Leona, he was so much weakened by a dangerous illness, that I endeavoured to persuade him to postpone the voyage, till his health was perfectly re-established; but in vain. His resolution was fixed, and he embarked at Bristol on the 10th of Jan. 1792, to endure the hardships of a stormy passage, of no less than 16 days from that port to Corke, which so affected him, that he was mostly confined by severe sickness, during the ship's stay of 7 weeks at that port. I need not conceal that pecuniary difficulties, occasioned by his *unexpected* delay and sickness, increased his distress. But he was most generously assisted by Mr. Wolff (for I must mention his name) one of the Sierra Leona Directors, who really knew and valued his talents, and, but for whose friendly and *individual* aid, he must have been left, probably to die, in a place where he had not a single friend to close his eyes. The gratitude he felt and expressed for this act of liberality, no doubt contributed to agitate his mind; and, every thing considered, he must have been then very unequal to the prosecution of the voyage. But the voyage he would, and did, prosecute. At S. Leona, he was again taken ill, and before his recovery was perfected, and after his constitution had suffered severely from repeated attacks, he signified an ardent desire to penetrate immediately into the country, where he always hoped to find an innocent, hospitable people, among whom he could pursue his researches, to his own satisfaction and to the emolument of the Company. His honest mind, too, could not brook the idea of living at the Company's expense (though he had no salary) while he remained inactive; and it must be acknowledged, that dissention and confusion rendered the colony a very uncomfortable habitation for a person of his habits. The remonstrances of his friends, chiefly Mr. Afzelius and Mr. Strand, against such an attempt, in his weak state, and during the rains too, were ineffectual. His mind was so ardently bent on useful pursuits, that he often neglected that caution which is so necessary a concomitant to resolution in all hazardous enterprizes; and there is no doubt that this defect in his character was one chief cause of his death.

Some account of his expedition & death.

716. The following is the best account of his precipitate and fatal expedition that I have been able to collect.—Having, by repeated solicitations, obtained, the consent of the Governor and Council, together with the most proper goods the stores then contained,

tained, for his disbursements on the journey, he took his departure about the 25th of Aug. 1792, (the middle of the rainy season) for Robanna, the island on which King Naimbanna resides. There he was detained some time by bad weather, when, hearing of the arrival of the York, he returned to Freetown, in hopes of obtaining some articles which he could not procure when he first set out, but which he thought had probably arrived in that ship from England. In order to take a more complete view of the country, he now resolved to go to the town of Port Logo, by the river Scaffos (or Scarcies.) Accordingly he sent to Robanna for the goods which he had left there. He received, however, but a sorry account of them. King Naimbanna's courtiers, it seems, like others of that privileged order in every part of the world, thinking themselves intitled to make free with every thing they found within the walls of the palace, had converted to their own use most of the articles, especially the liquors, which Mr. N. had deposited there. The small remnants of them which were returned, together with the goods he had obtained from the York, he put on board a sloop belonging to and commanded by a white slave-trader, who had agreed to perform the voyage for 100 bars. They proceeded up the Scaffos, to the place where it was agreed they should land, and convey the goods across the isthmus, which separates that river from the river of Port Logo, and 12 miles distant from the town of this name. A part of the goods were landed from the sloop; but whether they were sent along with Mr. N. and the white man and the negro, who constantly attended him, or preceded, or followed them, does not distinctly appear. It is only certain, that in walking this short distance, most of them were stolen. Circumstances so adverse, added to the fatigue and bad accommodation, must have operated on his ardent mind with a poignancy destructive of the little health he then possessed.

His goods stolen.

717. At the town of Porto Logo, which is between 70 and 80 English miles above S. Leona*, he was taken ill; and being deprived of the means of prosecuting the journey, he was under the necessity of returning to the colony, which he did in a canoe belonging to King Naimbanna's people; who brought him very carefully to Freetown. They arrived, in a very unwholesome, foggy night, and carried Mr. N. who was entirely wet and in a delirious state, to his friend Mr. Strand's hut, where he was accommodated and attended, as well as circumstances would permit, but was afterwards removed to that of Mr. Afzelius which it seems was larger. But his case was by that time beyond the reach of human aid. In several short intervals of recollection, his mind seemed intirely occupied with the awful concerns of futurity, and he was too weak to speak much; so that his friends could not think of troubling him with minute enquiries respecting the expedition. But he repeatedly complain-

He is taken ill.

* The reader will see by the map, that the river of Port Logo is a branch of the river S. Leona, so called from the town of Port Logo, situated on it.

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and dies.

Who it was
that proba-
bly stole his
goods.

ed of the conduct of the master of the sloop; adding, that if he could hope to live to make a second attempt, he would carry no goods, but would depend for support on the hospitality of the natives, in whom he placed much confidence. A little before his death, he requested Mr. Afzelius and Mr. Strand to send all his papers to his Brother Adolph, in Sweden, and to none else. These were some of the last words he spoke; and he expired, in a very peaceful state of mind, about 14 days after his return to the colony.

718. The white attendant and the black servant came back with Mr. N. but neither of them could give any account of the theft; which makes me think that the goods landed from the sloop were sent on before them and Mr. N., or were to follow them. That they were not privy to the theft, would appear from the bare circumstance of their adhering to Mr. N. to the last. Indeed the white man never quitted his bed side till he expired. Yet, for aught they knew, he might recover and give a distinct account of the whole affair. Besides both of them always had, and still preserve, very good characters, in the colony *. It is true, that the captain of the sloop also returned to the colony, with the small part of the goods that were not landed with Mr. N. and was paid the 100 bars, for which he had agreed to perform the voyage. Whether or not he was concerned in the theft, it is impossible positively to ascertain. But I have very good authority to say, that *he was a slave-trader*, and not one of the best character; and that, from Mr. N's repeated complaints of his conduct, he was suspected in the colony of being privy to the whole of this dark business.

719. I am not insensible that this is but a lame and imperfect account of this unfortunate expedition, and the mysterious circumstances attending it, which will probably never be fully explained. But it is the best account I have to offer, and imperfect as it is, has cost me no small trouble to collect.

Mr. N. received no salary, and his family no provision.

720. I need not mention the disappointment which the company have sustained by the death of a man so zealous in their cause, and so able to promote it; and indeed the Directors seem not to be insensible of his worth. It is no doubt generous to acknowledge a man's merit after he is dead: but I cannot help thinking it is still more generous, as well as more just, to pay him for his labour, while he is alive. At least it might have been expected that the Directors would not have permitted a man of Mr. N's merit, especially a foreigner, and one who had a wife and family, to undertake a hazardous enterprize without a regular salary. Indeed, considering the circumstances, and the manner in which the Directors mention their engagements with Mr. Afzelius and Mr. Nordenkiold, (§ 369) I never could have dreamt that they had undertaken their laborious researches without any emoluments. I lived

* The white man came from N. Scotia with Mr. Clarkson. The black man, whose name is London, came also from N. Scotia.

at Manchester, when they sailed for S. Leona, and I confess I never gave them credit for any such romantic excess of disinterestedness, till Mr. Afzelius astonished me, by mentioning it the last time he was in England. Supposing then, as I did, that Mr. N. received a regular salary, I still thought that, as he might be said to have fallen a victim to his *too forward* zeal in the Company's cause, it was but reasonable to expect, that some provision would be made for his widow and orphans, as had been done in at least *one* less urgent case*. Full of this reasonable expectation, as I then thought it, and still think it, I who had, what I may well call the *misfortune* to introduce Mr. N. to the Directors, addressed to them the following letter, which, of course, would have contained an additional and forcible argument, had I known, at the time, that Mr. N. received no salary. To the many mortifications I have endured in this business, I have to add, that the Directors never deigned to return any answer whatever to this letter†.

" GENTLEMEN,

" Having lately received the unfortunate news, of the unexpected death, of your mineralogist and my most intimate friend, Mr. Augustus Nordenfkiöld, whose abilities and knowledge, I am convinced (had his life been spared,) would have proved of the highest utility to the Company, in the department to which he was appointed; permit me, Gentlemen, from the same attachment I always entertained to the general prosperity of the new colony, and it's ultimate object, the abolition of slavery, in which I have been ever ready to dedicate my life, property and services, to recommend to your notice another Swedish gentleman, Mr. Ekholm, of great experience and capacity in mineralogy and chemistry, to succeed Mr. Nordenfkiöld. This gentleman is at present in Stockholm, but would, on due notice from the Company, come over to England to prepare for his post, and attend your further orders.

The author's letter to the Directors on that subject.

* The case alluded to, was that of the late Dr. B. who died from drunkenness about a fortnight after his arrival at S. Leona. Dr. B. was a man of merit in his profession, before he contracted this fatal habit, which he had so successfully concealed, that it did not come to the knowledge of the Directors, till he had been appointed. When informed of it, they took immediate steps to prevent his sailing for S. Leona: but he had sailed, before their resolution to that effect could overtake him. The Directors, however, not only allowed his widow one year's salary, (£250) but also made up a sum, out of their private purses, sufficient to purchase her an annuity of £50, during her life.

† If the reader should think me a little warm on this single occasion, I hope he will excuse me when I remind him, that Mr. Nordenfkiöld was my countryman and my intimate friend, whom, with a view to gratify all the parties concerned, I became instrumental in introducing to the Directors: and the situation in which I stand with respect to his disconsolate family, is too delicate to allow me to be silent.

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"As an additional motive for this appointment, I have authority to say, that Mr. Ekholm, out of friendship and attachment to the memory of the deceased Mr. Nordenfkiold, his brother in law, is willing to appropriate a part of the salary that may be allowed him, towards the support of his unfortunate widow and four children, who are left destitute by his death; and I trust this humane consideration, in addition to his real qualifications, will have weight in his appointment, especially when I can assert for fact, that the deceased Mr. Nordenfkiold, exclusive of the sacrifice of all his own property in the expedition, and that of his friends to the amount of £300 and upward, also lost by his death, a considerable and lucrative post in his own country, amounting to no less annually than 1500 Rix dollars*, which his widow is, of course, now deprived of.

"Should this recommendation, Gentlemen, meet your wishes, in acquiring a useful member to your community at Sierra Leona, I trust the consideration of Mr. Ekholm's humane and liberal acceptance of the arduous service, will also induce you in the appointment, to make him an allowance of salary equal to your excellent and learned botanist Mr. Afzelius; as his services, exclusive of the superior danger in his line of pursuit, cannot be less.—Suffer me also, Gentlemen, so far to plead for the destitute widow and children of the deceased, as to suggest, that, in case of the death of Mr. Ekholm, a part of the salary you may intend for that gentleman, may be continued for the support of the late Mr. Nordenfkiold's wife and children.

"In the discharge of this duty to the Company, and to the merit and misfortunes of my friend, I have the honour to remain,

"GENTLEMEN, Your devoted friend and servant,

"C. B. WADSTROM."

NOTE S. See § 415.

Mr. S's death
and character.

721. Mr. Strand, the late Secretary to the Council at Sierra Leona, was probably as anxious about his health, as Mr. Nordenfkiold was careless. At least something of this kind seems to have appeared, from his very free use of opium, of which he had always a quantity by him, and which could not but affect his health. As he has not, like his friend Mr. Nordenfkiold, left a widow and orphans to deplore his death, it seems unnecessary to add any thing more concerning him, than the following extract; especially as it contains an account of his character, which cannot but afford his respectable friends in Sweden as much satisfaction as it did to me, who recommended him to the Directors.

* A Swedish rix-dollar bears the proportion to an English crown, in pure silver, as $534\frac{8}{9}$ to 579 $\frac{7}{8}$. See Jöranfson's Tabeller, 4to. 1777.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council at S. Leona, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the S. Leona Company, dated Freetown, 6th Nov. 1794. APPENDIX.

722. "It is with real grief we inform you that the Company have sustained an irretrievable loss, by the death of Mr. Strand, on the 30th ult. after an illness of four days continuance. We dare not flatter ourselves that the Court of Directors will find one so eminently qualified as Strand was, for the confidential station he held.

"Examined, London 24th Jan. 1795.

"J. R. WILLIAMS, Solr. & Secr."

NOTE T. See § 415.

723. The mortality, of about 21 per cent. here noticed, by the Directors, is *annual*; for the voyages of slave-ships average exactly 12 months, and 12 days. The 88 slave-ships returned to Liverpool and Bristol, in 1786, and up to Sep. 1787, when an abstract of their muster-rolls, lodged in the custom-houses of those towns, was given in to the Privy Council, by Mr. Thomas Clarkson, M. A. In 1790, those documents were brought to London, by order of the House of Commons, and 4 persons, (2 for, and 2 against, the abolition) were appointed to examine them; the 2 delegates of the abolitionists, of whom Lieut. J. Clarkson was one, having been enjoined not to debate with the 2 others, but merely to see that they took no unfair advantages. The result was, that, of 12,263 seamen, in 350 slave-ships, which sailed from Liverpool and Bristol, from Sep. 1784, to Jan. 1790, there died 2643, or 21½ per cent. in every voyage, (*i. e.* in about a year,) were upon the dead list, exclusive of *very great numbers* who die on shore, in the W. Indies. For, when the slaves are sold there, from ¼ to ½ of the surviving seamen, suffice to bring the ships home. By way of lessening expence, therefore, the slave-captains barbarously treat those whom they wish to get rid of, to make them forfeit their wages, by desertion; or if too sick to desert, they land them, in the night, before they fail. The deserters wander about, friendless and forlorn, till most of them perish with hunger, and distress in various shapes. The sick, worn out with fevers and fluxes, or entirely disabled with tumours, ulcers and Guinea worms, (see § 52.) languish on the wharfs and beaches, till welcome death seals up their eye-lids.—Such are the effects of a trade, to which certain men, who would be thought adepts in what are called the sciences (as they certainly are in all the *arts*) of political œconomy, finance and commerce, have not shuddered to lend their secret favour, or their avowed support. If such be, *as they pretend*, the foundation of the commerce of Europe, "My soul come not thou into it's secrets!"

Mortality of seamen in the slave-trade.

724. Having given this sample of the *policy* and *humanity* of the slave-trade, and of its shameless and insidious abettors, I must add, that the muster-rolls are documents of the most unquestionable kind, being lodged in the custom-houses, by the

Muster-rolls testify the truth of this statement.

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Compared
with mortality
at S. Leona.

slave-captains themselves; and that the near agreement of the two abstracts of them made out, for different periods, by order of the Privy Council and of the House of Commons, is at once a proof of their accuracy, and of the systematical destruction of seamen in this most iniquitous traffic.—It is also worthy of remark, that in the ships of the S. Leona Company, the mortality, *under all the past disadvantages*, appears not to have exceeded what takes place in the W. Indian trade, which is generally allowed to be a nursery for seamen; and, there can be no doubt, that the health of the Company's sailors will improve with that of the colony.—For a full and accurate statement of the mortality of seamen in different trades, especially in the slave-trade. See Mr. Clarkson's Essay on the Impolicy, &c.

NOTE U. See § 419.

Climate im-
proves with
cultivation.

725. Of these observations of the Directors all the modern European colonies afford examples, more or less apposite; and every establishment of the kind, made or attempted, in the W. Indies, gives the strongest evidence of their truth. The climate of Barbadoes, in particular, *now* justly reckoned (that of Bridge-town excepted) one of the most healthful tropical climates in the world, was extremely fatal to its *early* inhabitants.—When I came to the mortality experienced at Bulama, I intend, if adequate materials can be procured, to show, by a comparative view, of the infant and mature states of different colonies, that neither that island nor Sierra Leona have been *peculiarly* fatal to human life; and that, as the Directors intimate, their climates may be confidently expected to improve, in the same proportion as the soil is cleared and cultivated.—See in this Append. Note GG. No. 18, *et seq.*

NOTE W. See § 408, 424.

Reasons for re-
suming the
consideration
of money.

726. I must confess myself pleased with every opportunity of drawing the reader's attention to the opinions which I wish to inculcate respecting money; and very little attention seems necessary to convince every thinking man, that the subject is of the highest importance to mankind. In conformity, therefore, with what has been already intimated in § 122, 142, (especially in qu. XXVIII.) I beg leave to offer a few candid remarks, suggested by the following passages where money is mentioned by the Directors, as connected with the affairs of the Sierra Leona colony.—But first it may be proper to observe, that in entering on a plan of no less magnitude than the civilization and consequent happiness of the inhabitants of a whole quarter of the globe, we should seriously labour to avoid those evils which are found to concur in rendering our present social connections so disagreeable. "The first step," says a great author, "to do good, is to leave off evil." It is plain, therefore, that we cannot too carefully investigate the nature of all social abuses, if we really mean to avoid the infestation of them into a new and uncorrupted community.

Well

Well apprized, however, of the pure intentions of those who are now exerting themselves in this great cause, I must repeat my conviction, that the Directors of the S. Leona Company, earnestly wish to introduce *real* civilization into Africa, and to exclude those social abuses, which too many mistake for civilization itself. They and I aim at the same end : we only differ as to some of the means.

727. *The wages, say the Directors, given to the Nova Scotians, were at least the double of those given to the natives.* (§ 408.)

If it be allowed that our wants impel us to seek the means of supplying them, and that those wants increase as we advance in civilization or refinement, then it will appear, that as the Nova Scotians had adopted more European customs than the natives, they had more wants to satisfy; or, in other words, were more civilized. But this is not all: those people must have been used to money before they came to Sierra Leona; and thus had imbibed the desire of accumulating money, for the sole purpose of satisfying their artificial wants, independent of their natural ones*. From these causes combined, they could not but be continually striving, against the interest of the Company, to increase their wages.

Causes for increasing the N. Scotian's wages.

728. *"The Directors trust they have gone to the root of another evil, by introducing a considerable quantity of coin into the colony, thus substituting the plain and certain medium of dollars, in place of the former one of bars, which having been a medium of calculation that was extremely variable and confused, and merely nominal, has occasioned much trouble and dispute, and given the opportunity of practising perpetual frauds in the African commerce."* (§ 424)

If this passage should be closely examined, I fear it's contrary would appear to be the true state of the case. For the African idea of bars is founded on an article (iron) which is of primary and indispensable necessity to the negroes; whereas dollars are founded on an article (silver) which is necessary only to those who deal with those negroes: consequently the *confusion, trouble, disputes, and frauds*, here attributed to the calculation by bars, must be on the side of the white people. But we ought also to take into the account, the *confusion, trouble, disputes, and frauds*, which the changing of bars into dollars, (money) must necessarily occasion to the African inhabitants. But perhaps we are not so ready to consider the consequences of our measures, to those poor ignorant people, as the convenience of our commerce.

Bars a confused medium to the whites, as is money to the blacks.

729. If ever it should happen, (which may Heaven avert) that *the nature* of European money, (artificial credit,) should be permanently established in any new African colony, and money should become the only object of industry, independent

European money would be injurious to the Africans.

* Civilization necessarily produces wants. But, in my opinion, there are two kinds of civilization and two kinds of wants,—the *artificial* and the *natural*. The leading principle of artificial civilization is dissimulation, and it's consequences a selfish activity, and an increase of artificial wants, in an undue proportion to natural wants. The leading principle of natural, or innocent, civilization is integrity, and it's consequence, a social activity, and an increase of natural wants, prior to and independent of artificial wants.

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of commodities, as has been unfortunately the case in Europe, then it appears to me, that the seeds of the same abuses and corruptions will be sown, which have led Europe, and are now leading America, with a celerity proportioned to her progress in speculation commerce, from social to selfish interests. From that moment, I would give up all hopes of real civilization, or moral improvement. On the contrary, I should not be surprized to find a flourishing commerce introduced, at the expense of the morals and civil happiness of the poor Africans, who, instead of being carried as slaves to the W. Indies, would be subjected to imposition and fraud, and would virtually become slaves in their own country, to the same Europeans whose *sole object*, at present is, the accumulation of money, whether it be in Africa or in the W. Indies.

730. That the demand for bars is derived from the natural want of the commodity (iron) will scarcely be disputed; and that the value of this natural money rises or falls, as it is more or less wanted, will appear equally true*.

They sell the dollars.

731. But coined money has an artificial or arbitrary value; inasmuch as it is founded on a commodity, (gold, silver, copper, &c.) which, if allowed to circulate, uncoined, by its weight and standard, would certainly not be demanded nearly so much as (iron) bars. Indeed, that coined money is not demanded at all, by the Africans, but obtruded upon them, appears evident from their expression, "*selling the dollars*," (§ 427.) that is, they get rid of a commodity they do not want, in order to *re-introduce* their old bars, which they consider as a representation of one of their real wants, and which, as a money medium, the Directors are taking so much pains to discredit and eradicate †.

732. From what has been said, it is evident that coined money will be much more productive of confusion and disputes with the negroes, than ever were bars; especially when it is considered that those simple nations are not nearly so expert in fine mercantile calculations, as the Europeans.

European money a luxury;

733. Before a nation attain that degree of moral improvement, which qualifies it to partake of luxuries without endangering social order, it appears extremely impolitic to introduce an article of luxury, which no man can procure without subjecting himself to a kind of slavery.

734. That species of luxury, (or superfluity, gold, silver, &c.) which is prematurely introduced, in any character whatsoever, and even that of money, previous to articles of primary necessity, and left to the *arbitrary* disposal of individuals, ought

* The reader may recollect Q1. XXVI. § 142. "Is not the real *want* of any commodity in a community, the only natural basis of the intrinsic *value* of that commodity?" If so, its value can never be fixed.

† I grant that the present African bar is nominal; but it is demonstrable that the dollar is also nominal. Who cannot see that the present pound sterling, or livre Tournois, does not convey the idea of a pound Troy of silver, which however it originally contained?

to be checked by the whole community, through its government. For this liberty, independent of any check or order, appears to tend directly to destroy the useful and moral character of individuals, and, paradoxical as it may seem, to reduce them ultimately to slavery. This position rests on that irrefragable principle, drawn from uniform experience, namely, that luxuries, when once they get firm root in a community, change their nature, and partake so much of the nature of necessities, that they cannot be eradicated without doing violence to liberty, and bringing human nature into some degree of suffering*.

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which tends to enslave mankind;

735. The disposition of man, naturally tends to DESPOTISM, not only in *accumulating power*, to influence and govern others, which too often leads to the deprivation of life; but also in *accumulating money* or wealth, which too often terminates in the forcibly depriving others of their property; in both cases unchecked by the community in which he lives†.—This kind of independence is at present generally called *liberty*, and is aimed at and sought after by all those, who do not wish to be subjected to any social check. But this inclination is diametrically opposite to order, which, it were easy to prove, requires each individual, in every social respect, to be governed by the will of the whole, or of the majority, and not *vice versa*.

736. For the foregoing reasons, I cannot but think, that *real*, iron in bars, should have been introduced even into the colony. They would have had all the essential uses of a money medium, without being liable to the abuses of European money, the nature of which they would have kept out of sight, as being themselves composed of (iron) the most useful of all metallic commodities. They would therefore have tended to keep the production of commodities constantly in the view of both the natives and the colonists. But, perhaps, it would not be yet too late to change the colonial money system, before the selfish spirit, encouraged by European money, has entirely debauched the minds of innocent Africans.

but real iron bars have not that tendency.

737. It is evident that the Company wishes to establish a certain *credit* in the colony; and that is as right and necessary as that they should endeavour to give a proper *energy* and firmness to the colonial government. All that I wish to observe is, that they cannot be too much on their guard against the introduction of an ARTIFICIAL CREDIT, which will as certainly end in an *unlimited credit*, as the investiture of the colonial government with an UNCHECKED POWER, will terminate in *despotism*.

Credit natural and artificial.

* I do not mean that kind of luxury, which a man produces by *means of his own labour* or industry, either for the necessities, the conveniences, or the enjoyments of life, but such luxuries only as are procured by *means of money*.

† It has been hitherto confessed, that abuses and tyranny spring from an arbitrary or *unchecked power of governing*, and I think it is not less certain, that an arbitrary or *unchecked power of disposing of wealth*, leads to abuses of another kind. Both terminate in a species of personal slavery. To prove this assertion, plenty of instances might be produced.

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738. "*But as the valuing of the bars produced some altercation, the price of 3 dollars a month, or about 3s. 6d. a week, is now substituted.*" (§ 426.)

Price, depending on demand, cannot be fixed

To what has been said, I need only add here, this simple question.—Is it possible to fix the price of any article whatever, without deranging the natural proportion between commodities, which arises from the natural and variable want and demand of them, in a community?

Three objections answered

739. I shall pass over several other parts of both the Reports, which are connected with money matters. But, before I dismiss the subject, it may be proper to add a few words to justify and elucidate some opinions advanced in the first part of this work. For, as men at this day commonly infer their objections and arguments, on such subjects, from facts and particulars, and cannot be expected to contemplate the (*civil evils*) causes of disorder in the communities of the present age, from the same identical point of view, I may very naturally suppose that the following objections will be made to the opinions implied in § 142, qu. XXXVII, LI.

(1.) It may be asked, *How business can be conducted in society, without credit, that is to say, without coined money?*

740. I answer, that such credit, being only an artificial credit, ought to be entirely banished and removed; but not that kind of credit which is founded on a real knowledge of useful *ability* and *activity* of men. This last kind of credit, which may be manifested in any form whatever, may be safely substituted for money, and will never disturb or diminish any business of real utility in society*. An industrious, active, and useful farmer, for example, will be known and accredited by his labourers; a tradesman or a manufacturer by his customers, and the merchant by those who entrust him with their orders for supplying their wants†. Thus a character for ability, industry, sobriety and integrity, is the true standard for all natural credit, which needs not the barbarous and impolitic support of arrests and imprisonments for debt; but directly tends to encourage the excellent moral qualities on which it is founded. In a word, *artificial credit* tends to dissolve, or *enslave*, civil society; and natural credit to consolidate and improve it.

(2.) *If gold and silver, were to circulate according to their weight and standard, would not many be imposed upon by base metals?*

741. But are not gold and silver, even at this day, bought and sold, in every possible shape, both stamped and unstamped, and consequently are not base metals current, even on the present system?—It is true, that if money were altered from coin (or credit) to *weight* and *standard*, the buyer would be obliged to examine the

* If the reader will consult Mr. Sharp's "Sketch of temporary Regulations for S. Leona," he will find that a currency of any extent, and for the largest community, may be most advantageously founded on day labour, registered in a public bank.

† In the present order of things; however, the contrary is the case.

quality of the commodity rather more minutely than he does at present. Such examination is, indeed, now, in a great measure, out of the question; as the buyer, like a creditor, depends on the artificial laws enacted to relieve and protect him, in all cases*.

742. But on the natural system of weight and standard, every able, and of course, accredited assayer would become a natural banker; or the banker, from an ignorant money-holder, would be obliged to become a scientific assayer of gold and silver; and his note would be taken in payment, within the circle of his connections, as money, and its validity or estimation would be proportioned to the natural credit such an assayer had obtained.

(3.) *If there were no speculation commerce, how would societies be provided with necessaries?* (See § 114.)

743. I answer, that all speculation, in articles of the first necessity, ought, in a well regulated community, to make a part of the duty of the government: or, if that should be found difficult or impracticable, a commission-commerce might easily be organized so universally, that, from the most distant individuals, orders might be conveyed from one commission tradesman to another, even to the last commission merchant. All these might in such case obtain a decent and secure living, proportioned to their different degrees of trouble and risk. This commercial system, indeed, might easily be introduced even into our present societies; since all kinds of property may be effectually secured by the established modes of insurance.

744. A representation of the silver and copper coin, introduced into the colony of S. Leona, is inserted in the large Map.

Fig. 1, represents the Dollar, which is called a Cent piece.

Fig. 2, the half Dollar or half Cent.

Fig. 3, the 20 Cent, and Fig. 4, the 10 Cent.

Fig. 5, the copper coin of which 100 makes one Dollar.

One Dollar contains 400 grains of pure silver.

100 coined copper Cent pieces weigh 3lb.

Weight and denominations of S. Leona coin.

* This would certainly be a very great, and, I should think, a very proper check on speculation commerce, which at present hurries on business with the tumultuous celerity of a hunting match. One man pushes another, he a third and so on, whether they can bear pushing or not, with such disorderly eagerness that many tumble and trip up others, while the least deserving often share the greatest prizes in this mercantile scramble. In the mean time, intellectual improvement, and every other kind of improvement, personal, domestic or social, is entirely neglected: for when a man's whole time and attention are engrossed by one low sordid pursuit, every nobler purpose of his being must be overlooked.—See also that excellent work, *Walker's Geography*; Second Edition, 1795, § 150.

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NOTE X. 1. See § 425 *et seq.*

Cultivation at
S. Leona,
similar to the
W. Indian.

742. If the reader has given that attention, which the subject so well deserves, to what is said on cultivation (from § 131 to 140 inclusive) he will not suppose me a very warm admirer of the system adopted; or rather, I would fain hope, only *under trial*, at S. Leona. The part of my book just quoted, which touches on cultivation, was printed several weeks before I had an opportunity of perusing the article on the same subject, in the second report of the Directors (see § 425 *et seq.*) and at which, I confess, I was both grieved and surprized. I was grieved at observing so much similarity between the system of cultivation adopted, or tried, at S. Leona and that practised in the Sugar Islands: and I was surprized that any thing like an imitation of that *mercantile system of cultivation* should be tolerated at S. Leona, after it's oppressive consequences to the unhappy slaves on sugar estates, in the W. Indies, had so clearly appeared in evidence, before the British Privy Council and House of Commons*. The similarity which I lament, appears in the following particulars:

(1.) As on West Indian sugar estates, the grumettas, on the Company's plantation, have a slated, though certainly a more liberal, allowance of provisions; and their dinner is dressed for them in the manager's house, as for weakly negroes, and for children on most plantations in the sugar islands. This mode will save time; but I much doubt if it will tend to improve the natives in the arts of household œconomy.

* That oppression is *inseparable* from the present mode of cultivating the sugar cane in the W. Indies, appears by inference from Long's Hist. of Jamaica, and explicitly in Dickson's Letters on Slavery. This last writer (p. 23) particularly describes the manner in which the cane-holes are dug and the dung distributed. "I have seen," says he, "land lined off into square spaces 4 feet each way, which I believe, is the general rule in Barbadoes. The cane-holes, therefore, may be about 3 feet square, and 7 or 8 inches deep, with a space or "*distance*" between each, and another space or "*bank*" at right angles to the distance, to receive the mould. The holes are dug, with hoes, by the slaves, in a row, with the driver at one end, to preserve the line. They begin and finish a row of these holes as nearly at the same instants as possible; so that this *equal* task must be performed in the *same time*, by a number of people who it is next to impossible, should be all equally strong and dexterous."—"The weak, therefore, from the very nature of this mode of turning up the soil, must *necessarily* be oppressed. The driver is often obliged to set such negroes as cannot keep up with the rest, to work, in a separate corner by themselves; but I am sorry to say he too often first tries the effect of flogging."—"In distributing dung, each negro carries on his (or her) head a basket full of it, the driver with his whip bringing up the rear of the gang. Here then, is another *equal* task, to be performed in an *equal* time, by people of *unequal* strength. In distributing dung, therefore, as well as in holing, the weak are *unavoidably* oppressed."—"In this work, the negroes have no help at all from cattle or implements of husbandry, the hoe and the basket only excepted." &c.—The baskets are all of the same size; inasmuch that a *dung-basket* has become a kind of measure for potatoes, &c. as a *trash-basket*, which is much larger, is for other things.

(2.) They

746. (2.) *They are called to work in the morning by the blowing of a horn.*—On some W. Indian plantations a shell is used for this purpose, and on others a bell. “Shell-blow,” as the slaves call it, rouses them about 4 o’clock. In half an hour after, more or less, the driver sallies forth bawling “Turn out! Turn out!” at the same time loudly smacking his cowskin, which he smartly applies to the naked bodies of those who come too late into the field.—May no W. Indian overseer or negro-driver*, ever find means to substitute a flogging for the dram, now given at S. Leona!!

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Labourers on the Co’s plantations called out with a horn,

and work under a planter’s eye,

747. (3.) *They work under the immediate eye of one of the better sort of natives; while the planter directs their general operations, sees them often from his window and walks occasionally among them.*—If, for “one of the better sort of natives,” an overseer, or driver, with his whip, should ever steal into the fields of S. Leona, and whether or not such an event is to be dreaded we shall presently see, then this passage might be indifferently applied to that colony or to the W. Indies. But, in the Southern states of America, the negroes have certain tasks assigned them, which when they have finished, they are at liberty to fish, hunt, work in their own grounds, or amuse themselves for the rest of the day. In this way, they do more work and perform it sooner, better and more cheerfully, without the superintendence of a driver than the negroes in the W. Indies who drudge all day long, not only under the eye, but literally under the whip, of the driver. A Mr. Douglas, some few years ago, carried 60 negroes from Carolina to Jamaica, where he continued his task work, with the same success as in America; but as things now stand in the W. Indies, improvements cannot be introduced without much difficulty. (See Min. Evid. 1790 p. 183, and 1791 p. 218, 250.) I am, therefore, clearly of opinion, that task work, or rather piece-work, would tend, much more than day-labour, to call forth the activity of the native Africans, and consequently to promote their improvement: and I would fain hope that as soon as the grumettas on the Company’s plantation become tolerably expert, that piece-work will be assigned them, instead of drowsy, lifeless day-labour.

748. (4.) The company’s labourers appear to be employed from sun rise to sun set, except about 2 hours for dinner, and, as I am told, a short space for prayers, which may be about equal to the breakfast-time allowed to the slaves in the W. Indies. Thus the former seem to be employed nearly as many hours as the latter are, *out of crop*. I say nearly; for the latter are generally obliged to “pick” a bundle of grafs, and to carry it to the cattle on the penns, and thus are deprived of a great part of their dinner-time; and at night they have to serve the cattle with a second bundle of grafs, which they can seldom do till a considerable time after sun-set. This is *out of crop*; but *in crop-time*, which lasts 4 or

from sun-rise to sun-set, except about 2½ hours.

* These words are very often used synonymously in Barbadoes and the other windward islands, where the chief of an estate is generally called the Manager. But in Jamaica commonly called the Overseer.

K k

5 months

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10 hours daily
labour, too
much in a tropical
climate.

749. Now I think it may fairly be questioned, whether the 10 hours daily, though moderate, labour, performed by the Company's negroes, under a tropical sun, be compatible with any considerable improvement, either by instruction or study, or by what, in one view, is equally improving, I mean, attention to their own little concerns in the house, in the field, or at the market or other social meeting. (§ 471 n.) In my opinion, the Creator has put this matter out of doubt, by furnishing the tropical regions, not only with a profusion of almost spontaneous vegetable food, but with gourds, calabashes and other elegant, vegetable vessels to put it in. In Europe, before corn can be used, it must be threshed out, winnowed, kill-dried, shelled, ground, sifted and baked. In Africa, most of these operations are unnecessary; and when the maize is ripening, a hungry man may go and pluck two or three ears of it and roast them for his supper. Yams, sweet potatoes and other roots require not much labour, and the numerous and excellent fruits scarcely any. Were it necessary to corroborate this argument, I would only ask any man who has been, for any length of time, obliged to labour or bustle under a tropical sun for 10 hours every day in the week, except Sundays, whether, in the evenings, he felt himself most disposed to make an addition to his day's work, or to go to sleep? Dr. Smeathman, who was as active as most men, and as well acquainted with tropical climates, I am pretty sure, would have sent such a man to bed; for, in the plan he published, he proposed only 8 hours labour for 5 days in the week, 6 hours on Saturdays, and the Sabbath to be set apart, as it now very properly is at S. Leona, for rest and instruction. (See § 648, No. 15.) Upon the whole then, I cannot but think that 10 hours daily labour, in that climate, is more than what is compatible with any considerable improvement in the labourers, especially when I recollect that this labour is dull, mechanical day-labour, in the success of which the labourer is only indirectly interested, through his wages, and not *directly*, by reaping the produce for his own behoof.

750. (5.) "*Their number and regularity have scarcely varied for above a year, except in their absents themselves for a week or two, at the approach of the rains, to work on their own plantations, an interruption which it is thought may in future be prevented.*"—Here I am constrained to acknowledge, that if the W. Indians forced or encouraged their negroes to work on their own grounds, on any other day than Sunday,

I should certainly, in so far, prefer their system to that of S. Leona. But encourage, or rather force them, to this work, the W. Indians certainly do; and I never heard that they reckoned it an interruption to the plantation work. The truth is, that this passage, combined with the rest of § 426, strongly excites my jealousy for Africa, and raises in my mind very unpleasant sensations; for I cannot but think that it betrays a greater regard to the Company's planting concerns, than to the civilization of the natives. I allow that the absence of the native labourers from the Company's plantations at the approach of the rains, or the planting season, may be inconvenient to the Company. But is the absence of the native labourers, from their own little plantations, at the same period, no inconvenience to them? In countries where rents are paid by personal service, the absence of the vassals, in seed time and harvest, is doubtless inconvenient to the landlord. But the inconvenience felt by the poor vassal, when he loses his seed-time, or when his little crop rots upon the ground, while with a heavy heart, he is performing his landlord's work, the haughty landlord little regards*. Now it is impossible that civilization can prosper where personal service, or any other system, that tends to lessen the labourer's interest in the produce of his own toil, generally prevails. This is evident from the rude state of those countries where such systems are still adhered to†. And, without suspecting that any system obstructive of civilization is *designedly* meant to be introduced into S. Leona, I will venture to say, that, while the native labourers are confined so closely to day-labour, as to prevent them entirely from tilling portions of land for their own *immediate* advantage, their civilization will advance but slowly. For wherein does civilization (exclusive, I mean, of higher considerations) consist, but in such an improvement of the intellect, as enables a man to conduct his own affairs to the best advantage, and to interchange good offices with his neighbours. But how can a man learn to conduct his own affairs who has, properly speaking, no affairs of his own to conduct; who is roused from his morning slumbers, by an overseer's horn; who labour's almost all day under his eye, and is fed with food ready dressed from his kitchen; who has little time to look after his family, and still less to spend in neighbourly intercourse‡? In short, how can *any* set of beings be expect-

Civilization cannot advance where labourers are not interested in produce,

* I mention personal service merely for illustration, without intending any invidious reference to S. Leona; particularly as I am sorry to say that *such* service is very frequently abused in my own native country Sweden.—I had always supposed that this kind of personal service had been long annihilated in *one* European kingdom at least. But I was mistaken; for I have been credibly informed that, whatever the *law* may be, the *practice* still exists in two counties in the North of Scotland—not to mention the wretched degradation of the poor *Scalags* in the Hebrides.—See a very well written paper in a periodical work entitled the Bee, published at Edinburgh, by the able, intelligent and patriotic Dr. James Anderson—also the Rev. Mr. Buchanan's account of the Hebrides, lately published.

† Even the Empress of Russia, despot as she is, sanctioned, and perhaps dictated, this noble sentence "L'agriculture ne pourra jamais prospérer là où l'agriculteur ne possède rien en propre." Agriculture can never flourish in a country where the husbandman has no property.—Cath. II. Imp. de Russ. Inf. p. 83.

‡ The time, says a great philosopher, which a *country* mechanic spends in going from one job to another, is what prevents him from degenerating into a brute. (§ 122.)

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exemplified in
the cotton ma-
nufacture,

ed to improve, if they have little or no scope for the exercise of their faculties, and if every avenue, which directly leads to social or intellectual improvement, be, in a great measure, shut against them?

751. Lord Kaimes somewhere observes, that on public roads being carried through some of the less improved parts of Scotland, the neighbouring cottagers were seen gradually to transfer the regularity, neatness and patient labour with which they saw the work conducted, successively into their gardens and little spots of land, their cottages, their furniture, and their apparel; inasmuch that at last the improvement reached their very minds. But, I apprehend, this salutary progression could not have taken place, if those cottagers had had no property of their own except money, no gardens, or spots of land, nor any time to cultivate them. Had his Lordship, however, lived but a few years longer, he would have had the mortification of seeing this last case, and its consequences, verified in some parts of his native land. He would have seen multitudes of males and females, promiscuously crowded into certain modern manufactories; clothed indeed in cottons, instead of their home-grown and home-spun linens and woollens; drinking tea instead of butter-milk, and whisky instead of water or small-beer; eating, perhaps, wheaten bread instead of oaten bread and potatoes; and, above all, the very children earning so much money, as to render them completely independent of their parents, and consequently not very well prepared for social restraints. But I fear he would have looked in vain, for the wonted bloom of health or blush of innocence on their faces, or for that sobriety, intelligence and decency, which distinguished the conversation and behaviour of their immediate progenitors. His Lordship would have found, however, that they consume and fabricate a great many exciseable commodities; that their labour, though destructive of their health and morals, causes a great circulation of money; and that thus, in a *financial* and *commercial* view, they fulfil what some politicians seem to consider as the great ends of their creation*.

and in that of
sugar.

752. Now every sugar plantation, in the W. Indies, is no other than a great manufactory, in which 2 or 300 people are collected, and avowedly considered and treated as mere passive implements of labour, that have no interest whatever in the produce; and this is *one* cause of the ignorance, vice and disorder which prevail in the W. Indies. In this respect, therefore, the similarity of the Company's plantation at S. Leona, to a W. Indian one, is likely, if continued, to lead to very bad consequences. But I would fain hope, that when the culture of sugar comes to be

* The evils here hinted at, are perhaps not so explicitly stated, in the statistical account of Scotland, as could be wished. But their introduction is well remembered, and much lamented by many worthy and truly patriotic persons in that country.—In Manchester, the evils alluded to are of longer standing, and more inveterate. To enumerate instances would be endless; but I shall mention one, which fell within my own notice. I knew a workman there, who, when trade was brisk, earned his guinea a day by cutting fusians. He regularly worked 4 days in the week, and, accompanied by his wife, spent the rest of his time, and all his money in the neighbouring public house.

feriously

seriously pursued at S. Leona, some such plan as the annexed one described, by Mr. Botham, which interests the labourers in the produce, and does not collect and keep together such numbers of them, will be finally adopted by the Company.

753. (6.) In the W. Indies, there is an incessant conflict between the managers and the slaves, the former being interested in getting as much labour done, and the latter in doing as little, as possible. At S. Leona too, it appears that "*little differences may have occasionally arisen between the manager and the native labourers.*"—Far be it from me, to insinuate there is any *present* danger of such differences, being settled in the forcible W. Indian mode. I have too good an opinion of the present governor and council, especially of him who conducts the plantation, to harbour such a thought. Still I cannot dissemble the fact, that some gentlemen at S. Leona, have for years, been accustomed to see the mode alluded to practised in the W. Indies; and we all know the lasting force of education and habit, as well as the general frailty of human nature, when urged by strong temptation*.

Differences between manager and labourers at S. Leona.

754. (7.) I come now to what I think by far the strongest objection to the present mode of cultivation at S. Leona, namely, the handle that it may one day afford to designing men, for the introduction of West Indian abuses.—In truth, the S. Leona plan already so nearly resembles the W. Indian, that if any future governor and council could find means to withdraw the pittance of wages from the labourers, and to slip the whip into the hand of the overseer, the two systems would not only be similar, but actually the same. And indeed there are too many reasons to fear, that the W. Indian system may, at some future, convenient time, be really *completed* in that ill-fated colony. A strong tendency to abuse, has ever invariably prevailed in provinces distant, as S. Leona is, from the seat of supreme Government, a truth exemplified in all the British sugar colonies; in one instance so recently as 12 or 13 years ago, when a governor, in open defiance of all law, wrested a considerable sum of money from a certain ancient and respectable W. Indian colony, consisting of 18 or 20,000 white people,

Extreme danger of W. Indian system being completed there.

* The accounts I have uniformly heard of Mr. W. are highly favourable to that gentleman's general character, particularly for humanity. It is not denied, that a considerable number of men, who well deserve the same character, preside over W. Indian plantations. But I own it somewhat surprised me, to find the Directors expressing disappointment in the character of the *lower overseers*, (§ 449.) whose general depravity has been so often mentioned as *one* cause of the sufferings of the poor slaves. Without shocking the reader with their numerous barbarities, stated in evidence, I shall refer him, for their general character, to Beckford's Hist. of Jamaica, printed in 1788, but which I have not now at hand. Mr. Long, however, tells us, that "many of them are the very dregs of the three kingdoms;" that "they have commonly more vices, and much fewer good qualities, than the slaves over whom they are set in authority;" in particular, that "they exhibit detestable pictures of drunkenness," for which reason he advises their "rum to be served out to them ready mixed with water." Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 289, 409, 471.

many

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many of them men of property, education, and knowledge of the world*. The arts by which W. Indian attornies or agents, and managers or overseers, defraud and ruin absentee planters, are too numerous and intricate to be here particularly explained, if not too well known to need explanation†. Now if these things can, and very often do happen, to the property of individuals, whose all is at stake, what security can there be, that similar arts shall not be employed in defrauding a joint stock company, where the share of each partner, is too small to interest him much in it's success? Or, which is more to the purpose, what security can the *unrepresented* colonists have, against the *completion* of the W. Indian plan, already begun at Sierra Leona? Indeed, when I consider the various causes which may call the present Directors from their benevolent labours; that they may be succeeded by men less attentive or less disinterested; that future Subscribers may become more indifferent than the present, to the grand objects of the institution, and less inquisitive as to it's management; that the affairs of the Company will naturally become more and more complex, and that the accounts sent home may be *designedly* perplexed (one of the W. Indian arts,) that the governor and council may find it to be their *interest* to

* It is however but justice to the memory of the then Ministry to say, that this governor was recalled, with evident marks of disapprobation, not to say disgrace.

† “If we judge from experience, and the common conduct of Managers, in the absence of the Proprietors, an estate yields not half as much when the owner is absent, as when he is living on the spot.” Answer to the 53d qu. of the British Privy Council, by Governor Orde of Dominica. See also the Anf. of Lieut. Governor Matthew of Grenada to the same query, with many similar passages in that valuable body of information, and in Min. Evid. before the House of Commons.—Mr. Long very explicitly describes *one* grand cause of these enormous defalcations.—“It is well known,” says he, “that a great many estates of different *absentees*, and lying in distant parts of the island, are often given up to the charge of one agent only, who cannot possibly reside at them all, or visit them very frequently. Matters are then left to the discretion of overseers, whose chief aim it is, to raise to themselves a character as able planters, by increasing the produce of the respective estates;” (on which produce a law of the island ordains, that their patrons, the attornies or agents, shall be paid a commission of 6 per cent.) “This is too frequently attempted, by *forcing the negroes to labour beyond their abilities*. Of course they drop off, and if not recruited incessantly, the gentleman steals away, like a rat from a barn in flames, and carries the credit of great planteriship and vast crops in his hand, to obtain advanced wages from some new employer,” (very often an attorney) “in another district of the island. The absentees are too often deceived, who measure the condition of their properties by the large remittances sent home for one or two years, without adverting to the heavy losses sustained in the production of them; and they find too late their incomes suddenly abridged, and the sinews of their estates wasted far below their expectation.” Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 406. —“While by imprudent exertions, there may be a visible increase of crop, perhaps to 4 or £500 annual value, there is, at the same time an annual decrease of working negroes, to more than double that value.” Anf. by a Planter of 1068 acres in Barbadoes, in supp. to the Privy Council's Report, p. 32.

force,

force, instead of *paying*, the labourers; that not so much as a private letter can be sent to England without their knowledge; and that the colonists, being without representation, will be without remedy*—I say, when I consider all these circumstances, not as an airy train of possibilities, but as events which seldom fail to happen in similar cases, I cannot help expressing my fears, that, at some future period, the labourers may come to be paid their *wages*, with *whips* and *chains*, and thus the finishing stroke be given to the W. Indian system at S. Leona.

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755. I have no fault to find with any of the articles planted, except the sugar-cane, the cultivation of which is unquestionably too laborious for any new colony; especially for a new colony, intended to civilize a rude people, whom the sight of such exertion as is necessary on a sugar plantation, would be apt to disgust with regular labour. Indeed, the cultivation of sugar engrosses so much attention and labour, that I am clear, it should never be attempted, on any system, till a colony abound with people, and cattle, and food for both. (See § 727 n.) The premature introduction of that plant into the British colonies, especially into the Ceded Islands, about 30 years ago, destroyed such multitudes of slaves and cattle, in *Dominica* particularly, that it has been clearly proved, no capital was ever, upon the whole, so disadvantageously employed, as that vested by the British in W. Indian estates†. In short, in no age or country, was ever avarice more completely disappointed, or humanity more shockingly outraged, than in the flattering but ill-judged introduction of the sugar cane into all or most of the British W. Indian Islands, especially the Ceded Islands. It has indeed been a root of bitterness to those colonies; and its premature and forced cultivation has, within our own memory, swept masters and slaves, the oppressors and the oppressed, into one common grave. It was difficult for me to suppose, that the Directors were uninformed of these deplorable facts, or would suffer themselves to be misled by the alluring estimates which the W. Indians so well know how to fabricate, when they wish to dispose advantageously of a losing property‡. My astonishment therefore was great, when I was seriously assured, that a complete apparatus for making sugar, had been sent to S. Leona, by one of the first ships.

Deplorable effects of forcing sugar cultivation.

756. If

* I hope what I have said respecting representation, may not be misunderstood. I only mean, that colonists, who are sufficiently enlightened to form a proper judgement of their own social interests, should chuse representatives. (See § 161, II. 699.)

† This has been irrefragably demonstrated, from the *data* of the present planters, and of their predecessors, in Mr. Ramsay's Answers to Objections against the Abolition of the Slave-trade, and in a series of essays signed *Terentius*, published in Woodfall's Diary, in May, 1789.

‡ In such estimates, the *apparent* profits of large crops are explicitly stated; but the losses, if mentioned at all, are too often couched in general terms, from which persons inexperienced in W. Indian affairs, can draw no just conclusion. Yet the losses are at least as capable of explicit statement as the profits. Thus some estates require 6 new negroes, others 8, and others even 10 or more, to keep up the gang,

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756. If this last measure was dictated, as I am persuaded it was, by a wish to supply the humane demand for sugar raised by freemen, the motive was laudable and excellent, but the attempt was nevertheless premature; and so, I will venture to say, it was considered, by a few of the Directors, who, though quite unconnected with the W. Indies, are known to be particularly well informed respecting the laborious culture and manufacture of sugar, but who, I presume, were in the minority when this resolution was taken.

The author recommends another plan.

757. Having thus taken the liberty to state my chief objections to the plan of cultivation introduced, or under trial, at S. Leona, it may be expected that I should offer my sentiments respecting the plan which ought to be adopted. This I shall do, with all the deference justly due to gentlemen of whose good intentions I am so fully convinced, (see § 329, 593, 594.) I shall do this the more readily too, as I believe the plan of cultivation is not so far advanced, or so unalterably fixed, as not to admit of any change or modification which the Directors may deem expedient. Or, if my hints, which (exclusive of the Batavian plan of cultivating sugar, inserted below,) are few and simple, should not have the good fortune to be attended to by the Directors, they may perhaps be useful to others who may hereafter attempt cultivation in Africa.

Desires of a rude people to be excited, and gratified with innocent luxuries.

758. It appears to me then, that all human exertions are excited by human desires, or wants, natural or artificial, and consequently that *real* civilization is best promoted by raising and properly directing, the desires or wants of a rude people. (See § 33, 708.) When every individual of a community can, independently of others, exchange his labour for the articles he wants, he is then happy and free. In other words, the happiness and liberty of the individual depend on the opportunities he has of using his own personal resources, to procure necessities or luxuries. (See § 734 n.) Hence, I think, it follows, that, if we intend to make a rude people happy, by training them to the innocent habits of civilized life, we should first enquire, whether they desire, or feel the want of those articles, which in the civilized world, are thought absolutely necessary to comfortable subsistence. If they do not, those desires should, in the first place, be excited; and this being done, some innocent luxuries should be exhibited to their view, for obtaining which they have no other means than their labour. (See § 36,

gang, and a proportionable number of cattle. I am happy, however, to add, that a considerable number of estates require no new negroes; but such seldom or never come into the market, because the humanity and prudence of their proprietors and managers, precludes *the* grand cause of the ruin of those estates, namely, the destruction of the negroes. Whether something of the obscurity alluded to, does not appear in the estimates given by certain W. Indian historians, let those, who are capable, judge. Yet certain it is, that large crops have been made and even sworn to, purposely to enhance the price of estates offered for sale, and on such crops some W. Indian estimates are evidently founded. But neither affidavits nor estimates, contain any account of the negroes murdered, by producing such forced crops, nor of the cattle destroyed by conveying them to the shipping places.—See the note, p. 354.

37, 670.) New articles of cultivation, or a more vigorous prosecution of the old, should, at the same time, be encouraged; so that they may always have objects on which to exert their activity, in order to procure the offered luxury.

759. The first thing, therefore, to be encouraged in a new African colony, (and through the colony among the surrounding natives,) is the raising of an abundance of provisions, provender, and cattle. This point being gained, which, upon every system, must be the foundation of all solid improvement, some new luxury might be introduced, and the cultivation of cotton, ginger, coffee, or other easily raised article for exportation, at the same time, encouraged by premiums (if necessary,) consisting of the new luxury.

760. I have already intimated the necessity of engaging the co-operation of the native chiefs, in the great work of civilization. Though the colony at S. Leona is not so closely connected with those chiefs, as I think could be wished, (§ 130.) yet the Directors seem greatly and justly to value their friendship, and it is pleasing to observe their success in cultivating it. (§ 495, *et seq.*) They appear indeed to be so ready to adopt the improvements they see at Freetown, that, *if they should not be, in the first instance, frightened or disgusted at observing the intolerable manual labour attending the W. INDIAN mode of cultivating the sugar-cane*, there cannot be a doubt, that the S. Leona government, by encouraging cultivators and artists from the colony, to go and live with such chiefs as Cuddy, (§ 499.) will succeed in gradually reconciling the natives to all sorts of regular industry.—Provisions of *all kinds*, and also cotton and ginger, may be raised by any man of common sense, even if he had never before seen them planted. That they require less labour than similar articles in Europe, has been already mentioned; and the bare sight of the plants will point out, how they are to be treated. Thus I think any man who has seen the potato planted in Britain, where it is exotic, may, if he please, raise yams, eddoes, sweet potatoes, ground nuts, ginger, &c. in Africa, where those roots are indigenous. The culture of Indian and Guinea corn, is as simple as that of pease and beans in England. Plantains and bananas, are certainly as easily raised in Africa, as cabbages and greens are in Europe. Oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. require far less attention, than any kind of fruit in this part of the world. And, had there been any mystery in the cultivation of cotton, we should not have seen it so suddenly supplant sugar, as it lately did, in several W. Indian islands; especially in Barbadoes, where, after the sugar-works were destroyed by the hurricane in 1780, cotton was planted with great success, by many persons who had never before attempted it. Thus every kind of provisions, and even some articles for exportation, may certainly be cultivated, without the tuition of W. Indian artists*; and their culture may be carried

Native chiefs
to be concili-
ated.

Provisions,
&c. easily
raised;

* If any man should doubt his ability to raise cotton, ginger, and even coffee, without any particular course of instruction, he may look into Mr. Long's Hist. of Jamaica, and Edwards's Hist. of

APPENDIX. carried on by manual labour, till the roots of the trees are removed, and till cattle can be raised to draw the plough.

also provender 761. If the natural grass should not afford sufficient or proper food for the cattle, Guinea-grass, Scotch-grass, and other kinds, may be raised by hand, as in the West Indies. These, with the blades of Indian and Guinea corn, potato vines, the leaves and stocks, or trunks, of plantain and banana trees, not to mention cane-tops, support cattle so well, that were they cultivated with proper care, in the sugar-islands, the negroes would not be much harassed with grass-picking; especially as the artificial grasses, and the blades of Indian and Guinea corn, may be converted into hay, as in some parts of Jamaica, where they also cure the wire grass and the four grass, which when green, the cattle will not taste*.

but not sugar, indigo, &c. 762. Sugar, indigo, and one or two less considerable articles, are the only tropical productions that require any great art or experience, either in the cultivation or the manufacture. As to indigo, the manufacture of it is so destructive to human life, that I would as soon think of introducing the plague into any country. But when the sugar-cane comes to be cultivated, some instruction from a person well skilled in the boiling of sugar, and the distillation of rum, will be absolutely necessary. I should think that such instruction might be obtained from some person possessing the proper qualifications, of humble prospects and a manageable disposition, who might be sent out in a subordinate station. In order to prevent bribery, and to interest him in the undertaking, he should have a liberal share of the neat produce. But by no means should he be intrusted with discretionary power, in any shape; for, however low his education and condition, and however submissive he may be to white superiors, he has most probably been habituated to despise every man with a black skin, and to abuse his authority, in some land of slavery, where authority, though frequently abused, must be supported; and where the superiors on estates, though ever so well disposed, have too much on their hands to attend minutely, to the complaints of every individual slave.

the Brit. Col. in the W. Indies, where, to gratify the curiosity of European readers, the cultivation of these articles, among others which require a far more complex process, is described. Several other books and pamphlets contain similar descriptions. But the culture of *provisions* of all kinds, is reckoned too plain a business to require particular explanation.—By Mr. Beaver's planting and gardening journal now before me, it appears that he was very successful in raising Indian corn, yams, ground-nuts, pine-apples, bananas, oranges, limes, goavas and pepper. He not only raised, but dressed and eat cassada, which is rather a delicate process. Cotton also thrived with him to admiration. Yet a knowledge of planting cannot be added to that gentleman's other excellent qualifications. In his journal he not only declares his total ignorance of cultivation, but shows it, by sowing several European seeds, which could never yet be brought to thrive within the tropics; but others failed from being musty.

* Some of the natural grass, in the Savannahs, yields 4 tons of hay annually.—Long, Vol. I. p. 453.

763. Thus I have endeavoured to clear the way for the introduction of the sugar-cane, the successful cultivation of which, at S. Leona, I will venture to say, I am as anxious to promote as any one member of the Company. But, in order to insure the success of that important species of agriculture, I wish it to be introduced with due precaution and preparation, and prosecuted in such a manner as may improve and preserve, instead of destroying, as it has uniformly done in the W. Indies, the morals, the happiness and the lives of the poor labourers. I must, therefore, repeat my opinion, that, after the cultivation of provisions, provender, cotton, ginger, coffee, and perhaps some other *minor staples**, shall have taken firm root, after cattle shall abound—in short after the colony shall, by the blessing of Providence, have become populous, and, in all respects vigorous and flourishing—then, it appears to me, *but not before*, may the cultivation of the sugar cane be safely introduced, and prosecuted by the following method practised near Batavia, and at Bencoolen (but not in Bengal, see § 139.)

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When sugar should be introduced.

Mr. Botham on the cultivation of a Sugar Plantation at Batavia and Bencoolen. From Abridg. Min. Evid. before the House of Commons, 1791, p. 133. See also Privy Council's Report, Part III.

764. “ Having been two years in the English and French W. India islands, and since conducted sugar estates in the E. Indies; it may be desirable to know that sugar, better and cheaper than that in our islands, and also arrack, are produced in the E. Indies, by the labour of free people. China, Bengal, and the coast of Malabar, produce quantities of sugar and spirits; but, as the most considerable sugar estates are near Batavia, I shall explain the *improved mode* of conducting those estates. The proprietor is generally a rich Dutchman, who has built on it substantial works. He rents the estate (say of 300 or more acres) to a Chinese, who lives on and superintends it, and who re-lets it to free men, in parcels of 50 or 60, on condition that they shall plant it in canes for so much for every pecul, (133½ lb.) of sugar produced. The superintendent collects people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One set of task-men, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill and grind them. A second set boil them. A third clay and basket them for market, all at so much per pecul.

Cultivation of Sugar estates at Batavia,

765. “ Thus the renter knows with certainty what every pecul will cost him. He has no unnecessary expence, for when crop is over, the task-men go home, and, for 7 months in the year, there only remain on the estate the cane planters, preparing the next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and better done. Only clayed sugars are made at Batavia, which are equal to the best from the W. Indies, and

by free labourers,

* So called in the West Indies, in contradistinction to Sugar.

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fold at 18s. per pecul. The Shabander exacts a dollar per pecul on all sugar exported. The price of common labour is from 9 to 10d per day. But the task-men gain considerably more; not only from extra work, but from being considered artists in their several branches. They do not make spirits on the sugar estates; the molasses and skimmings are sent for sale to Batavia, where one distillery may buy the produce of 100 estates. Here is a vast saving in making spirits; not as in the W. Indies, a distillery for each estate. Arrack is sold at Batavia at about 8d. per gallon; the proof of the spirit is about 5 tenths.

also at Ben-
coolen.

766. "After spending two years in the West Indies, I returned to the East in 1776, and in the last war conducted sugar works at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, on nearly the same principles as the Dutch; I confined my expences to what they had done, allowing for the unavoidable charges, on a new and sole undertaking.

Plough and o-
ther imple-
ments used.

767. "The cane is cultivated to the utmost perfection at Batavia. The hoe, almost the sole implement of the West, is there scarcely used; the lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a single buffalo; a drill is then ploughed, and a person, with two baskets filled with cane plants, suspended to a stick across his shoulders, drops plants into the furrow alternately from each basket, covering them at the same time with earth with his feet. Young canes are kept often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe is used to weed round the plant when very young; but of this there is little need, if the land has been sufficiently ploughed. When the cane is ready to earth up, the space between the rows is ploughed deep, the cane-tops tied up, and with an instrument like a shovel, with teeth at the bottom, a spade-handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the shovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchase, is used by two persons to earth up the cane, the strongest holding the handle of the shovel, pressing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the opposite side of the plant, by a jerk of the cord, draws up to the plant, all the earth that the plough had loosened. Two persons, with this instrument, will earth up more canes in the day than 10 negroes with hoes. The canes in India are much higher earthed than in the West Indies; in moist soils, they, with little labour, earth them as high as the knee, at once making a dry bed for the cane, and a drain for the water.

Manufacture
of the Sugar.

768. "The improvement in making the cane into sugar, at Batavia, keeps pace with that in its culture: evaporation being in proportion to the surface, their boilers have as much of it as possible. The cane juice is tempered and boiled to a syrup; it is then thrown into vats, which hold one boiling, there sprinkled with water, to subside its foul parts. After standing six hours, it is let off by 3 pegs of different heights, into a copper with one fire; it is tempered again, and reduced to sugar, by a gentle fire; it granulates, and the boiler dipping a wand into the copper, strikes it on the side, then drops the sugar remaining on it, into a cup of water, scrapes it up with his thumb nail, and can judge to a nicety of the sugar's being properly boiled. The vats I mentioned are placed all at the left end of a set of coppers. After run-
ning

ning off, for boiling all that is clear, the rest is strained on the outside of the boiling-house; what is fine is put into the copper for sugar, the lees kept for distilling.

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769. "Claying of sugar is as in the W. Indies. The cane trash is not, as in our islands, carried into sheds, where it loses much of its strength before it is used; but is laid out immediately to dry, then made into faggots, set up in cocks, and used immediately when dry; hence its force of fire is much greater, and the carrying it to and from the trash-house is saved.

770. "The culture of the cane in the West Indies is *in its infancy*. Many alterations are to be made, expenses, and human labour lessened; the hoe, now used to turn up soils of different texture, is of one construction, cheap and very light; so that the negro, without any help from its weight, digs up the earth, (and the cane roots, on replanting) by the severest exertion. In the East, we plough up the cane roots.—Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit, and labourers from force, I can assert, that the savings by the former are very considerable.

W. Indian cultivation in its infancy.

771. "The West India planter, for his own interest, should give more labour to beast, and less to man; a larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture. When practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane tops and grafs to the stock, in waggons; the custom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of grafs twice a day, abolished; and in short a total change take place of the *miserable management* in our West India islands. By this means following, as near as possible, the East India mode, consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose our sugar islands might be better worked than they now are, by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the present force. Let it be considered, how much labour is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit. I have stated, with the strictest veracity, a plain matter of fact—that sugar estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves.—Whether the slave-trade can be abolished, and the blacks freed, is for the consideration of Parliament. In my judgment, these desirable purposes, may be effected without materially injuring the W. India planter. He has but to improve his culture, and lessen human labour, and the progeny of the present blacks will answer every purpose of working West India estates.

How to be improved.

772. "The slaves in the French islands, appeared to be better clothed, better fed, and better behaved, than in the British: and their being well fed is chiefly owing to the French planter putting a great proportion of his estate in provisions. Whether it might or might not be ultimately for the interest of the British planter, and the benefit of his slaves, if he were to allot to provisions, more of the land now destined to sugar, is a question that can only be decided by experiment in the different islands, as the same answer to it would not suit each. In islands that seldom fail in rains, it is no doubt for the planter's interest, to sacrifice a part of the ground

French negroes better treated than British, and why.

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ground allotted for fugar, to provisions; as these feed his negroes better than any dry or other provisions imported: but in islands subject to droughts, I do not think the planter can, without materially lessening his crop of fugar, give up any portion of ground to provisions."—Thus far Mr. Botham.

A modification of Mr. B's plan.

773. The grand principle of the foregoing plan, is the direct and immediate interest with which it animates every individual, concerned in it's execution. This principle being strictly adhered to, *the adaptation of the plan itself to local circumstances, indeed, must be left to those who are best acquainted with those circumstances. This supposes some little modifications which will always be found necessary in reducing to practice any general system.* It is with great diffidence, that I would venture to mention any specific deviation, from a plan proposed by a gentleman who has so fully experienced it's practical utility. But it seems worthy of consideration, Whether the colonists and the natives, at S. Leona, might not be still more interested in the produce, if they were encouraged to cultivate the fugar-cane on *their own* lands; and, as their property may not at *first* be very adequate to the erection of such expensive buildings as mills, boiling-houses, curing-houses and still-houses; Whether the Company might not build those works in convenient situations, to take off the crops of all the little surrounding planters, they paying the Company a certain proportion of the produce*. This mode is now occasionally practised in Barbadoes, by a few of the small proprietors, whose *places*, as they are called, are sufficiently near to fugar-works.—I am aware, of some objections to the general adoption of this modification of the Batavian plan. The *first* is, The difficulty of settling, among several independent proprietors, the quantity of canes to be planted by each; so that the whole shall not exceed that quantity which the works are calculated to take off and manufacture, *in due time*; for canes are always damaged, and sometimes almost wholly lost, being left too long standing in the field.—But the quantity of canes to be planted, might be previously agreed upon by the planters themselves, in proportion to the cane-land possessed by each. The *second* objection is, that, as each of the planters will have a series of cane-fields, of the same ages respectively, and which ought to be cut at or near the same time, some differences might arise as to their turns at the mill, &c†. But all such equal pretensions are very easily determined by lot. The *Third*, is the difficulty or trouble,

* Whether cattle-mills, wind-mills, or water-mills shall be used, will of course, depend on situation, and other circumstances.

† The canes in the same tract, are planted at or about the falling of good showers of rain, which, in most of the fugar islands, are very unequal and partial. But many estates in St. Domingo and some in Jamaica have been watered, with very great advantage, from the neighbouring rivers; and such estates may thus be said, in some measure, to have the seasons at their command. Long's Hist. Vol. I. p. 454 and Vol. II. p. 156.—A gentleman lately sent out a fire-engine to his estate, with a great length of leathern pipe, to be used in watering the cane-fields from an adjoining brook. I have not learnt

trouble, of keeping the produce of three, four or more planters distinct and separate. But this might, perhaps, be obviated, by marking the pots, jars and hogsheds of each individual, as the sacks are at many corn-mills in Europe. If these objections, however, and others which may occur, should prove too strong for this *modification* of the plan described by Mr. Botham, I shall readily give it up. My only view in proposing it is to increase the labourer's interest in the quantity and quality of the produce, *the* true principle of all natural and useful cultivation in every part of the world.

774. The gradual and cautious introduction of the sugar-cane, above recommended, was suggested by the success with which that mode was actually attended in the French sugar islands, and the evil consequences of the contrary practice in the British. The sugar colonies of the latter were in general established by large capitals, abstracted from the agriculture, manufactures and commerce of the mother country; and thus the growth of the sugar-cane in the British islands was forced, like that of exotics in a hot-bed. The French planters, on the other hand, whose merchants could not, or, under their old Government, would not, furnish their planters with extensive credit, were obliged to depend for success, in a great measure, on their own industry and frugality. The consequences were precisely such as might have been expected. The English planter was a great man, distinguished by the splendor of his living, and the magnitude of his debts, as much as by the extent of his apparent property. The French planter was more like an economical husbandman, whose savings in good years not only enabled him to keep his ground in bad years, without running into debt, but also to make gradual additions to his productive property. He began with the assistance of his wife and children, and perhaps one or two negroes, to plant provisions with his own hands. He proceeded next to coffee, cotton, &c. and, taking the utmost care of his negroes and cattle, in process of time, he found himself able to erect a small sugar-work and to plant a few canes; and such has been the foundation of very many of the most flourishing estates in the French islands, and even of some in the British. It may be said, that their Government gave them their lands *gratis*, and favoured them in other respects; whereas the English planters generally bought their lands, in one shape or another, and in some instances at a considerable price, and were not so much indulged by their Government. But the complete monopoly of the British market is *alone* to be considered as an advantage more than equivalent to all the indulgences enjoyed by the French*. —From these facts it appears, that the returns of the British sugar colonies are to be viewed, in a great measure, as interest of the capitals which, as it has turned

French and British modes of establishing sugar plantations.

learnt that it was much used for the direct purpose for which it was sent; but it was found so useful in watering the dung-heaps, on the fields, that, in one year, it more than saved its price.

* It is computed that, in proportion to the population, thrice as much sugar is consumed in Great Britain and Ireland as in France.—See § 180, note.

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out, have been unprofitably vested in them*; and that a great part of the French returns are so much fair gain to that nation. From the same causes, the French planters were enabled to undersell the British, by no less than 25 per cent at the European market. Hence also the French negroes were not so hard pushed, were more civilized, and in all respects better treated than the British; a circumstance, however, to be partly ascribed to the vigour and vigilance of the old French Government. But what I chiefly wish the reader to observe, is the striking similarity between the system unfortunately adopted by the English, in the establishment of their sugar colonies, and that which is now *under trial* (for I trust it will never be finally adopted) at S. Leona; and between the French system and the natural and humane one which I have ventured to recommend †.

* “Very few sugar estates, when loaded with a very heavy debt, have been known to get rid of such debt, or to pay more than the interest of 6 per cent on the money lent them, and many do not pay 4 per cent, for the money laid out. Many proprietors have been obliged to abandon their estates, after having been at a great expense, in the purchase thereof, stocking it and erecting buildings thereon.” Ans. to the 53d. qu. in the Privy Council’s Report by Governor Matthew of Grenada. The Jamaica planters make not more, on an average, than 4 per cent on their capital, and of course many not so much. *Id.* Part V.

† For the above facts, relative to the French and English sugar colonies, see the Ans. of Gov. Matthew of Grenada and Gov. Seton of St. Vincent to the 1, 2, 3 and 4 qu. in Part V. of the Privy Council’s Report; the Inspector General, Mr. Irving’s Evid. before the Com. of the H. of Commons, and also that of Mr. Greg.

* * The above being merely an *outline* of tropical cultivation, it is hoped the reader will not pass sentence on it, till he has informed himself fully, and has carefully weighed all that he will find on the subject, in the P. Coun. Report, Min. of Evid. Le Poivre, D’Auberteuil, Long, Beckford, Edwards, &c.—To show that I am *not unreasonably jealous* of the introduction of W. Indians and their maxims, into any African colony, I must intrust the reader’s attention, to the following proposed addition to the slave-law of Jamaica, published in the Cornwall Chronicle of that Island, of Dec. 29th, 1787.—“Whereas the *extreme cruelties and inhumanity* of the MANAGERS, OVERSEERS and BOOK-KEEPERS of estates, have frequently driven slaves into the woods, and occasioned rebellions, &c. And whereas also it frequently happens, that slaves come to their deaths by hasty and severe blows, and other improper treatment of OVERSEERS and BOOK-KEEPERS, in the heat of passion; and, when such accidents do happen, the victims are entered on the plantation-books, as having died of convulsions, fits, and other causes not to be accounted for; and to conceal the real truth of the cause of the death of such slave or slaves, he or they is or are immediately put under ground.” &c.—The humane and spirited Mr. Gray of Jamaica, who introduced this clause into the Assembly, premised that, to his own certain knowledge, *very unnatural punishments were often inflicted on negroes.*” (See several similar proofs in Preface to Abol. Min. Evid.)—In St. Kitt’s, when starving slaves are killed and put under ground, in stealing sugar canes and provisions, it is familiarly called “*hiding*” them.—In Barbadoes “*an unlimited power of maiming or killing negroes, is frequently exercised by WHITE SERVANTS;*” and the murder of a slave “*is scarcely noticed any more than the death of a cow or horse.*” Supp. to P. Coun. Rep. p. 24, 35. In Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica, laws have been made to check such enormities. But under all those mock statutes, framed as they are by planters, against planters, and administered by planters, the evidence of negroes and their descendants, free or slaves, is not, in any shape, admitted against white persons, in criminal cases.—At S. Leona, the rights of witnesses and jurors are exercised by black men. (§ 378.) But, even there, if W. Indians, inveterately prejudiced as they generally are, were to be allowed to preside as judges, I should have *very great doubts* as to the impartial administration of justice, between whites and blacks. In England itself, juries have formerly been sent to prison, till they brought in verdicts agreeable to the judges.

NOTE X. 2. See § 441 to 451 inclusive.

775. The statement of the original condition and subsequent vicissitudes of the Nova Scotians, and the reasonings upon them, appear to me to place the candour and abilities of the Directors in a very amiable and respectable point of view. Several eminent philosophers have indeed reasoned admirably on the moral and social effects of slavery; while others might be named, who, I will venture to say, have failed egregiously on that difficult subject*. But I know of no author who has had occasion to estimate the combined effects of slavery, irregular warfare, an emigration, scarcely distinguishable from exile, and a second emigration attended with great sickness and hardships, on the general character of a body of predial slaves, who had *emancipated themselves*. This singular and complicated case was reserved for the Directors of the S. Leona Company; and, in my opinion, they have treated it in a manner which would do credit to the first philosophers of the age.

Character of the N. Scotians fairly stated.

776. It appears to me, however, that the reports now in general circulation, respecting the dissatisfaction of the N. Scotians, from not having yet obtained those lots of cultivable land which were promised them, and which would have changed the principle of their exertions from lifeless, drowsy day-labour, to the improvement of *their own* property, in order to procure necessaries and luxuries—these reports, I say, appear, in my humble opinion, to deserve, in every point of view, a very serious consideration. And, as the accounts of the local and actual condition of the colony, seem to have come to the knowledge of the Directors chiefly through the medium of servants appointed by themselves, and to the knowledge of the subscribers only through the medium of the Directors, it appears to me that this truly delicate subject should be investigated by a certain number of commissioners, one half chosen and sent out by the subscribers at large, to be joined on the spot, by the other half fairly chosen by the N. Scotians themselves. These commissioners having chosen a president and agreed upon their rules, should have power to enquire fully into the conduct of the Company's servants, on the one hand, and the conduct and claims of the N. Scotians, on the other, and to establish such temporary or permanent regulations, as they should find expedient.

But their claims, &c. should be investigated.

777. The conveying a body of people to the colony, without having framed

* In the Elem. of Moral Science, lately published, (in 2 large Vols. 8vo.) but which I have not yet had an opportunity of perusing, I am told, the worthy, ingenious and learned author, Dr. Beattie, hath obliged the world with a pretty full abstract of the doctrines respecting slavery and it's effects, which he has, for thirty years, been teaching in the class of Moral Philosophy, in the Marischal College of Aberdeen.

Mr. Dickson has given a few hints respecting the servitude of the Israelites in Egypt, and their glorious emancipation, which, on several important accounts, seem to deserve to be prosecuted by some person of learning and leisure. Letters on Slavery p. 139, 158, 178.

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NOTE Y. 1. See § 430.

Canvas houses
soon decayed.

Mr. Dubois's
merit and ser-
vices.

778. Four patent houses, or rather tents, covered with oil-cloth, made at Knightsbridge, were sent out to the colony. But, though well adapted for temporary shelter in Europe, they neither stood the sun nor the rains at *S. Leona*; and went so soon to destruction, that the Directors very properly resolved to send out no more of those tabernacles.—The best house, hitherto erected in the colony, is, or rather was, that of the governor, the structure of which, I have been told, approached nearly to that represented in Plate I. Fig. B. This and all the other principal houses, the Company and the colony owed to the ingenuity and exertion of Mr. Dubois.—Having mentioned this gentleman's name, I cannot but add, that this was far from being the only service which he rendered to the colony. He had spent the greater part of his life in hot and unhealthful climates, and had acquired every kind of knowledge and experience, necessary to preserve health and life in similar situations. In particular, such had been his attention to medicine, that he brought 500 of the colonists through the country fever, with the loss of only one patient—a degree of success which few professional men can boast, and which, I will venture to say, never distinguished the commencement of the practice of any European physician, in a tropical climate. Having been born and bred in the same part of America with most of the Nova Scotians, and having personally known several of them from his infancy, having accompanied them in their warfare, and in their emigration to N. Scotia, and thence to *S. Leona*, it cannot appear wonderful that he should possess considerable influence among them. As he does not appear to have used this influence with any private or personal views, it is to be regretted, that the colony has been deprived of the services of a man who so entirely possessed the respect and confidence of the greater part of the inhabitants, and was so well qualified and disposed to promote their happiness.

NOTE Y. 2. § 510.

Oracle near
C. Palmas.

779. The late Capt. R. Norris, of Liverpool, among other curious particulars inserted in this Appendix, told me, that at Cavally, not far from C. Palmas, there is an oracle in which the superstitious natives implicitly confide. It returns answers in all the languages of the country, and attracts many negroes to the coast from different

different parts. But this is not a very safe pilgrimage; for Capt. N. added, that many of those visitants are at last kidnapped and sold. APPENDIX.

NOTE Z. 1. See § 444.

780. If the S. Leona Company had been instituted merely for the sake of commerce, every one must allow that 10 per cent. would be a very moderate profit. But, had that been the case, and the circumstances of the colony had been in other respects the same, would not the 10 per cent. if raised on articles of the first necessity, have been repaid to the colonists, in the higher wages which the Company would of course have been obliged to give them for their labour, the only commodity which they have *hitherto* had an opportunity of offering for sale? Company's profits.

781. In conformity with the Company's grand object, the civilization of Africa, I have reason to believe, that no profit has been demanded on articles of primary necessity, exported for the support of this new colony; for, as the colonists have not received their lands, they are not in a condition to provide for themselves. The world will always expect to find this S. Leona business unadulterated with any commercial pursuits, which have not a direct tendency to promote the interests and the prosperity of the colony, and consequently the grand end of it's establishment, the CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA

NOTE Z. 2. See § 519, 618.

782. The Directors appear to have drawn the character of the late John Henry Naimbanna with great candour; for it corresponds exactly with every account I have heard of that intelligent and amiable African. I had several opportunities of conversing with him, during his stay in London; and was much struck with his acuteness and good sense. When I was first introduced to him, I could not help expressing my astonishment at finding, that he could already read a little English. "*It is that lady,*" said he, pointing to Mrs. Falconbridge*, "*to whom I owe this improvement; for she* Additional anecdotes of J. H. Naimbanna.
was

* The resolution of Mrs. Falconbridge, (now Mrs. Dubois,) in accompanying her former husband twice to S. Leona, and the hardships she suffered at the unpromising commencement of the colony, defitute as it *then* was of every thing necessary to the comfort of a well educated European lady, prove that even the tender sex, under the influence of conjugal attachment, may be so much interested in a great undertaking, as to forget the delicacy of their frame, and to face danger and distress in every terrifying shape. That this lady possesses not only patience and fortitude to endure difficulties, but ability to describe them, will not be doubted by those who have read her interesting account of Sierra Leona, which she published after her second return from that colony. If any excess of warmth should be observed in some parts of this spirited little work, it will be remembered that the writer is a woman,

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was kind enough to teach me in the passage from S. Leona.—Being at Portsmouth or Plymouth, soon after his arrival in England, he was carried to see one of the arsenals. After a silent and attentive survey of the place, he at last exclaimed, “Me no love for see so many gun,” an expression, which, from his manner and emphasis, was evidently dictated by a patriotic jealousy, lest those formidable engines, should one day come to be directed against his defenceless country. On many other occasions, that patriotism, which very commonly actuates African bosoms†, distinctly appeared in his conversation; and, from the excellent direction which was given to that and the other energies of his mind, there can be no doubt, that if Providence had spared his life, his country would have derived many advantages.—Being one day at dinner, by invitation, before his character was thoroughly known, the clergyman who had the care of his education, beckoned, by way of caution, to a gentleman who was pressing him to drink. He observed it, and immediately withdrew. On enquiring why he so suddenly left the table, he asked, “Whether Mr. G. really thought, that he could not have wine before him, without making a beast of himself.”—Talking of the distinguished member of parliament who proposed the gradual abolition of the slave-trade, he said, “Mr. ——— should have his carriage drawn by asses, for they go very gradually.”—His application to study was, as the Directors state, indefatigable; and so strong was his wish to understand the Scriptures thoroughly, and to be able to read them in the original languages, that, to his other acquisitions, during his short stay in England, he added, in his private hours, no inconsiderable proficiency in the Hebrew.

and of Job
Ben Solomon.

783. Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Dickson and others, have published accounts of negroes eminent for their virtues and abilities. But I do not know that any of them are more worthy of attention, on many important accounts, than the biographical sketches which Moore has given us of Job Ben Solomon, in his Travels into the interior parts of Africa, printed in 1735, to which I must refer the reader, who will also find some account of Job, in the Annual Register, I think, for 1767. The only piece of information, respecting Job Ben Solomon, that I can add to Moore's is, that W. Smith, Esq. M. P. (who, by the way, in his excellent speeches, in support of the abolition of the slave-trade, has discovered an intimate knowledge, and a deep sense, of the wrongs of Africa,) has in his possession a MS. copy of the Koran, in Arabic, written by that extraordinary negro, when in England, purely from memory; as appears from a Latin certificate, at the end, signed by the

who generously sacrificed her ease and comfort, to a principle of duty to her husband, and enlightened zeal in a great cause; that she certainly suffered many severe trials; and that, she might think, some of them might have been prevented by human prudence and foresight.

† See Dickson's Letters on Slavery, p. 75, 94.

Rev. Dr. Chandler, and some other reputable persons, competent to judge of the merit and authenticity of this curious performance. It would appear, that the Duke of Montagu, mentioned by Job, with so much gratitude, (Moore, p. 147.) was a great patron of African merit; for to his Grace's liberality, the negro poet and mathematician, Francis Williams, owed his education at school, and afterwards at the University of Cambridge*. I have been told that, when Job was at the Duke's house, the servants used to complain that he sometimes soiled the stairs, when he retired to his chamber to pray, which he regularly did several times a day.

784. I shall close this note with some account of another African, who, though he was not endowed with any superiority of intellect, possessed, in an eminent degree, that goodness of heart, which so honourably characterizes the African genius.—In April, 1781, I was informed, that a young African was going to be conveyed on board a vessel bound for *Sierra Leona*. Curiosity induced me to enquire in what capacity he was to be sent there; as the grand question, respecting the abolition of the Slave-trade, had then become a merited object of universal investigation, particularly in this Island—I soon discovered that the master of this poor negro had no other intention in conveying him out of this country, than to dispose of him afterwards with the greater facility, for the West-India market, in order to reinstate his expences with profit.—On closer enquiry, I found that this youth, whose name was *Peter Panah*, was really a son of the present Peter, King of Mesurado, who had himself been educated at Liverpool, by the slave-traders. I discovered farther, that he had been basely kidnapped from his father, conveyed to a Mr. Hammer at Sierra Leona, by an English slave-vessel, (Capt. Frazer) and sold there to a Capt. Cambeby, who carried him to the W. Indies, where he met with other slaves from his own country, who immediately recognized him to be their king's son.—This fact was moreover proved by the mark he bore on his breast, which is inscribed on all the king's children, to distinguish them from others.

Account of a kidnapped African prince, who lately died in England.

785. One Johnson, a mulatto dealer at Grenada, being acquainted with this circumstance, conceived that such a deed committed against the King of Mesurado, in the person of one of his children, could not but injure the commerce carried on by the English in that country. Making this therefore his plea, he combined it with his own interest, and supposed that if he brought this young prince to England, it might turn out greatly to his advantage, provided the public could be interested in his redemption. But this mere mercantile speculation failing, Johnson resolved to return with him to the West-Indies, to sell him there for the 60l. he had paid for him. Some papers, which I received from Johnson himself, clearly prove these facts: but as his return directly to the W. Indies was likely to be expensive, he was

A mercantile speculation in his person.

* Long, Vol. II. p. 476.

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The author
frees him from
his bondage.

cunning enough to obtain permission of Mr. Sharp, under pretence of establishing himself at the new colony, to get a free passage for himself and his negro to S. Leona, whence his passage to the West Indies was easy.

786. The compassion I felt for the situation of this unfortunate youth, and the prospect, by restoring him to his father, of furthering my favourite plan of civilizing Africa, the most effectual means for abolishing the Slave-trade, made me the less hesitate to rescue him from his base shackles: I therefore redeemed him: this was done in presence of the Rev. Mr. RAMSAY, Mr. T. CLARKSON, and Mr. R. PHILLIPS, on the 6th of May, 1788, for 20l. ster.—I then placed him at Mr. Dempster's academy, at Mitcham in Surry, to be instructed in the first rudiments of Christianity, into which he was regularly baptized on the 25th Dec. 1788. At this school he likewise had such education as his faculties were capable of receiving.—He indeed proved obedient and pliable, but he was not gifted by nature with any extraordinary parts. He made, however, a tolerable proficiency in reading and writing, and shewed a great desire for agriculture. Though pretty much accustomed to European manners, he seemed to retain an unconquerable propensity to return to his former habits of simplicity, in his native country, where he knew he would find a mode of life more suitable to his taste.

His death.

787. Mr. G. Sharp promised to use his endeavours to procure him a free passage to his own country, but various incidents retarded and prevented this gentleman's kind intentions, till he was taken ill, at Mr. Dempster's school, by sleeping one evening on the damp grass. This indisposition soon ended in a galloping consumption, which baffled the power of medicine, and he died, in Oct. 1790, in my own house, aged, as near as I could guess, about 18 or 20.

788. I cannot but mention the generosity of three gentlemen, who happened to hear of the case of this unfortunate youth, and sent me towards his support, the following sums respectively:

Mr. WILBERFORCE	£20	0	0
The Rev. Mr. GISBORNE	5	5	0
Mr. PENNANT	1	1	0

so that his redemption, schooling, cloathing, medicine, &c. exclusive of these contributions, during the time he was under my care, (2½ years) did not cost me more than £67 10s. 5d. But, though it pleased Providence to call him hence, I never shall regret this expenditure.

789. It may be said, that I need not have purchased the liberty of this unhappy youth, as he was free *the instant he landed on the British shore*. (See § 230.) But it ought to be remembered, that the best laws are often rendered expensive, and even ultimately ineffectual, by the many arts which lawyers and other designing men practise, to elude them. Besides, though the law seems to be against personal or individual slavery in this country, the merchant who dares openly avow himself as a dealer in

human

human flesh, is not only protected in his iniquity, but enjoys all the rights of honest people, not excepting that of sitting upon a jury, even in the most serious criminal cases, from which, however, the dealers in the *flesh of animals* are excluded*. But put a despot into a free country, where there is a social check upon his actions, and he is no longer a despot: and put a slave-merchant into a country where industry and ability, and not money, are the standards of credit, and he is no longer a slave-merchant.

790. This leads me back to the principles advanced in several parts of this work, respecting personal slavery, in our present European communities, especially in those where commerce is carried on to any extent †.

791. I consider the abused power of governing to have generated that kind of slavery, which, for the sake of distinction, I call *Political Slavery*; and that which arises from the abused power of money, I think I may fairly call *Mercantile Slavery*. The first, which has reference to a person's situation with respect to the community, seems to be, in some degree, guarded against, in this Island, by the general principles of the British constitution, as well as by particular statutes. But the second kind, which has reference to a person's situation, with respect to the interests of individuals, and which is also personal, inasmuch as an individual can not only be arrested for debt, but actually starved to death in a gaol, (see § 594, note.) appears to me not to have been hitherto fully considered, at least not by the majority of those whose province it is to rectify the evil; for the humane exertions of Lord Moira, Mr. Grey and some other respectable members of both Houses of the British Parliament, have hitherto been unsuccessful. (See § 142, qu. LI.)

* To this comparison, between a butcher and a slave-merchant, it may be objected, that the former carries on his business within the reach, and very properly under the protection, of the English laws; whereas a part only of the business of the latter is confined to England, the rest being transacted partly in Africa, which is out of the reach of English laws, and partly in the W. Indian Islands, the laws of which, however, their charters stipulate, shall not be repugnant to the laws of England. But the question is, Whether a set of men, who by their mercantile operations, violate all laws, in *any* foreign part of the world, ought to be allowed to live among honest people, in a civilized community, calling itself free? To put the case in a more striking light, I would ask, Whether any legislature ought to give it's protection to a set of men, who should make it a trade to fit out ships, under it's jurisdiction, in order to catch and kill human beings, and salt up their flesh at O'Taheite, and carry it to New-Zealand, to be sold to the Cannibals?

† I use the term personal slavery in a more extensive sense than ordinary, for the truth is, I am not satisfied with the distinction of slavery, as commonly divided into *political* and *personal*. They are both strictly personal; for persons alone can be slaves in any sense.

NOTE

APPENDIX.

NOTE A A.

Mr. Afzelius's account of the natural productions.

792. At § 525, I signified my intention of inserting in this Appendix, the "Substance of two Reports" from Mr. Afzelius, subjoined to the Report of the Directors; but interesting materials have so unexpectedly multiplied on my hands, that I find I can only afford room for the following *Abridgment of an Account of the Natural Productions* of S. Leona*.

ANIMALS.

Oxen & asses. 793. Cattle thrive well, and even grow fat, but not so commonly as in Europe. A number of bulls, oxen and cows graze in the savannahs.—Some few asses, sent to the colony, are used in labour, and do not suffer by the climate; but are not equal to mules.

Sheep, goats, hogs. 794. Sheep change their wool into hair. They suffer from the heat, are commonly lean, and do not increase much. But goats and hogs are very prolific, and as fine and large as in any other countries. The colony is sufficiently stocked with these animals.

Antelopes, &c. 795. Porcupines, wild hogs, squirrels and antelopes, may also be classed among the animals found at S. Leona proper for food. The skin of the latter appears to be proper for gloves.

Lions, &c. 796. The beasts of prey are lions, leopards, hyænas, musk cats, and many kinds of weasels, which last are very destructive to poultry. The skins of some of these might be of use in a commercial view. There are two species of musk cats at S. Leona, the civet and the zibet cat.

Japanzee. 797. The Japanzee or Chimpanzee, common in the mountains of S. Leona, resembles man more than even the Ourang Outang. Of two brought to the colony, one died soon; the other, being older, lived some months. He was nearly 2 feet high, but their full stature is nearly 5 feet. He was covered with black

* Having already bestowed a Chap. (the 5th.) on natural productions, I certainly would not swell my work with any thing more on the subject, if I did not think the descriptions of so able a naturalist as Mr. Afzelius, infinitely more worthy of attention than any thing I can pretend to write on the subject. The reader, however, will observe, that the memoir, of which I here offer him an abridgment, is itself given by the Directors, only as "The substance" of two reports from Mr. A. I have not seen those reports; but, from that gentleman's known caution and accuracy, I may venture to say, that they were not intended for publication, in any shape; especially, as I know how difficult it is for a person to express himself accurately in a foreign language, which the English is to Mr. A. as well as to myself. I believe, I may pronounce them to have been mere popular descriptions, intended for the use of gentlemen concerned in the S. Leona undertaking, who could not well be supposed minutely conversant in the technical language and arrangement of natural history. The learned reader, therefore, will not suppose Mr. A's two *original reports*, still less their *substance*, and least of all, this *Abridgment of their Substance*, to be specimens of Mr. A's professional abilities.

hair, long and thick on the back, but short and thin on the breast and belly. His face was bare; his hands and his head resembled those of an old black man, except that the hair on his head was straight. He ate, drank, slept and sat at table, like a human being. At first he crept on all fours, on the outside of his hands; but, when grown larger, he endeavoured to go erect, supporting himself by a stick. He was melancholy, but always good-natured. This ape, although not entirely unknown in Europe, has usually been confounded with other apes.

798. Of these the Directors have as yet received no perfect account. A species of crane is mentioned, which becomes very tame, and is reckoned very good food. Fowls multiply amazingly. Ducks thrive; but geese and turkies have not answered expectation.

Birds.
Amphibious
animals, &c.

799. Green, hawk's bill, or loggerhead, turtles, are very common, and sometimes of an immense size. Fresh water turtles, and land turtles, are also found, the latter in abundance; and it is thought that they might be imported into England to good profit. Crocodiles, or alligators, of a non-descript species, 10 or 12 feet in length, have been found; and lizards of six species, among which are the Guana and the Camelcon. Snakes are almost innumerable; they haunt the houses in the night in search of poultry; the largest yet discovered measured 18 feet, which did not prove venomous.

800. The insects are very numerous. The most remarkable are the termites, (commonly called wood-ants, or bug-a-bugs) which destroy wooden houses and fences; ants, which devour provisions; cockroaches and crickets, which destroy clothes, linen and leather; musquitoes, sand-flies, scorpions, tarantulas and centipedes; also wild bees, which furnish plenty of wax and honey. The vermes are little known; the barnacles are very large, and injurious to vessels not copper-bottomed.

Insects, &c.

801. Fishes are in great variety, both in the sea and the river. The spermaceti whale has been occasionally found at *S. Leona*, but oftener down the coast. Besides the whale, the shark, sting-ray and porpoise, there are eels, horse-mackerel, tarpoons, cavillos, mullets, snappers, yellowtails, old-maids, tenpounders, and some other fishes; all of which, except the eels and tenpounders, are esteemed fine eating. Oysters are found in great abundance, and another shell fish, which the natives eat. Among the Zoophites, none is more worthy of notice than the common sponge, which covers all the sandy beaches of the river, particularly on the Bullom shore, and would fetch a high price in *G. Britain*.

Fishes, &c.

VEGETABLES.

802. (1.) Rice is the chief plant cultivated at *S. Leona*, and the staple of the country. The lower class of the natives subsist almost entirely upon it. Although it pro-

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pers best in swamps, it will thrive also on elevated land; but, like other aquatics, it grows smaller and thinner, though the grain is better. Of this quality is the rice on the eminences of S. Leona, while on the plains of the Bullom shore, and other such tracts, it grows as luxuriantly as in Carolina, and if cleaned with equal care, it would be equally white; but at present, through the negligence of the natives, both the rice intended for consumption, and for trade, retains part of the brownish rind. The rice fields are prepared during the dry season, and receive the seed in the tornado season, antecedent to the rains; but the seasons varying, the time for sowing is irregular. In the year 1792, rice was sown in June, and reaped in Oct.

Cassada,

2. This constitutes, after rice, the chief food of the inhabitants, and its culture requires time and care. It succeeds best in sandy, open places. In 3 or 4 months after planting, the roots grow fit for use. The natives do not reap the whole at once, but dig up a few roots as they want them; but, before the succeeding rains, they clear the field, never extending their plantations beyond the supposed exigencies of a single year. The natives sometimes make cakes of cassada, which though dry, are well tasted and extremely white: they also boil or roast this article. A kind of ale might possibly be prepared from it, as is done by the Arawaks of Surinam*.

to be cautiously used.

* As no part of household economy requires so much care and caution as the preparation of Cassada, some further account of it cannot fail to be acceptable to such of my readers, as may have occasion to reside in any new tropical colony.—Dr. Browne mentions two species of that plant, which are used in the Sugar Islands as food; and which he thus describes.—“*IATROPHA 4. Folii palmatis pentadactylibus, radice conico-oblongâ, carne sublaetâ.*”——“*Iatropa, Folii palmatis, lobis lanceolatis, levibus integerrimis.*” Linn. Sp. Pl.—The *Cassava*, *Cassada* or *Cassadar*.—The juice of the root is sweetish, but more or less of a deleterious, or poisonous, nature, both fresh and in the putrid state.—But, however, unwholesome or violent, the rough juice may be found, immediately after it is expressed, &c. it has been lately discovered by an ingenious gentleman, who has practised many years in the warm parts of America, that a little mint water and salt of wormwood will calm the most violent symptoms that arise on taking it; and prevent all bad consequences, even in the human species, if it be but timely administered.—“*IATROPHA 5. Folii palmatis, lobis incertis, radice oblongâ, funiculo valido per centrum ducto, carne niveâ.*—The sweet *Cassada*.”—(The Linnæan description of this last species, if any, Dr. B. has not inserted.)—“This plant,” continues the Doctor, “is very like the foregoing, both in habit and appearance, and cultivated in the same manner; but the root is free from any of that deleterious quality that is generally observed in the juices of the other sort. It is always planted in separate pieces, for fear of a mistake, and roasted or boiled for use; but the latter seems to be the best method of dressing it.” Nat. Hist. of Jamaica p. 349, where the learned author describes the method of preparing the *farine*, or meal, from the first species above mentioned. See also Long’s 3d. Vol. But I apprehend that in all such processes, experience is a safer guide than any descriptions to be found in books.—Not knowing into whose hands this work may fall, I have inserted the above extracts, by way of caution to persons unacquainted with the danger of using cassada indiscriminately, and without being duly prepared, by some person practically skilled in the operation, which though not difficult, requires great care and attention.—A certain eminent botanist, and also a friend of mine who has been long in the W. Indies, both advise me, by all means, to insert this note.

3. These resemble potatoes, and are dry, farinaceous, and nutritious. Though elsewhere there are many species of yams, there is but one in S. Leona. The largest root in the Company's gardens weighed only about 4lb. the soil being probably too hard for it. The natives do not bestow so much pains on yams as cassada.

Yams.

4. These are good and useful roots, in no particular, however, resembling the true potatoes, except that like them, they are farinaceous roots. They thrive best in a loose soil, but the natives are as inattentive to them as to yams. The leaves boiled make a good dish on the table, and afford an excellent nourishment for sheep, goats, or pigs.

Sweetpotatoes.

5. These are eaten by the natives, either raw or roasted.

Ground-nuts.

6. Though abundant, they are not so much used as they deserve to be. The leaves, if young, are as good as spinach; and the roots, when boiled, resemble chestnuts. They are fit for use when 3 months old, but are best after 4 or 6 months growth.

Eddoes.

7 and 8. Country potatoes of two sorts; 1st, Ajuck, a round root, somewhat bigger than a hazel nut, found in abundance in low places, with a long stem, which creeps round it on the ground; it's taste is better than that of sweet potatoes; but it is less solid. And, 2dly, Abunk, which grows on the branches of the tree in a strange manner, and is a singular excrescence of an irregular, angular and tuberous shape. It tastes somewhat like sweet potatoes.

Country potatoes.

9. A common, handsome and useful tree, indicating a good soil. It supplies the inhabitants with oil, wine and food. The wine in appearance perfectly resembles whey, tastes well when fresh, but is apt to ferment, to change in 3 or 4 days to the strongest vinegar, of a disagreeable smell. It is collected by tapping the tree. The oil is obtained from the fruit, which is of the size of a hazel nut, consisting of a hard kernel, enclosed in a thick, fat matter, covered with a thin skin, which dissolves and yields the oil, which is used by the natives by way of butter to their rice. This oil, though liquid at first, in a short time hardens, and turns rancid: a superior oil is made, though in small quantities, by bruising and boiling the kernels in water. The interior substance of the top of young palm-trees being boiled, eats like cabbage: the leaves serve the natives for baskets.

Oil-palm.

10 and 11. These grow very commonly, and are two useful trees, nearly related to the palm. Plantains are larger than bananas, more regular, bent at the base, and fewer in each cluster, harder and less luscious. They are eaten raw, boiled, or roasted. Bananas are among the superior fruits of this country, soft and sweet, and generally eaten raw: above 100 grow in a cluster. The leaves are used for various economical purposes; and the fibres serve in some places for thread.

Plantains & bananas.

12. A fine fruit of a deep green, but when ripe of a yellow colour. When green it is boiled, when ripe eaten raw as a fruit. The leaves are used instead of soap, the hollow stalks for pipes, and ropes may be made of the bark.

Papaw.

13. Some green fruit of this kind has been discovered in a neighbouring bay.

Guava.

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- 14 and 15. These are very common in their wild state, bearing ripe fruit throughout the year, though not always in equal abundance. The oranges are excellent, and larger than those of Europe. Lemons planted long ago by the Portuguese in the neighbourhood, have degenerated so much as to resemble limes.
- Oranges and limes.
16. These are to be found wild, wherever the ground is loose; but though more solid, are not so large as the European. They are used for pies and puddings, and may be had throughout the year.
- Pompions.
- 17, 18, 19, 20. Squash, water, melon, cucumber and musk, melon. These arrive at the greatest perfection, and by proper care might be made to surpass the European. The first settlers found no water melons, but took the seeds with them.
- Melons, &c.
21. These are far better flavoured than those of Europe, but tougher in the middle. They are to be found all the year, growing wild in the woods, and on declivities near water. They are also planted by the natives.
- Pine apples.
22. This is a good pulse, and is dressed like English peas or beans. It grows wild in the skirts of woods, and in old rice and cassada fields, and may be had throughout the year.
- Pigeon peas.
23. This is cultivated more on the Bullom shore than near Freetown; it requires but 3 months to ripen, so that several harvests are afforded in a year. The grain is boiled in salt water, or roasted in the ear and eaten with butter, but sometimes it is eaten raw. The natives of the Gold Coast make puddings of it. Goats and cattle eat the blades with avidity.
- Maize or Indian corn.
24. Millet of two kinds, is found wild and used for poultry; the stalks of the larger sort contain a refreshing juice.
- Millet.
25. Cocoa trees grow in Sherbro, where they have been planted. The nuts are eaten raw or made into pies.
- Cocoa-nut trees.
26. Cashew nuts, according to Lieut. Matthews, were introduced by the Europeans; but none have been seen at S. Leona, except on the Bullom shore.
- Cashew.
27. The fruit of a little tree resembling the English seatree mallows, very common in S. Leona. The pods render soup gelatinous and highly nourishing; the leaves boil like spinach.
- Ockra.
28. These have been found, in small quantities, near S. Leona. They probably will thrive exceedingly, as soon as the land shall have been some time in cultivation.
- Sugar-cane.
29. This is common in low lands about Freetown: it abounds with a juice resembling gamboge in taint and durability, which exudes after the least laceration. The wood is firm, and seems adapted to various uses. The fruit is nearly oval, about twice the size of a man's fist; the rind is thick, pulpy, and of a pleasant acid; in the inside are found from 5 to 9 seeds, of the size of a walnut, containing an oleaginous matter, used by the natives, with their rice or other food.
- Butter and tallow tree.

30. Of these there is a great variety. The velvet tamarind and common tamarind grow plentifully on the island of Bananas. The white tamarinds, being of an indifferent taste, are much neglected. The brown tamarinds are sweet and highly esteemed. There is also a hard and insipid fruit resembling a tamarind, eaten by the natives, which they call massino. Tamarinds.

31. Fig-tree. The fruit of this tree, which scarcely exceeds a hazel nut in size, is agreeable like other figs, but it can hardly be eaten, owing to the number of small insects with which it is commonly filled. Fig-tree.

32. Country figs. These in no respect resemble the true figs, except in the number of their gritty seeds. This fruit is of the size of an apple, nearly round, and agreeably tasted, when ripe resembling the European strawberry. The tree is non-descript; it is found in the best soil in the woods.

33. Hog Plums. These are rather smaller than European Plums, yellow, and not unpleasing: the natives are very fond of them. The tree, in some respects, resembles the ash. Hog-plums.

34. Country plums. Of these there are many kinds, besides those just mentioned. They contain generally one or more kernels. They are commonly of the size of an hazel nut. Country plums.

35. These are round and black, acid and acrid; they might certainly be improved, but never so as to resemble grapes, for they belong to a genus totally different. Grapes.

36. This contains an acid similar to that of real sorrel, but resembles it in no other respect. The plant is common enough. Sorrel.

37. This is the best substitute for spinach, if properly dressed; it grows in cleared grounds, and indicates a good soil. Caleloe.

38. A very common plant on hills near the shore. It appears 3 days after being sown. It is said to have been applied to wounds with success. Purslain.

39. There is a well known and much esteemed fruit of this sort in the W. Indies; but that of *S. Leona* is of a different species, though no way inferior. Mammee.

40, 41, 42. Cainito, bumelia and icaco, or pigeon plums, three W. Indian fruits. The last is rather insipid, but improves greatly by cultivation. Cainito, &c.

43, 44. Antidesma, of the same taste with red currants, and mantanka, being also tolerably good. Antidesma.

45. The country cherries surpass all the fruits of *S. Leona*. A fine nectarine is the fruit to which it can best be compared. Cherries.

46. This has at a distance the appearance of an old apple-tree. A species of it grows plentifully on the Bullom shore, and in low and sandy places. The fruit is about the size of an apple, and when fresh is exceedingly good and nutritious, having almost the same taste as gingerbread, but it loses much of its flavour when old. Bread fruit,

47. This is still larger and quite round: there are always two of the fruits united and Cream fruit.

- APPENDIX, and hanging at the end of a small branch; when wounded they yield a fine white juice, resembling sugar or the best milk; the natives are very fond of it.
- Malaguetta pepper, &c. 48. There is a set of plants, called by the botanists amomum, all of a spicy nature, and are of 3 divisions. To the 1st, belong the gingers. To the 2d, grains of paradise, or Malaguetta pepper. The 3d, is called cardamoms. The true ginger grows in the Sufee country, though not yet found in S. Leona. Malaguetta pepper of 4 different sorts is found; 1st, Maboobo, the seeds of which are pretty large, oblong and of an agreeable but weak flavour. 2d, Massaaba, smaller than the preceding, but much like it; the pulp in the pod, when fresh, is of a fine acid. 3d, Massa Amquona, the seeds of which are of the same nature as the last, but rather more angular and pungent; the leaves and stems are endowed with the finest aroma, both in scent and taste. 4th, Toffan, the native and true Malaguetta pepper of Africa, and grains of paradise of the shops. It excels all other kinds in pungency.
- Nutmegs. 49. A new species of nutmeg, different from all others, has been discovered; but whether it is as good as the common sort, is at this time difficult to ascertain.
- Coffee. 50. Coffee trees are found of two different species, both non-descript; but whether of any use is not yet ascertained.
- Piper Ethio- 51. A well-known spice, grows on lofty trees, in great abundance on the moun- picum. tains. It is used both by colonists and natives instead of black pepper.
- Mabeck. 52. A fine spice, though not very pungent. The virtue is in the husk, and is used by the natives for many medicinal purposes. The tree is high and valuable.
- Barrelliera. 53. A small plant with the same scent as thyme, and might be used for the same purposes.
- Tomato. 54. With which the natives season their rice, are angular and red. It is thought that Capsicums grow wild.
- Cola. 55. Cola is a famous fruit, highly esteemed by the natives, for the same virtues as the Peruvian bark. It is used for the same purposes by the Portuguese, who send small vessels along the coast, to collect all the cola they can get.
- Peruvianbark. 56. Of the Peruvian bark a new sort has been discovered, which may perhaps prove as useful as the other. The natives use it for the same purposes.
- Castor oil. 57. The bush which produces the nuts from which this oil is expressed, grows every where in S. Leona.
- Cassia of the 58. The African species is nearly related to that of the W. Indies, and will not, cane, it is thought, be found less useful.
- Dye stuffs, 59. With respect to dyes, yellow may be extracted from the butter fruit tree, gums. and blue from indigo. Black and red may be obtained from other plants. Gum Copal and gum Senega, the last usually sold in the shops for gum Arabic, are among the chief gums on the coast.
- Cotton. 60. Cotton grows plentifully in S. Leona, as does the silk cotton among other cotton fruits,

61. The natives use the bark of the mahant for ropes and whips, and the roots of the famous mangrove for bas in making mats.
62. Common tobacco grows at S. Leona, but the natives do not cultivate it.

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Mahant.

Tobacco.

MINERALS.

63. No report having been made by the late Mr. Nordenkiold, the Company's mineralogist, the Directors are not prepared to offer any particular specification of the minerals found at S. Leona*.

NOTE B B. See § 527.

LATE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FRENCH AT S. LEONA.

I cannot better fulfil my promise, of giving the most authentic accounts I could collect of these transactions, than by laying before my readers the following valuable paper which the Swedish Ambassador has obligingly put into my hands :

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Adam Afzelius to His Excellency the Chevalier von ENGESTROM, the Swedish Ambassador in London, dated Sierra Leona, 15th November, 1794.

804. "The English Colony at S. Leona had, like all other new Colonies, in the beginning, great difficulties to overcome. But, before the end of two years from its first institution, order and industry had begun to shew their effects in an increasing prosperity.—A new town had been laid out, with regular streets and a little garden belonging to each house.—The woods had been cut down to the distance of about half a Swedish mile (3 English miles) all round the town.—By this means the climate had become healthier, and sickness had diminished.—The fame of our colony had spread not only along the whole western coast of Africa, but also to parts far distant from the coast; and we have had embassies from kings and princes, several hundred miles distant, with the view of acquiring a better knowledge of us, and of obtaining our friendship.—They began to send their children to us, with full confidence, to be brought up in the christian religion.—In short, we were externally respected and internally happy.—For my own part, I could never wish for a better situation.—I had every comfort I wanted.—I was in good health and spirits.—I sat at the table of the governor himself, who treated me with liberality and kindness.—I had a house of my own, which was large enough to contain specimens of all the natural treasures of this coast.—It was surrounded by a fine garden, in which I had myself planted the scarcest plants, and the most beautiful aro-

Prosperity of the colony before it was attacked by the French.

* Mr. Nordenkiold arrived at S. Leona in May, 1792, and died in the Sept. following, having been ill during most of the time. (See § 714, et seq.)

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matic and odoriferous flowers, which delightfully recompensed my pains.—I had also many living animals, including about 30 birds in cages and small houses.—Natural curiosities poured into my collection from all quarters; and these I sent from time to time, as opportunity offered, to a friend in London, to be kept for me till my return.—The last opportunity I had to send any thing was the 4th of Aug.—I then began a fresh collection, which, before the expiration of 2 months, was more valuable than what I had got together 3 months before, or from the time of my last return to S. Leona.

Colony attacked by a French squadron.

805. " But all these treasures are no more. Our felicity and prosperity are vanished, and have given place to misery and want.—I myself have largely participated in the common calamity. My own separate and individual loss is irreparable. The French have been here and have ruined us.—They arrived on the 28th of Sept. last, early in the morning, with a fleet consisting of one large ship, 2 frigates, 2 armed brigs and one cutter, together with two large armed merchant ships, taken by them at the Isles de Lofs, an English slave factory to the N. of our colony, and which they have also destroyed and burnt.

After some firing, the colony submits.

806. " So well had they concealed their nation, that we took them at first for English.—They had English built vessels, which were rigged in the English way.—They shewed the English flag, and had their sailors, at least those we saw on deck, dressed like English.—In short we did not perceive our mistake, till we observed them pointing their guns.—We had not strength sufficient to resist, and therefore our governor gave orders, that as soon as they should begin to fire, the British flag should be struck, and a flag of truce hoisted.—Accordingly this was done, but still they continued firing, and did much damage, both within and without the town.—They killed 2 people and wounded 3 or 4.—But, as we did not understand the meaning of this proceeding, we asked them for an explanation; and they answered us that we should display the flag of liberty, as a proof of our submission.—We assured them that it should already have been done, if we had had any, which terminated the hostilities from the ships.

Most of the colonists fled.

807. " In the mean time, most of the inhabitants had fled from the town, having taken with them as much of their property as they conveniently could, in such a hurry.—I was with the governor, together with a number of others, but as soon as I was certain they were enemies, I went towards my own house, with a view to save as much as possible of my property and natural collections; but was received in such manner, that I could not venture to proceed.—My house was situated near the shore, and unfortunately just opposite the frigate which fired.—I saw the balls passing through the house and heard them whizzing about my ears.—I saw that I should loose all my property; but life was dearer to me, and I hastened to the woods.

808. " In the afternoon the enemy landed, finding the town almost destitute of people, but rich in provisions, cloathing and other stores. They began immediately to break open the houses and to plunder. What they did not want, they destroyed, burnt or threw into the river. They killed all the cattle and animals they found in the fields or streets, yards or elsewhere, not sparing even asses, dogs and cats. These proceedings they continued the whole succeeding week, till they had intirely ruined our beautiful and prospering colony.

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The colony
plundered, &c.

809. " When I returned to the town, I found my house converted into a melancholy guard-house. My principal property, such as money, cloaths, my very valuable instruments, and most of my furniture, were either carried off, or broken to pieces. According to bills and accounts, which I have still left, this loss amounts to very near £300 ster. The rest, which was of no value or use to the enemy, but on which I myself put a just and great value, I had the mortification to find so totally destroyed, that the sight almost drew tears from my eyes. My neat and beautiful little garden, I found intirely ruined, the trees cut down and the plants pulled up by the roots. My living animals and birds were partly eaten and partly thrown out of doors, with their heads cut off. My library and collection of animals, fruits and flowers preserved in spirits of wine; of birds, insects, shells, herbarium, fruits and seeds, together with all my manuscripts; all were thrown down and spread over the whole floor, where they were all mixed with offals of victuals, treacle, rum, beer and other things of the kind. At last I received leave from the commodore to clear away this dirty mixture. I had then the floor swept, and collected what was not wholly spoiled in 3 bags, which now contain all the miserable remnants of my property, except the cloaths on my back. When the enemy found nothing more worth plundering, they set fire to the public buildings and all the houses belonging to Europeans; and consequently to mine among the rest. About 24 houses, great and small, were thus destroyed, and 9 or 10 houses of the colonists were also burnt, by mistake.

Mr. Afzelius's losses.

810. " In the mean time, the enemy were not less active on the water. They sent three of their vessels to Bance island, an English slave-factory higher up the river, which they plundered and burnt, together with some slave ships lying there. They took besides about 10 or 12 prizes, including the Company's vessels. Most of these they unloaded and burnt. They took along with them also 2 of our armed vessels, one of which was a large ship, laden with provisions, and which had been long expected; but she unfortunately arrived a few days too soon, and was taken with her whole cargo. We expected at least to receive our private letters, but even this was refused, and they were thrown over board. What hardship is this to me, who have not had the smallest information from my patrons and friends, since I was in England 8 months ago?

Prizes taken.

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The Squadron
leaves the ri-
ver.

811. " At last, after inflicting on us every hardship we could suffer, only sparing our lives and the houses of the colonists, they sailed on the 13th Oct. last, at noon, proceeding downwards to the Gold Coast, and left us in the most dreadful situation, without provisions, cloaths, houses, or furniture, &c. &c. and I fear much, that most of us should have perished, had not our friends in the neighbourhood, both natives and Europeans, who were so happy as to escape the enemy, been so kind as to send us what they could spare*.

Sickness but
no want.

812. " In the mean time, most of us have either been, or still are, very sick, and many have died for want of proper food and medicine. The worst, however, is now past. At least we are not in any want of provision, although of the coarsest kind, but are destitute of the most necessary articles and utensils for the house, the table and the kitchen.

Mr. Afzelius's
peculiar mis-
fortunes.

813. " Besides the common misfortune, in which I participated equally with the rest, I have several grievances which make me particularly uneasy. All that I could possibly save from destruction, were a few books, some dry herbs and seeds, and only a few fragments of my MSS. These last were my most valuable property, and the only sure voucher or testimony I could produce, to certify my perseverance and attention in my researches, in the course of my travels in foreign countries—but most of them are no more, and many of them can never be restored, as for instance, my journal from the time I first came to this place till this terrible catastrophe, &c. &c. Descriptions of natural productions and of my collections, I might perhaps, in a great measure, replace, had I only the necessary instruments and other requisites, but I have lost all. What then can a poor beggar do in a desert? He must endeavour to employ his time in the best manner, patiently submit to the will of Providence, and wait until assistance can arrive. By the next vessel from England, which, however, cannot arrive here in less than 4 or 5 months, I hope my worthy friends and protectors will remember me with such things as I may want.

814. " Before I finish, I beg leave to make two general observations on the conduct of the French at this place.

The French
squadron ap-
pear to be ig-
norant of the
true object of
the colony.

815. " I. That they acted contrary to their own acknowledged fundamental principle, viz. *the spreading of light and liberty*, when they plundered this colony, which has been instituted for those very purposes, viz. *to abolish the Slave trade, to enlighten the Africans, and to render them virtuous and rational, free and happy*. This establishment, which has no parallel in history, at first so much attracted the attention of the National Assembly that several of its members, as I have been told, wrote to the Directors of this colony in London, and assured them that

* Mr. A. here alludes to the Europeans, residing at the neighbouring slave factory, whose friendly offices, as well as the civility of their employers in England, the Directors liberally acknowledge. See the note at the close of § 310.

neither their ships, nor Colony should be exposed to the Republican arms. I have great reason to believe that this correspondence is yet preserved.

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816. "It may be said that this offer and promise was given by the party, called *Girondists*, who no longer exist; but I should think that the *Mountains*, (so called) would not yield to their opponents, in noble and generous sentiments. There must consequently be some fault or misunderstanding, either in theory or in practice; either with the Convention, who issued the orders, or with the commodore who put them into execution. I mentioned these circumstances to some of the French officers, and they did not deny their justice; but they laid all the blame upon two American slave captains, who have been obliged to escape both from England and from America, for great crimes, and who, thinking they had suffered some injury here at S. Leona, were looking out for vengeance. These men piloted the French hither, encouraging their sailors to commit all possible violence and cruelty. But be this as it may, that promise once made to our Directors, had lulled both them and us in the colony, into so profound a security, that neither they nor we could think of any hostile attack, and consequently had not put ourselves in any state of defence*.

Mr. Afzelius's own remarks.

817. "II. That they acted against the laws of neutrality, when they plundered me. I mentioned that I was a Swede, and a naturalist, who was exposing my life in Africa for the sake of enlightening, and making discoveries for the benefit of all nations, and who was residing here only for a certain time, without having any thing further to do with the English. They acknowledged, that I was ill treated, and many of them even allowed that I ought to be indemnified for my loss. I very naturally supported this last proposition, and even spoke to the commodore about it, but, although he gave me full hopes, nothing could be effected. They excused themselves by saying, that I was out of the way when my house was broke open, and that if they had known to whom it belonged, they would have preserved it. This sounds well, but that they were not serious, I think I can conclude from what I experienced. When I first entered into my house and found that there were still some trunks left, I asked for one of them, but was answered that it belonged to the captain of one of the frigates, and when I then asked for another, that belonged to such or such an officer, &c. &c. They had, however, just before agreed that I had suffered injury. The following day, when the captain himself came on shore, I asked him for my trunk. He shrugged up his shoulders and complained much of my misfortune, saying, that he would do me this little favour with all his heart, if it was in his power. Another time I saw in my room a bed-cover; I asked the officer, who was on his post for it, and he gave it to me, but a sailor came immediately and tore it from me, saying that it belonged to him, and I lost it. I could men-

Mr. A. the Swede, was plundered.

* This appears to be fully explained in § 837.

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tion many similar instances. But the plain truth of the matter was that the officers had no authority, and the sailors did what they pleased. The former, who were in general sensible and respectable men, were very sorry for those violences that were committed, but complained sincerely that it was totally out of their power to prevent it. The latter, or sailors, seemed in general to be miserable and in great want; but at the same time cruel, and could be compared only to wild beasts who live by devouring their prey.

818. "I have scarcely any paper, pens or ink, nor even a penknife; so that I have very good reasons to hope for some indulgence, remaining, &c.

"A. AFZELIUS."

* * *

Agreement
of the public
and private ac-
counts of the
transactions of
the French
squadron.

819. It is important to observe, that the report of the governor and council to the Directors, the foregoing letter of Mr. Afzelius, and several other private letters, mutually corroborate each other.

820. Mr. Gray in particular, in his letter to one of his friends in London, dated "*Ruins of Freetown*, Oct. 18th, 1794," and which I have just seen, mentions every material fact contained in the foregoing extract. He adds, that "the largest French ship carried 50 guns, and the two frigates 32 guns each." But it would appear, that they were so ill found, and the seamen so disorderly, that he goes on to say, "I am confident that two English frigates would have taken their whole force" (namely the foregoing ships, with two armed brigs, and some vessels of inferior consideration.) "It rather surprizes us, that this coast should be so neglected, Government not having a vessel of any kind in this quarter of the world. So the French no doubt had learnt, which caused their coming here. However, for my own part, I do not find room to blame the French so much, as those who are at the head of English affairs, for the evils that have befallen us."—"You must not imagine," adds he, "because we have been taken by the French, and have had our houses burnt, that we are sleeping in the woods, or that we are starving for want of victuals. No: we have houses yet, the governor having hired some of the best of the settlers' houses, for the officers and himself; nor, whilst we have sheep and goats for sending for, no very great distance, can we be supposed to be famishing." Mr. G. having been captured in a vessel at some distance from Freetown, says, "I slept on board one of the frigates, where I must acknowledge being well treated; so much so, the captain offered me his own bed." This gentleman also writes, that notwithstanding his past hardships, he had enjoyed uninterrupted health; and that he was about to accompany Mr. Watt in an attempt to penetrate to Tombuctoo. Most probably, therefore, those enterprising gentlemen have, ere now, entered on that interesting and arduous journey.

821. From Mr. Padenheim's letter to C. Grill, Esq. the Swedish Consul General, in London, it additionally appears, that an American slave-captain, of the name

of Newell, who had thought himself affronted by the Governor, had persuaded the French to attack the colony, assuring them of a very great booty. Hence I think it is fair to conclude, that the hopes of plunder operated so powerfully on the minds of the French sailors, that their commanders found it impossible to restrain them, either from attacking the colony, or from plundering it*.

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French incited to attack the colony.

* * *

PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS OF THE S. LEONA COMPANY, HELD AT THE PAUL'S-HEAD TAVERN, IN CATEATON-STREET, FEB. 26th, 1795.

That I may omit nothing that tends to give my readers an impartial, though I acknowledge, a very general, view of this interesting subject, I shall now lay before them some Account of these Proceedings.

822. Mr. H. Thornton, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, took the Chair, and read the journal transmitted by the Governor and Council at S. Leona, relative to the late transactions of the French at that place; and he concluded with reading various remarks made by the Directors thereupon.

823. [This journal contained so full and circumstantial an account of the attack upon the colony, that the reading of it took up above three hours. I have not room even for an abridgment of this detail, a circumstance the less to be regretted, as the Directors have just published a very faithful Abridgment of it, under the title of "Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors, &c. Feb. 26th, 1795;" which came rather too late into my hands. Besides, I really could not offer the reader a better summary, than the above extracts from the letters of Mr. Afzelius, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Padenheim; for I am happy to say, that, in a general view, those extracts and every other account that has come to my knowledge, perfectly agree with the journal and the "Substance," of it, of which two (or perhaps more) editions have been published; so that the reader can easily make the comparison. Upon the whole, it seems as unnecessary, as it is impracticable, for me to insert more than the following abridgment of the concluding remarks of the Directors. See "Substance," &c. from p. 16, to the end.]

824. "It appears, that in about three weeks after the departure of the French from S. Leona, an almost universal sickness prevailed among the whites, the consequence of the exertions of some, and the sufferings of others, at the crisis. The want of medical attendance, (the physician and both the surgeons being ill, one of the latter of whom died) and improper food and accommodations, aggravated the disorder, which, as in the first sickly season, was fatal, almost exclusively, to the lower Europeans. The destruction of the medicines was now most severely felt, as appears from the Governor himself, after a fit of fever, refraining from taking bark, lest he should consume too much of the small remaining quantity. The Directors mention with concern, that, of the 120 sailors first put on shore at S. Leona, by

Sickness and distress for want of medicines, &c.

* Having mentioned Mr. Padenheim, I cannot but add Mr. Beaver's opinion of this gentleman, That he did not know any person at S. Leona, while he was there, who had done more essential service to the colony, than Mr. Padenheim. A testimony so honourable, from so excellent and impartial a judge as Mr. B. is, especially of this kind of merit, convinces me that Mr. P. must indeed be a valuable member of the colony.

Mr. Beaver's opinion of Mr. Padenheim.

† Printed by J. Phillips, George Yard, Lombard-street.

"the

APPENDIX. “ the French, 80 have already died. The Governor states, that they never, in any
 “ stage of the public distress, wanted at least a regular meal of rice; and the Directors
 “ are persuaded, that no practicable measures of prudence or humanity have been
 “ neglected, either respecting these, or any other refugees from slave-ships, who from
 “ time to time, have been cast on the clemency of the S. Leona government.

Favourable
 circumstances. 825. “ Before the date of the last dispatches, the sickness is said, in some degree,
 “ to have abated. The healthy season was approaching; and a very seasonable, though
 “ probably an inadequate, supply of articles much wanted, had been just bought from
 “ the captain of a chartered vessel sent out by the Directors.

Company's
 loss and re-
 maining stock. 826. “ The whole loss of the Company, on this occasion, may be computed at
 “ £40,000, exclusive of the buildings destroyed, which cost about £15,000; but
 “ their value having been much less, such of them as will now be thought neces-
 “ sary, will probably be rebuilt for 2 or £3000. About 8 or £9000 have been laid
 “ out on works of defence, roads, a landing place, a wharf, and the allotment and
 “ cultivation of lands. The whole remaining property of the Company, exclusive of
 “ the 8 or £9000 dead stock just mentioned, the Directors compute at about £85,000.

Company's
 small vessels
 and goods on
 shore not in-
 sured, and why 827. “ The Company's small vessels, trading on the coast, were not insured; for
 “ the monthly premium, required on them, was thought unreasonably high. The
 “ value of each vessel and cargo seldom exceeded 2 or £3000; and the capture of so
 “ many of them at once, on different parts of the coast, was not considered as a proba-
 “ ble event. The Company's large ship, the Harpy, with her cargo, was mostly in-
 “ sured. But the insurance of goods on shore, against insurrections and foreign
 “ enemies, were found to be expressly excepted in the policies of the only Company
 “ that underwrites goods on shore, in distant countries.

Good effects
 likely to result
 from the cala-
 mity. 828. “ The governor and council state that some good effects may be considered
 “ as resulting from this calamity. They observe, that it has convinced the N. Sco-
 “ tians of their folly, in having contended for the ground nearest the river, and in
 “ neglecting the more distant and mountainous parts. They even remark, that the
 “ improvement in the mountains, during the ensuing dry season, seems likely to
 “ counterbalance the damage done to the town*. Thus an opportunity is said to be
 afforded

* I have just been favoured with a paper, which makes me think that sugar will never be among the productions of those mountains; though it may be hoped the Bullom shore will, *in due time*, afford a supply of that commodity. This paper justifies several of my remarks on the cultivation of the Company's plantation; so that had I been in possession of it when I drew up NOTE X. 1, I could have rendered that *hasty and general outline* less unworthy of the reader's attention: for I could have exemplified some of my reasonings with *facts* which prove that symptoms of the spirit of sugar speculation had actually appeared at S. Leona. But I must add, that nothing has come to my knowledge to justify a supposition that the Directors were ever actuated by that spirit. They sent out indeed the proper implements for manufacturing sugar: but I have good authority to say, that in this instance, they

“afforded of dismissing from the Company’s service, a number of N. Scotians, whom the governor and council had long been in vain endeavouring to fix on their farms. The experience of the internal resources of the colony is mentioned as very important. The colony has been left many weeks, destitute of almost every European article; much of the live-stock and all the boats and shipping destroyed; and yet no want of necessary food, nor any other evil, than what has been mentioned, has ensued. The governor and council mention that they intend to erect only one considerable store, a large dwelling house and a church, all of country materials. The last was so far advanced, that public worship was to be performed in it, the Sunday after the date of the dispatches. Measures were also taken for erecting a building on the Bullom shore for additional security.

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829. “On the arrival of the dispatches, the Directors lost no time in sending out two small vessels with an assortment of necessaries. They also shipped a few material articles on board the Amy (now the Company’s only large ship,) which had already in her a few goods for trade. Some persons engaged in the Company’s service, (the number of whom, on receiving the above intelligence, was reduced,) are also gone out in her: and among them Mr. Dawes, who having been two years governor of the colony, had returned to England. His health and the circumstances of his family had induced him to think of leaving the Company’s service; but, when informed of a tumult having taken place (§ 443.) at S. Leona, his zeal in the Company’s cause led him again to offer his services. The late more serious calamity, and the indisposition of the acting Governor, Mr. Macaulay, rendered Mr. Dawes’s preference so desirable, that the Directors thought it their duty to accept this gentleman’s offer.

Supplies immediately shipped. Mr. Dawes returns to S. Leona.

830. “The Directors propose to reduce within very narrow limits the Company’s future risk in Africa; and they also hope to reduce their general expenses. The saving from removing many colonists to their farms has been mentioned. The contraction of the Company’s trade will be accompanied by a corresponding abatement of charges. The diminution of shipping will lessen one chief source of expense. In consequence of the late losses, only one small vessel has been purchased, the intended plan of trade not requiring more, and those frequent supplies on which the colony depended at first, being no longer necessary.

Contraction of the Company’s future plan.

831. “The Directors will here repeat, that however prosperous the N. Scotians may become, the great ends of the institution are not likely to be gained, unless they shall be furnished with European instructors and governors. The untoward

N. Scotians want instructors.

they were misled, by persons, who, with the best intentions, have unfortunately been drawn into the dangerous vortex of W. Indian speculation. The sugar apparatus, which was never set up or used lay rotting and consuming with rust, till it received the *coup de grace* from the sledge hammers of the French: and there is scarcely a sugar-cane now growing at S. Leona.

disposition

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Directors determined to persevere.

Slave-trade checked.

Humanity and civilization the chief objects.

“disposition of too many of them, though it may be thought to make them less
“worthy of assistance, proves, however, the importance of affording them the
“means of instruction, and an intelligent and protecting government; and it should
“be remembered that 300 of their children, besides those of the natives, are now
“under the Company’s care. When the influence of the S. Leona government
“over many powerful chiefs, of whose attachment several fresh proofs have been
“given, on the late trying occasion; when the uses of that influence, the Com-
“pany’s progress in the interior, and all the other prospects of civilization formerly
“stated are recollected, the Directors are persuaded, that the proprietors, under
“their former impression, will rejoice at hearing that no events that have yet hap-
“pened have shaken the resolution of the Directors to prosecute this great cause,
“with unabated zeal.

832. “The slave-trade, which, notwithstanding the war, had in some measure re-
“ceived a considerable blow from the French Squadron. The whole property cap-
“tured and destroyed by it, is computed at £400,000, most of which was engaged
“in that pernicious traffic. Some commercial advantages, as well as an increase of
“the Company’s influence, may possibly result from this destruction of European
“property on the coast.

833. “The Directors cannot but repeat, that they trust for the cause of humani-
“ty, the honour of Great Britain, and the interests of the Company, that the termina-
“tion of the slave-trade is approaching, and they reflect with satisfaction, that the
“maintenance of an establishment in Africa, for aiding the natural progress of ci-
“vilization, and for promoting *Real Commerce*, may hereafter prove material, not
“only to the proprietors, but as a matter of national policy.

834. “The Directors have thus stated the grounds on which they are encouraged
“to persevere. They shall endeavour to contract both the risk and the expenses
“of the Company, on the principles stated; at the same time pursuing their main
“object, in such a way as not to relinquish the commercial advantages they have
“gained, nor in any degree to suspend the measures necessary to promote the unin-
“terrupted progress of civilization.”

835. The report having thus been read, a motion was made and seconded, that
the thanks of the meeting should be given to the Directors, for the indefatigable
pains they had taken, in promoting the ends of the institution. This motion passed
unanimously.

836. A gentleman, (Mr. Friend,) rose, and addressing the chair, requested
the Directors to inform the meeting, Whether a report now in circulation
was true, *That, on the first setting out of the colony, the French Convention had*
intimated to the Directors their good wishes towards the institution, that it
would not in any way impede it’s progress, and requested to have a list of the
ships employed in the service of the Company, that proper orders might be
issued

issued to the commanders of ships of war of every kind, not to molest the same, but to protect them to the utmost of their power.* Upon the answer given to this question, a resolution might be entered into, probably tending, not only to alleviate our present calamity, but to prevent the repetition of a similar injury in future.

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837. The Chairman rose and explained to the Meeting, the nature of the communication alluded to; that a Mr. Stone, when in Paris, having a particular connection with a committee of the Convention, had mentioned the S. Leona undertaking, and had been authorized by one of their committees to write to the Directors, requesting a full account of the design of the institution and the names of the ships employed in their service, and to assure them of the good wishes of the committee, to so noble an undertaking.—This account was confirmed also, in another part of the debate, by Mr. Wilberforce who stated, that in consequence of Mr. Stone's communication to them, they had waited upon Lord Grenville, the Secretary of State, and by his permission, had given to Mr. Stone, when in England, a list of the ships to be by him communicated to the National Convention, and as he was thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the institution, desired him to represent it in its proper colours†.

The Chairman explains this subject,

838. Mr. Frend testified his satisfaction with the information from the chair, as it gave him hopes that the Meeting would come to a resolution to enter into a better communication with the French Convention, stating to it, that our institution was founded on the general principles of humanity; and as the French nation were the avowed advocates of these principles, it could not be supposed, that they would sanction any measures in direct opposition to the happiness and liberty of the Africans.

debate takes place.

839. To this it was objected by a gentleman, that the traitorous correspondence bill was an insurmountable obstacle to such a communication.

840. Mr. Frend replied, that he was not so well acquainted with mercantile affairs, as the gentleman who spoke last; but he understood, that very lately, sums of

* During the last war, the like generous protection was given by the French Ministry, to the celebrated Captain Cook, and also to the ships liberally sent by the British Government, with supplies for the sufferers by the great hurricane at Barbadoes and Jamaica, in 1780.

† As I consider this subject of great importance, especially respecting the future indulgence of the French to the colony, I have taken much pains to investigate it. Among other enquiries, I asked Mr. Thomas Clarkson, who was then in the Direction, Whether he did not think, with me, that as the colony was of a peculiar nature, instituted entirely for the benefit of mankind, and unconnected either with mercantile concerns or national quarrels, there was no necessity of laying the generous proposal of the French before the British Ministry. With that frankness which characterizes this friend of the human race, Mr. Clarkson replied, That he was so much of my opinion, that the opposition he met with in supporting it, in the Court of Directors, (an opposition undoubtedly dictated by the best motives,) was one of the chief causes which induced him to resign his seat among that respectable body. He added, that he had, however, the satisfaction to find that several of the Directors joined him in opinion; although the majority thought the affair ought to be laid before the Ministry.

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money had been remitted under the sanction of Ministry, by houses in the city, to persons in the enemy's country.

841. This was answered by an observation, that such remittances related not to the traitorous correspondence bill, but to the bill for preventing money belonging to foreigners, to be sent out of the kingdom. Mr. Frend urged, that it was of little consequence to what bill these remittances related, since the fact was allowed, that persons, in the city, were permitted to correspond with others in the enemy's country; and, in fact, it would be absurd to suppose, that the governors of this country had not the power to send a flag of truce into France, or to enter into any cartel for the exchange of prisoners. His intended resolution did not imply a correspondence with the enemy, without the sanction of Government. All that is intended was, that the Directors should wait upon the Governors of this country, to state to them the situation of the S. Leona Company, the hopes they entertained of the French Convention, and to request permission to send over some person to the National Convention, to negotiate on the means of securing the future tranquillity of the colony.

The attack
not authorized
by the French
Convention.

842. Upon this, a desultory conversation took place.—It was urged that the subject was of too delicate a nature, to be debated in the present critical times; that the Company must not stand too forward, when there were hopes of great support from our own Government.—Among this and other matters, an interesting account was given by Mr. Inglis, one of the Directors, of the attack upon the colony, in which it was affirmed, that this attack was not made by the orders of the French Convention, but by a company of privateers, which probably made no difference between this and the slave-settlements on the coast. This account was confirmed by several other persons. Mr. Inglis said, that he had this information from a captain lately arrived, who was at that time at S. Leona. This captain says, that several slave-merchants of Bourdeaux and L'Orient, had fitted out some brigs and cutters, to run down the whole coast, with which they were very much acquainted, in order to destroy the English slave-factories, and upon request to the Convention, had obtained one two decker, which they had equipped at their own expence.

843. Mr. Frend expressed his satisfaction, at hearing that the calamity was not owing to the National Convention. He conceived therefore that he had now better grounds for making his motion.

844. The chairman observed here, that as there had been a motion made and seconded, another could not be made till that was disposed of. Upon which the motion of thanks to the Directors was read, and passed unanimously.

Mr. Frend's
motion.

845. This business being dispatched, Mr. Frend begged leave to suggest, that he had heard no sufficient reasons why he should not move, *That the Directors be requested to take such steps as shall appear to them proper, for opening a communication with the French*

French Convention, for the purpose of insuring, in future, the tranquillity of the colony.—This was seconded by Mr. Audley. APPENDIX.

846. Upon this the chairman got up, by request, and proposed that the Meeting should be adjourned. Adjournment proposed,

847. Mr. Friend shewed some surprise at this proposal, and begged leave to observe, that a motion had been regularly made and seconded; and therefore he did not see the propriety of adjourning, till the subject had been regularly discussed.

848. Several persons, from different quarters, testified the same opinion, by calling out, *go on, go on.* but not carried,

849. Mr. Wilberforce expressed his wish, that the question might be fairly agitated.

850. Several persons now declared their opinions on the matter before them. Some expressed their wishes, that a negotiation might be entered into. Some expressed their fears, that, in the present times, it would not be prudent to make a resolution upon the subject; but that it would be better to leave the Directors to act according to their best judgment, and the apparent wishes of the meeting.

851. Mr. Friend here observed, that he was by no means desirous of obtruding a resolution, which might in any ways tend to thwart the object which he and all the Company had in view, namely, the civilization of the Africans, by the prosperity of the rising colony; and it would be sufficient, from the conversation that had taken place, that the Directors were now informed of the desires of the Company, and were left to act in this, as in many other cases, to the best of their discretion. The matter left to the Directors,

852. Here this matter dropped, and after a little pause, Mr. Friend got up and observed, that he feared one point had been forgotten, in the interesting debate which had taken up so much of the attention of the Meeting, and begged leave therefore to move, that *the report, which had been read from the chair, should be published and circulated.*

853. This motion was seconded; but was opposed from different quarters, on the grounds, that it contained many minute details, not fit for the public eye; that there were expressions, which might give offence to the French nation, and that it would be better to leave it to the discretion of the Directors.

854. Others observed, that people in the country were much interested in this subject; that they had dwelt on the calling of the present Meeting, and would be greatly disappointed, if they were not favoured with the means of information; and that many who had heard it read in a cursory manner, might wish to peruse it at their leisure.

855. Mr. Friend apologized for rising so often, and begged leave only to observe to all the objections made to the printing of the report, that he would leave the correction of it to the judgment of the Directors; and that they should be desired to print it in the manner least offensive to any one, and in the best mode for the information of the Company at large. also the printing of the report.

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856. Mr. Inglis said, there would be soon a General Meeting, and suggested, that it might be better to defer the printing of the report, till the annual report was made, to which this report might be added.

857. Mr. Frend replied, that as this report contained so much important matter, he could not consent to the delay; and must beg leave, that the motion for printing it immediately might be proposed. Upon this it was read from the chair, and passed with a very great majority.

Thanks to the
chairman.

858. A vote of thanks to the chairman was then passed, for his conduct during the Meeting; after which a gentleman rose, and made a speech of considerable length, which could be heard only by the persons nearest the chair, and which did not end in any motion.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Proprietors of the S. Leona Company, the 26th of March, 1795.

859. The chairman (Mr. Thornton,) having taken the chair, the resolutions of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

860. The chairman desired to know, whether any person had any thing to propose, and after a short pause,

Mr. Frend
proposes a de-
legate to be
sent to the
convention.

Mr. Frend rose, and stated, that he had taken the liberty at the last Meeting, of suggesting the propriety of taking some steps, both to gain redress from the French Convention, for their late attack, and to prevent similar calamities in future. Since that time, he had more maturely considered the subject, and was confirmed in his opinion, from what had transpired at the last Meeting, that there were very good grounds to expect, that, on a proper application to the French Convention, the affairs of the colony might be put upon a very respectable footing. That such application might be considered indeed by some persons, as unnecessary or improper; but, if we took a view of the situation of the Company, and of the country at large, there would appear no prospects of future success, unless the colony could be preserved, for which there were neither sufficient capital, nor warlike preparations. As to the latter, the Company was founded upon better principles, than the politics of war, and could expect success, only by the station which it held, in the good opinion of its neighbours. That little support could be expected from the British Government, was evident from the late ravages along the coast of Africa, the preservation of which was not a sufficient object to a minister, and the situation of the colony, rendered it liable at all times, to fall an easy prey to a slight invasion. "On these grounds," said he, "we must, if we expect that our colony should succeed, look forward to gain the benevolence of the power most capable of injuring us. And, if it should appear, that the Convention were likely to listen to our request, could a proper person be sent over to negotiate with it, we were fortunate at present, to see among

us a gentleman, whom every person would allow to be fully competent for the undertaking, and whose writings, then on the table, proved him to have not only the interest of Africa, but of all mankind, at heart. From having travelled in Africa, and being firmly united with the Company, in it's views of enlightening the inhabitants, he could explain to the Convention, the *real nature of the Company*, and being the subject of a neutral power, he could do it with the greater propriety and effect. A measure of this sort was not to be undertaken, without the approbation of our own Government, and an application must be made for it's consent. He should therefore beg leave to propose the two following Resolutions.

- 1st, *Resolved*, that an application be made to Government, for permission to send a person over to France, to negotiate with the French Convention, on business relating solely to the concerns of the Company in Africa, and on the seas. His propositions
- 2d, *Resolved*, that if Government should not object to this measure, Mr. WADSTROM be appointed to lay before the National Convention of France, an account of the institution of the S. Leona Company, and the losses sustained by it, from the late attack of a French Squadron, supposed to have acted without the knowledge or approbation of the Convention*.

861. These

* As the above propositions were brought forward by a gentleman, to whom I made no application for this purpose, an explanation of the circumstance may not be improper.—After my grief and surprise, at the calamity which had befallen the colony, had partly subsided, I began to consider, Whether it might not be possible for me, to contribute to it's reparation. The plan contained in the following address soon presented itself to my mind, and, after mature consideration, I thought it my duty to submit it to the General Meeting, which had then been called to deliberate on this melancholy subject. The mode of bringing forward my plan, which seemed to me to promise most success, was to request, that James Martin, Esq. M. P. a subscriber, whose philanthropy, patriotism, candour, and independent spirit, are deservedly respected by all parties, would be so good as to read it in the General Meeting. This Mr. Martin very obligingly agreed to do, provided it should be in his power to attend. But some business having intervened to prevent him, Mr. Friend's enlightened zeal in this great cause, seems to have prompted him to bring forward the above propositions, rather than so favourable an opportunity of discussing them, in a full meeting, should be lost.

ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE SIERRA LEONA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

Having, at your last Meeting, with inexpressible concern, heard the dreadful Report read, concerning the late unexpected attack upon the colony of S. Leona, by the French, I feel myself too sensibly interested in the preservation and object of the colony, not to offer, on this critical occasion, the result of that experience, which I have obtained, by having been hitherto incessantly, and not unfortunately, employed, in the cause of oppressed Africa.

Not to occupy your time unnecessarily, I will endeavour, gentlemen, in a few words, to lay before you a plan, in the execution of which, I flatter myself that I may still be rendered useful to the cause of humanity, and the Company be essentially benefitted, in the present precarious situation of their colony.

There is reason, gentlemen, to believe, that if a proper representation of the real object and principle of the S. Leona Company, together with a full and impartial account, of the late surprise and attack of the colony, were laid fairly before the National Convention, by some person not immediately concerned

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861. These resolutions were seconded by Mr. Highmore, who enlarged on the propriety of the application, particularly as it was brought forward in such a manner as could not offend any party.

debated, and

862. Mr. Elliot objected to the measure, as interfering with the Government at home, to which he did not see how we could consistently apply; since all intercourse, between the two states, was forbidden. But he admitted, that, if the measure should be adopted, Mr. Wadstrom was a very proper person to carry it into execution.

objected to

863. Several others objected very strongly to the resolutions, chiefly on the grounds, that it would be indelicate to apply to the Minister; that an affair of this sort should be left entirely to the Directors, who would undoubtedly manage it with the greatest propriety; and that the Company was assembled to chuse Directors, and not to transact any other business, which indeed would be improperly introduced.

864. On the other hand, it was contended, that this was the proper mode of bringing forward a question, in which the Company was so much interested; that, with respect to the future Directors, they were not at present known, and therefore no slight could be meant to them; that the great end of all these Meetings, was to give an opportunity to individuals, to suggest what might be for the general good, and to keep up a proper intercourse between the Directors and the Company.

865. Mr. Friend observed, that he rose in consequence of the chairman's request to all subscribers, to bring forward any measure which they might have to propose.

866. Mr. Granville Sharp hoped, that no difference might appear upon this question, and, for the sake of the institution, that Mr. Friend, whose motives he doubted not were founded on the best principles, would consent to withdraw his motion, and another person suggested the propriety of some amendment to it.

867. Mr. Friend said that his sole view was, to suggest what appeared to him most beneficial to the Company; and that, if the end was obtained by any mode whatever, in which the Meeting agreed, it was the same to him, whether his resolu-

cerned in the undertaking, security might be obtained, against the repetition of such a catastrophe, and probably some compensation might be offered for the injury already sustained.

The proper design of the colony, as it respects the annihilation of the slave-trade, and the enlightening of Africa, ought therefore to be laid before the Convention, together with an account of the recent events, so contrary to the interests of humanity at large, and which must be presumed to have been the consequence of a complete ignorance, of the real intention of the colony, in the squadron which so unfortunately ruined it.

Being the subject of a neutral power; having been likewise, throughout my life, actively engaged in the cause; and presuming myself qualified, in some degree, from my experience and knowledge, in what concerns the interests of Africa; I should be happy, if, by my personal service with the French Convention, I could contribute to the welfare of the Company, and through it, to the happiness of the inhabitants of a great continent.

tions were entirely withdrawn, or amended by any other person, so as to meet the wishes of the Company. APPENDIX.

868. The withdrawing and the amending of the resolutions were opposed in a desultory conversation, and at last the first resolution was proposed, and on a shew of hands, there appeared to be a very small majority against it. Of course the second resolution was not put to the vote. and rejected.

869. This business being settled, Mr. Williams, Solicitor and Secretary to the Court of Directors, got up and said, it has been proposed and seconded, that H. Thornton, Esq. (the present chairman) be the chairman for the next year, requesting those who were for the motion to hold up their hands, which being done, those of a contrary opinion were desired to hold up their hands. No hand was held up, and the chairman was declared elected. Mr. Williams then repeated nearly the same words for the next candidate in his list, and proceeded in this way till all the thirteen Directors were unanimously re-elected, except one, who having resigned, another gentleman (Mr. Hunter) was chosen in his room. Election of new Directors.

NOTE CC. See § 537, No. 7, also § 180, 181.

870. It is somewhat curious that both the S. Leona and the Bulama Associations should have been betrayed into *transatlantic* errors, in their agricultural con- Impolitic condition published by the Bulama Association.

* The following, as far as I have been able to learn, is the latest intelligence received from S. Leona. I apprehend it was inserted, by authority of the Directors, in the Daily Advertiser of Friday, May 29th, 1795, from which paper I have copied it.

“ On Monday last dispatches were received from Sierra-Leona, dated the 14th of March, by which it appears, that the colony had materially recovered from the effects of the late depredations of the French, although no supplies had since that time arrived from England: a cargo of necessaries had, however, been purchased from an American ship which called there. Great and successful exertions had been made by the settlers in opening and cultivating new farms, as well as in pushing their trade with the neighbouring parts. A delegate from the society of the Friends of the Blacks, in Rhode Island, (a black man of intelligence) had arrived at Freetown, with whom it was agreed, that about 10 or 12 free black families, from Rhode Island, should be permitted to migrate to Sierra Leona; proper testimonials of their character being given. The utmost harmony prevailed in the colony, and the neighbouring natives continued to shew the most friendly disposition. Some deaths had happened soon after the departure of the French, in consequence of the hardships which were then suffered; but both the blacks and whites were in general restored to good health, before the date of the dispatches, and all the necessary buildings were nearly finished.—The Company’s ship, the *Amy*, was met at sea within two days sail of Sierra Leona, which carried out a supply of necessaries and several passengers, among whom was Mr. Dawes, who is returned to the colony as Governor.”

The same conveyance also brought some interesting accounts of a journey, partly by land, partly by water, made by Mr. Watt and Mr. Gray, to the river Cazamanca, and the adjacent country. The particulars I have not been able to learn; but I have been lucky enough to procure their route, which the reader will find traced on the large map.

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cerns. Whatever may have caused this remarkable coincidence, I scruple not to predict that the effects would be deplorable; for, if the W. Indian mode of cultivation should be established at S. Leona, the labourers would become spiritless, hopeless, abject drudges; and, if land-monopoly, managed by *agents*, should be an article of the constitution of Bulama, the colony would contain in it's vitals the principle of it's own decay or ruin.--The condition quoted (§ 537, No. 7) if ultimately adopted, would be neither more nor less than a permission to a few greedy speculators *in Europe*, to make their fortunes, by obstructing the population, the making of roads, the means of defence, the improvement of the soil, and consequently of the climate; in a word, by cramping, in every possible way, the progress of the colony. For how can any colony thrive, if monied drones, living in a distant part of the world, be suffered to vest sums of money in it's land, for the notorious purpose of letting it lie waste, till the resident colonists, by cultivating the surrounding country, shall have stamped a new value on this desert, which the speculator, or his heirs, can then leisurely sell at an exorbitant profit?

Probably suggested by some American,

it's effects exemplified in Jamaica,

and would ruin Bulama.

871. The condition just mentioned appears to me so glaringly absurd and impolitic, that I cannot help suspecting that some speculator in American or W. Indian lands has found means to elude the vigilance of the Trustees, and to foist it in among the terms of the Bulama Association. But, having already touched on this subject (§ 180, 181) I have only room to observe, that I can now add another respectable authority to those I there cited: I mean, that of the learned Dr. Browne of Jamaica, who very properly exposes the folly and injustice of this practice. (Civil and Nat. Hist. of Jamaica printed 1789, p. 12.) As an instance, he mentions a tract in St. James's parish, held by about 120 monopolists, though nearly equal in extent to Barbadoes, where land-monopoly never prevailed, and which, in 1676, was peopled by about 70,000 whites and 80,000 blacks. It still contains about 100,000 of both complexions, and the population of Jamaica exceeds not 300,000; so that the little Island of Barbadoes may be said to contain about one-third of the population of the extensive Island of Jamaica, on a surface equal to that which, in the latter, is held by about 120 monopolists!

872. The application to Bulama is easy. That island may be nearly equal in extent to one-third of Barbadoes. Now the question is simply this: Whether it would be most desirable that it should be occupied by 40,000 or 50,000 inhabitants, or by 40 or 50 monopolists, or rather their agents, who perhaps may condescend, when it suits them, to sell the land for double or triple the price it cost them? But I presume enough has been said, to convince every impartial man that the condition in question is completely repugnant to the interest of any colony, whether considered as a distinct community, or as an establishment intended to promote the civilization of the natives in it's vicinity.

NOTE DD. See § 538.

873. It is to be lamented that so many interruptions concurred to retard the first Bulama expedition; since the great mortality was chiefly to be ascribed to the ships arriving on the coast in the rainy season. Among other causes of this delay, we are to reckon the interference of the Ministry, who, when the ships were waiting at Portsmouth for a fair wind, sent an order to detain them, till certain articles in the constitution, or agreement of the colonists, were renounced. This circumstance obliged Mr. Dalrymple to return to London, which was attended with considerable loss of time. Had the leading object of this undertaking been commerce, especially monopoly, this expedition would, no doubt, have fallen immediately within the province of the Minister. But seeing that it was undertaken for a purpose little, if at all, connected either with commerce or finance, I should think the Ministry might as well have permitted them to go out unnoticed. My reasons for entertaining this opinion, I have already hinted at, § 837 note.

Sailing of the Bulama expedition retarded, by the Minister's interference.

NOTE EE. See § 538.

874. I fear that many, I do not say all, of the Bulama colonists but ill deserved the respectable name of *Yeomen*, or the humble, but creditable, appellation of *Labourers*. The yeomanry, or the middle class of country people, are justly accounted the most virtuous members, and the most stable support, of every community. How far the generality of the Bulama colonists answered this description, may be collected from Mr. Beaver's account of them. (See the extracts from his letters in Note G G.) But he excepts Mr. Aberdeen, Mr. Hood and a good number of other persons, whose excellent example, in every respect, could not have failed to operate powerfully on any set of beings not wholly lost to every sense of shame and decency.

Bad character of the generality of the Bulama colonists.

875. The truth is, and I am grieved to observe, that this undertaking was hurried through its first stages, with a precipitancy, which but ill accorded with the prudence and caution necessary to such a design; especially with the most delicate part of it, *the choice of colonists*. See § 127 *et seq.* 301 n.—Mr. Beaver was also very unfortunate in his grumettas; but not in the *choice* of them; for his situation precluded every idea of choice, and he was obliged to take such as he could get. "You will see," says he, in the letter last quoted, "by the open list, No. 12, that many have been discharged for attempting to stab others, a common crime among them; and one fourth of my grumettas have been here, for having committed murder, on the Island of Bissao."—Thus, in the character of this vile crew of idlers, drunkards, cowards and assassins, white and black, we already see a cause of failure, which even the fortitude and perseverance of a Beaver, aided by the virtuous co-operation of some worthy colonists, could not possibly counteract.

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Bulama colonists attacked, for want of an interpreter.

NOTE FF. See § 538.

876. Among the many misfortunes which befel the first Bulama expedition, we must assign the chief place to the fatal misunderstanding, mentioned in the text. I call it a misunderstanding; because it appears to have been entirely owing to the want of an interpreter, to explain the pacific views of the colonists to the native princes, who, not being able to distinguish them from invaders, of course, attacked them. To obtain an interpreter was Mr. Dalrymple's chief reason for calling at Goree. Having myself experienced the good offices of several respectable inhabitants of that place, I had reason to believe I could facilitate Mr. D's good reception there. I therefore gave him a letter, of which I insert the following copy, as a proof that I always understood the *sole* object of this undertaking, like that of S. Leona, to be THE CIVILIZATION OF THE NATIVES.

A Monsieur le Chevalier de Blanchau, Gouverneur à Gorée, & à Monsieur d'Aigremont, Commissaire ordonnateur du Roi à Gorée.

To the Chevalier de Blanchau, Governor of Goree, and to Mr. d'Aigremont, the King's regulating Commissary at Gorée.

Manchester le 29 de Fevr. 1792.

Manchester the 29th of Feb. 1792.

MESSEIERS,

GENTLEMEN,

La générosité et l'hospitalité, avec les quelles, moi & mes compagnons de voyage, le Dr. Sparrman & le Capit. Arrhenius, fumes reçus de vous, Messieurs, me font espérer, que je puis hardiment profiter de la présente occasion pour vous témoigner ma vive reconnaissance et gratitude des civilités dont vous m'avez comblé, & en même tems pour introduire et recommander à vos honnêtetés ceux de mes amis, qui vont s'établir sur la côte d'Afrique principalement Monsieur Dalrymple.

The generous hospitality with which you received Dr. Sparrman, Capt. Arrhenius and myself, give me reason to hope that I may venture to take this opportunity of testifying my lively gratitude for your many civilities, and of recommending to your good offices my friends, who are about to form an establishment on the coast of Africa, especially Mr. Dalrymple.

Ce n'est qu'un vrai et noble transport pour l'humanité, qui les a engagés à s'expatrier, et à courir les dangers sérieux, aux quels les expose l'entreprise courageuse de chercher un azile dans quelque endroit sur la dite côte, pour le seul et grand objet de civiliser les pauvres habitans de l'Afrique; objet si digne de notre siècle et de la noble sensibilité de votre cœur.

Nothing but a noble zeal for the cause of humanity prompts them to expatriate themselves, and to face the dangers attending a search for an asylum, on some part of the coast, for the sole and grand object of civilizing the poor natives of Africa—an object worthy of our age, and of the generous feelings of your hearts.

J'ai étudié trop long tems le fond du caractère François pour ne pas être persuadé, que cette nation est douée des premières qualités qui font l'homme civilisé; c'est à dire, la sensibilité humaine et la compassion pour la partie souffrante de notre race; ou un amour décidé pour tout ce

Having long studied the character of the French, I am persuaded that they are endowed with the best qualities which distinguish civilized man, namely a humane sensibility, compassion for the suffering part of our species, and a warm regard for all the means of promoting human happiness,

The

qui peut rendre l'homme heureux. Aussi, Messieurs, le monde entier fera un jour l'éloge de tous ceux qui auront contribué aux succès d'un projet, aussi grand et aussi noble que celui, entrepris par ces amis de l'humanité, et l'histoire elle-même signalera toutes les anecdotes qui l'accompagneront. Je me flatte que ces héros de l'humanité ont le siècle, la philosophie et tous les grands cœurs en leur faveur; en conséquence, vous ne pouvez que les bien accueillir, et dans cette espérance non douteuse,

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

The world, Gentlemen, will one day do justice to the conduct of those, who shall have contributed to the success of the great and noble enterprise of these friends of mankind, the events of which history will record. I flatter myself that these zealous philanthropists will have the spirit of the age, philosophy, and every heroic mind in their favour; consequently I cannot doubt but you will receive them well, in which hope,

I have the honour to be, &c.

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877. At Goree, Mr. Dalrymple was advised by M. St. Jean, a merchant of that place, to put into the river Gambia, where he could not fail to find some person disposed and qualified to accompany him, as an interpreter. But Mr. D. was prevented from taking this salutary precaution, by the dissention which prevailed among the members of council on board the Calypso, and which, I have been credibly informed, was chiefly excited by the violent conduct of Mr. Hancorne. Thus thwarted and disappointed in a measure, so absolutely necessary, and seeing no probability of harmony being restored among his associates, we are not to wonder if Mr. D. resolved to abandon an undertaking, in which he had embarked from the purest motives; but which it was no longer in his power to promote in the manner he wished.

NOTE GG. See § 540, 545, 562, 568, 570, 578, 579, 580, 585, 587.

878. In this Note, which will be unavoidably long, I shall give extracts from Mr. Beaver's letters and other original papers, respecting the Bulama undertaking.

Extracts from Mr. Beaver's letters from Bulama to the Trustees of the Association, dated the 22d Nov. 1792.

879. (1.) "The great mortality must certainly be attributed to the great labour and fatigue, attendant on those who first attempt to settle a colony, and the necessity we were reduced to of working in the rains, in order to have a fort to defend, and a house to cover us. At the beginning of the dry season, when we expected the ship was to leave us, had we been strong enough to have worked but little, and that during the intervals of the rains, I really think but few would have died. But with little strength, we found it necessary to work from morn to night, except when the rains poured like torrents, and by these we were often caught, when going

Mortality at Bulama owing to fatigue, &c. not to the climate.

- APPENDIX.** in the boat, either on board or on shore. The climate I really think a good one, and it is reckoned, by all the traders, the healthiest spot on the coast.
- Provisions in plenty. 880. (2.) " My visit to Bissao has enabled me to kill a bullock for the colony every week, besides fowls which I have occasionally served out to the sick.
- Land cleared. 881. (3.) " Notwithstanding the decrease of our numbers, and the generally long sick lists, we have been able to clear about 12 acres of ground, on the crown of a hill.
- Mr. B's persevering resolution, 882. (4.) " I am determined to stay, should my servant only remain with me, till I hear from you; and then, if you abandon the colony, I shall rest satisfied with having done all that man could do for it's success.
- founded on conviction. 883. (5.) " With respect to our prospects, I am more and more convinced, that the colony, if at all supported, will succeed. We want a reinforcement of men, and we should have them soon; but not such as the last. They should be carpenters, blacksmiths and bricklayers, men accustomed to labour—not such as we brought out, habituated to drunkenness, idleness and all the vices of the capital; most of whom came here in dread of punishment, for crimes committed against their country's laws; and let them be bound by articles to a certain duty, for a limited time, before they are entitled to any lands.
- Colonists mostly drunken profligates. 884. (6.) " Send us a surveyor, and these lands may instantly be put into cultivation.
- Cultivation and trade. 885. (7.) " The merchants of Bissao already look to this, for a supply of English goods, which they absolutely cannot do without.
- Colonists, able to hire labourers, if credited, for a time, with provisions, may be sure of success. 886. (8.) " If you have any new subscribers, let them not come out, unless they can afford to hire 2 or 3 grumettas to clear their grounds. Those who can do this, may come out with a certainty of it's answering. And to supply these new adventurers with provisions, it would answer very well to any one to send a small vessel to America, and let her bring hither beef, pork, flour, fish and lumber*. With these articles give credit to the planter, and I will insure his being able to pay his debts, at the end of the 2d year, and have a tolerable income, in 5 or 6 years. Let men, I say, who can afford to hire grumettas, and merchants who chuse to set up afloat, and trade for ivory, wax, &c. come out, and I will answer for their success. But, with *such labourers*, and *such subscribers* as we brought out, the finest country, with the greatest advantages, would never flourish. I have to request, gentlemen, that you will not delay informing us, whether another embarkation is to take place or not; as I shall wait with anxiety to know the fate of my endeavours for this infant colony."

* Mr. B. evidently means, till the lands can be brought into cultivation.

* * * *

From Mr. Beaver's letter, dated Bulama, 16th March, 1793.

887. (9.) "The good people of England need not be afraid of coming out.—They will find a fort ready to protect them. They need not be much afraid of the climate: I think it a healthy one. They need not run the risk of clearing a spot of ground to build on: I have already as much cleared as a large town would cover. They need not work, as we were obliged to do, for a covering or defence, either when it rains, or in the heat of the sun; for I will shelter them. They need not be frightened; for I will insure their safety. In short, they need not be exposed to any of the inconveniences which we have experienced, and therefore I think it fair to suppose, that few of them will die.—In another part of this letter he says, "Those who may hereafter come out, will find a fort ready to protect them; and if we hold it till then (and I think that, at this instant, I could resist the united force of Africa) we surely shall be able to hold it, when reinforced. In short, had I 25 Europeans here, I would make the Bijugas fear me," &c.

Colony prepared to receive new inhabitants.

888. (10.) "The most necessary man, in the next embarkation, is a surveyor. The people already think it hard, that they have no ground of their own to work upon. The next is a surgeon, and the third, I think, a clergyman.—I will not give you my own opinion, but that of Capt. Moore (who carries these dispatches) of the present value of this place. I put to him the following question. Suppose I should wish to sell this block-house, with the stores, ammunition and whatever else it contains, together with the cutter and a few acres of ground round the house, suppose 300, to the proprietors of the Isles de Los, or any company of merchants who may chuse to settle themselves, or other people here, for the purpose of trade, what would be it's value? He answered £10,000 at least. I asked him what he conceived, from present appearances, land, taken one part with another, might be worth, in this island, per acre? He answered £1 sterl*. Unless he is very wide from the mark indeed, Gentlemen, I think this island worth keeping. When once you are firmly settled here, you may command, without a prospect of a rival, the whole trade of the many navigable rivers and creeks, between the rivers Gambia and Nunez. Wax and ivory are the principle articles. Matchore, one of the kings of the Rio Grande, was here the other day. He brought me wax and ivory, which I bought. He begged that I would send the cutter to Ghinala to purchase more. He said that his house was full, and that he kept it for me. The wax and ivory I have disposed of, for the more useful articles of cloth and linens, to pay the grumettas their wages.

Surveyor, &c. wanted.

Value of the land and fixed stock at Bulama.

Commercial prospects.

* The purchasers of uncleared land in the Ceded islands, paid £3 11 3 per acre. See § 180 note.

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The long silence of the Trustees.

Abundance of game.

889. (11.) "As I have not heard from you, Gentlemen, since we left England, it is impossible for me to guess what measures you propose pursuing, for the future colonizing this island." See § 570.

890. (12.) "As a proof of the quantity of game on the island, take the following list—Killed or wounded by an individual, a stranger, and the only 9 days that he was on the island. Feb. 24th, 2 guinea hens, 1 deer. I prevented his shooting an elephant, by approaching to within 30 yards of it, which frightened it away, before he could load with iron.—25th, 4 guinea hens, 1 deer.—26th, 2 guinea hens.—27th, 1 elephant wounded in the head.—28th, 1 deer.—March 1st, 5 guinea hens. 2d, 10 ditto, 1 mountain goat.—3d, 1 deer, 1 elephant wounded in the head.—4th, 2 guinea fowls."—In short, to live here, a man has nothing to do but to plant yams, and be a good marksman."

* * * * *

Extract from Mr. Beaver's Letter from Bulama, of the 24th July, 1793.

Colony wants but men.

891. (13.) "In answering that part which requires a list of our wants, I have only to say that we have none, and if I do not see the face of another European for 10 years, and my men live, I will hold the place for that period. The island indeed wants but settlers; let them come out, and success is certain.

Disinterested declaration of Mr. Beaver.

892. "Notwithstanding it was my intention to have returned to Europe, on the prospect of a war, not only that I might be within the reach of promotion, but because there is something disgraceful in being out of actual service at such time; yet, gentlemen, as the colony has not been strengthened, I will not quit it. I will never leave those men who put themselves under my direction. I will not abandon the interests of this colony, and I will never consider my own, if it tends to lessen the probability of its success, on which probably depends the happiness of millions. Therefore, gentlemen, while the exertions of an individual are of consequence, here will I remain; when those exertions will not be missed, I will return. At the same time, I hope you will exert yourselves as much as possible, to render my being here of no consequence, and appoint some person to whom I may give up the charge of the colony.

Vicinity of Bulama abounds with eligible situations.

893. "The Biafaras often request me to build a house, at or near Ghinala. I have also been requested to settle at Bulola. In short there are so many places where I could build towns, protect them, and insure success to cultivators, that if the good people of England knew but one half of the advantages, to be derived from colonizing this part of Africa, on an *extensive scale*, you might command half the money in the kingdom.

894. "The short stay of the Felicity, in this harbour, prevents my writing more at large. I shall therefore conclude, by repeating to you, that we want nothing, that we are in good spirits, and that we are determined to hold the island, till you can send out other settlers."

I am, Gentleman, &c."

APPENDIX.
That the colony wants nothing, repeated.

* * * * *

Extract from Beaver's Letter from Bulama, of the 10th Oct. 1793.

895. (14.) "Should such a number come out, as I have hinted above, suppose 20, it is my firm opinion, that it would be for the interest of the colony, for them all to be public servants, and no private settlers. Among these, there should be 2 surgeons, a surveyor and his assistant, a store-keeper and governor, the other 14 labourers; and the half of these, if possible, sailors, or persons who could be of use either in the sloop, or in a boat. These I should consider as a party relieving guard, merely to keep possession of the island till after the rains; for you can do nothing on a large scale before. That these persons may be of some use, during that season, they should have 2 surgeons to attend them when ill; the surveyor and his assistant, to be employed during this time, in surveying a certain portion of land for town-lots, for we will suppose 100 subscribers, which will be a sufficient number to go in the first embarkation after the rains; and such a number I think will readily offer."

896. "By this arrangement, every subscriber, immediately on his arrival, will have a piece of ground *of his own*, to cultivate. I dare say at least 50 times the produce will be raised the first year, by this means, more than if the ground had been cultivated in common. We have strong examples of this in the first settlement of New Plymouth and Virginia, and people then were neither so idle nor so interested as they are now. Besides, people will build strong and permanent houses on their own grounds: but were the ground on which they build, liable to be allotted to another person, the year after, nothing but temporary huts would be erected. The settlers would be uncomfortable and sickly, and the colony thrown back another year, or till such time as a man could build upon *his own property*. Be careful *that the assistant surveyor knows more of his business than they generally do*, and that he be capable of acting as principal, in case of the death of the surveyor. In this country, it is well to have duplicates of useful men. Any man, of common sense, may acquire sufficient information in half a dozen hours, to act as an additional assistant surveyor, in case of the death of either."

Colonists will build good houses and vigorously cultivate their own land only.

897. "As people, when cultivating for others, or cultivating in common, work not with that spirit which they would do, if cultivating their own ground, it appears to me impossible ever to send out people on the public account. In this in-

stance
Number that ought to embark, and when.

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since it is necessary, merely to keep possession and survey, during the next rains; but more ought not to be engaged than are absolutely necessary, and so I think ought to be the outside. The first embarkation ought to arrive by the last day in Oct. or the beginning of Nov. The rains will then have ceased for about a fortnight or three weeks, (the foggy or smoky months, as they are called, which follow are not to be dreaded, as most people believe,) and they will then have certainly 7 months dry to erect their houses, clear their little plots of ground ready for sowing, and make their fences, this will bring them to the last day of May, which is quite early enough to commit their seeds to the earth.

No women or female children should go out, &c.

898. "I before supposed that 100 subscribers should come in the first embarkation; but now we will suppose 50 only, neither women, nor female children, nor male under the age of 12, should be suffered on any account to come out. We will suppose that, at the least, each subscriber will bring one servant, which will make 100 Europeans; and, on their arrival in this country, we will suppose that each subscriber would engage at least one grumetta. These grumettas, by living in the different families, would in a short time become so attached to good masters, that I question whether they would ever after leave them.

Grumettas should be protected. Their disposition, &c.

899. "N. B. At first it appears to me absolutely necessary, that there should be some power to take cognizance of the treatment which grumettas may receive from their masters; and to hear and determine all their complaints, or it will be in the power of any dissatisfied, ill-natured, or inhuman subscriber, to ruin the undertaking by ill treatment of them (see § 35, 145, 161, 2.) for they are very susceptible of ill usage, and the least word from any one of them, to your disadvantage, is sufficient to deter any native from coming near you: this I know from experience. If these grumettas are married, so much the better: their wives will be found useful in washing, cooking, and beating of rice, and their children also in many ways. They will much more than repay their sustenance, which in this country is very cheap. These grumettas, when once attached, will be always able to procure their masters as many more as they may want. The children that you grow up on the island, to whom your modes and habits only will be known, having no connexions in the neighbourhood, &c. will never leave you. Whither are they to go? Or suppose they have connexions, soliciting them to leave you, can they at once overcome those prejudices so naturally in favour of the customs in which they were brought up? Can they shake off at once their European manners, which in some degree they must have acquired here, and enter at once into a savage life? If they can, they will do what no people hitherto have done.

Church and school, &c.

900. "Besides, soon after the arrival of 50 subscribers, I should hope that the foundation of a church and a public school for native children, would be laid, which would unite the natives more intimately, with the interest of the colony, and what-
ever

ever rigid moralists may think of me, I would encourage as much as possible a connection between the colonists and native women*.

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901. "On the arrival of such a force as I have been supposing, we should be too formidable to fear an attack from the Bijugas, who are the only people who would interfere with us; people would then go to work with spirits, on their own ground. The woods would insensibly vanish, and fair plantations rise to our view, in less time than we have been talking about it, which is ever since the 9th of Nov. 1791, and this would be done at little expence.

Security and prosperity at little expence.

902. "In our first embarkation I conceive, nay I am confident, that we threw away at least £3000. I have not the knack of explaining myself clearly on paper; therefore I think I could be of much more service to the public good, were I in England, than by remaining here. Any body with men can keep possession of the island, but every one cannot lay before a General Meeting, those observations which I have been able to make on this coast; or make the necessary arrangements and alterations in any future embarkation, which the experience of the first has taught me are absolutely necessary.

£3000 thrown away at first which in future may be avoided.

903. (15.) "The Governor of Bissao is excessively civil, attentive, and polite; but I have certain proofs, that many in that place, are endeavouring to prepossess the natives against us, and wish to have us cut off."

* * * * *

The two following Letters, from Mr. Beaver and Mr. Hood, were laid before a General Meeting of the Subscribers of the Bulama Association, held at the Mansion House, London, 25th of June, 1794.

SIR,

LONDON, 24th JUNE, 1794.

904. "AS a wish was expressed at our last General Meeting, that, previous to any new steps being taken, I should give my opinion to those concerned in the late attempt to colonize the Isle of Bulama, on the coast of Africa, of the probability there might be of future success, if such subscriptions were raised for that purpose, and, at the same time, point out the causes of the failure of the first, I here send you in as concise a manner I can, my opinion of both. To answer, as fully and satisfactorily as may be, the above questions would from the number of others which they involve, take up much more of my time, than I can at present spare; therefore, though many, nay most of them, admit a degree of proof, amounting almost to mathematical demonstration, I shall confine myself at present, merely to assertions, the truth or fallacy of the grounds of which, will be left to the opinion of each individual; reserving to some future period, when I may have more leisure, a more minute detail of the various causes which have hitherto baffled our endeavours, as also of those which produce a well grounded hope of future success.

Mr. Beaver's opinion of the late failure and future success at Bulama.

* I have no doubt but that Mr. B. means here an orderly or social connection.

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- First. Of the Causes of the Failure of the late Expedition,*
905. "Many might be enumerated; but as I mean to be as brief as possible, I shall confine myself to three, which appear to me to have been the principal ones.
- 1st. The carrying out men of the most infamous character and vicious habits.*
- 2d. The arriving on the coast of Africa at the most improper season of the year.*
- 3d. The omitting to carry out the frame and materials of a house, or houses, sufficient to secure the whole of the colony, immediately on their arrival, from the rains, and from the sun.*
906. "On the first of these I need not say much. It cannot be expected, that in a situation, where authority, however necessary, could not be legally enforced, those men could be kept in any kind of order, who, in an old established and well regulated Government, had been in the habit of living in open violation of it. Among the virtues peculiarly requisite in those who undertake to settle, or as it were, to create a colony, I should reckon sobriety, industry, honesty, patience, and fortitude. The major part of our people, were drunken, lazy, dishonest, impatient, cowards.
907. "On the second of these causes, I shall only observe, that the rainy season at Bulama, begins the latter end of May or the beginning of June. We arrived on the 5th of the last mentioned month, and had consequently the whole rains before us.
908. "With respect to the third. Had we carried out the frame and materials, necessary for the erection of a large house, it might have been finished in, at most, one month: but as all the timber which I built with, was growing at the time of our arrival, it was Feb. in the following year, before I had a room to put my head in. The being exposed during the whole of that time, to either the rains or the sun, must certainly have been a great cause of our mortality.
909. "The three errors above noted, namely, those of carrying out bad subjects, at the worst season, without means of shelter, are in themselves sufficient to prove, that we did not act on a well digested plan. The first of these can never be entirely avoided; the second arose from the danger which it was thought there was, of others purchasing the island, if we delayed sailing; and the third from the ignorance of those who directed the undertaking: as one of them, for these three errors, I beg leave to take to myself, a great portion of the blame. But, though these were difficulties, that might and ought to have been avoided, they would not have entirely ruined the colony, if there had been a sufficient firmness and decision in the conduct and characters of the members of the council. Among other causes of the failure, may be reckoned, the sailing without a charter; the having too many members in the council; the two ships not keeping together; and the unfortunate circumstance of losing some men, by an attack from the natives. The very injudicious mode of the expenditure of the money, might be reckoned another, as from the sum subscribed, a sufficient portion might have been retained in the hands of the trustees, to fit out a small vessel, both with refreshments and men, at the end of the first rains.

In

In three articles, this was particularly conspicuous. The purchase of the plantation tools, the purchase of the salt provisions, and the chartering of ships, the carrying out women and children, was, though it may not appear so at first sight, a great cause of expense, and a principal one of failure.—I have now enumerated what appears to me, to have been among the principal causes of our miscarriage; if they appear not in the same light to others, I could wish that they would reconsider them. They are almost all of them demonstrably true; but, as I before observed, I shall only assert, and leave others to trace, how and in what manner, they operated perniciously towards our enterprise. We come now to the other question.

Secondly. Of the Probability of future Success.

910. "Our first failure will here be of great service to us, if we consider our former errors as so many beacons, put up to warn us of danger. The three first which I have enumerated, seem to have been the most essential, and, except the first, are easily avoided, as well as all the rest. May I be permitted, without the imputation of vanity, to say, that after all our former difficulties, my having been able with only four Europeans, and without the smallest succour or assistance, to keep possession of the island for the last year, to cut down 50 acres of timber, 16 of which were inclosed, and the roots taken up, to erect three large buildings, and to raise with ease, vegetables enough for more than 50 times our number, afford a sufficient proof of the certainty of future success. But as it may here be expected, that I should enter a little into particulars, I shall more fully state the grounds of my opinion.

Probability of future success.

911. "The end, I believe, proposed by the major part of the subscribers, was the cultivation of cotton, others proposed growing sugars, coffee, tobacco, and indigo, while a few hoped to drive on an advantageous commerce with the natives, for ivory, wax, and other productions of that part of Africa. The prospect of those, whose views are confined to cultivation, must depend entirely upon soil; and this, I am warranted to say, from the universal concurrence of those who have seen it, whether natives or Europeans, is remarkably fertile. It is deep, that is from one foot and a half to two feet. I never saw a rock or stone upon the island. Except on one small space close under the block house, I never saw a foot of bad soil. Every thing which I planted, thrived admirably, and among those plants, 300 were cotton. They were only in blossom when I came away: I therefore had no opportunity of bringing home a specimen. But, supposing the cotton on that part of the coast, to be of the very worst quality, it could not at all affect the value of the island, or the probability of its success in its cultivation, as nothing can be more easy, than to carry thither the seeds of either the Bourbon or Pernambuco cotton. The former I believe is reckoned the best in the world, and the latter the next to it. The first place is about 20, and the latter about 9 degrees south of the equator. Bulama is 11 degrees distant from it, on the north; so that there cannot be any great difference, in the climates of these three places, but more particularly the two last; from which I

Reasons for this opinion.

A soil capable of producing every tropical article.

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should infer, that equally cotton, planted in equally good soil, either at Bulama or Parnambuco, would be of equal value; supposing the Bulama soil to be equally good with that of other countries, in the same climate, whether north or south of the equator, I see no reason why, with equal cultivation, equally good sugar, coffee, and tobacco, might not be produced on that island, as that which we know is produced, in the same degree of both north and south latitude.

and an excellent situation for trade.

912. "An advantageous commerce, I know may be carried on with the natives, in the two articles of ivory and wax. The central situation of Bulama, it's harbour being a great thoroughfare for the Portuguese trade, it's proximity to the three great rivers of Gambia, Grande, and Nunez, and the innumerable inlets, or small branches of the sea, navigable far inland with small vessels, between the first and last of those rivers, render it a most eligible situation for such trade. Its distance from Europe, is not so great as that of the W. Indies; the navigation to it is safe and secure; it contains one of the finest harbours I ever saw; the sea abounds with fish; and the number of animals, but more particularly elephants, buffaloes, and deer, on the island, is almost incredible. The teeth of the former, and the hides, I should suppose, of the latter, are articles of commercial consideration. With such advantages of soil and situation, a trifling sum, expended in a judicious manner, for the equipment of a small number of men, embarked on board two or three little vessels, and directed by a man of common sense and great power would, in my opinion, preclude a doubt of success. It might be commanded; but, when I say it might be commanded, I presuppose a greater firmness in those who go out, and more zeal and activity in those who remain at home, than has hitherto been evinced by either.

"I am Sir, &c.

"P. BEAVER."

Mr. Hood's Letter of the same Date.

SIR,

Soil of Bulama excellent,

and yields well

913. (17). "AS I am lately returned with Mr. Beaver from Bulama, and not being personally known to the gentlemen who have the direction of the business, I therefore think it my duty, to give you my opinion of the island. It is a fine, light, sandy loam, of considerable depth, and free from stones, and appears to be as fine land as any in England. But we do not go from appearances only, but proofs. Mr. Beaver laid out a garden, and fenced it in, and prepared the ground against the last season, in order to sow the seeds brought out from England; but they being at least two years old, and damaged so much, few of them came up. Not being able to get any more, we were obliged to apply to the Portuguese at Bissao. Besides, Mr. Beaver being desirous to make trial of all that could be got, agreed with all the commanders of the canoes, that came to Bulama, to bring all the seeds and plants they could, by which means he got as follows, viz. plantains, bananas, papaws, goavas,

goavas, oranges, limes, cotton, pepper, callavaces, pine apples, yams, cassada pumpkins, water mellons, cucumbers, ground nuts, mint, parsley, &c. All those thrive in a surprising manner, and I make no doubt, but European seeds would grow well. APPENDIX.

914. "In general, the island is well covered with useful timber, both for house and ship building; besides some close hard-grained woods, that would make good furniture, and I think, would make excellent wood for turning. I never have been able to learn the names of any of the woods, though I never missed asking every one who I thought knew any thing of it. We have plenty of elephants, buffaloes, deer, Guinea-fowls, monkeys, &c. The only beast of prey I have seen, was a wolf. There are plenty of fish, all round the island, and at low water you may get plenty of oysters, which are excellent. And, since we have got a large spot of land cleared, and all the rubbish burnt, the place is not only healthier, but more beautiful than any other place I have seen in Africa. The land is good, and capable of bringing forth any thing that wants deep root, as well as richness of soil.—Although I never worked so hard in my life, I have enjoyed, the latter part of my time, as good health as in all my life. Fine timber, &c.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN HOOD."

* * * * *

*Extract of Letter, containing an Account of the Island of Bulama, by
J. Young, Esq. a Member of the Council.*

915. "The atmosphere of the island is remarkably salubrious, as we all can testify, particularly a large party, who having lost themselves in the woods, by indiscreetly venturing too far without a compass, passed 5 days and as many night, in open air, without any sickness having resulted from it. The utmost heat, while we were there, by Farenheit's thermometer, being 84, tempered by a pleasant sea breeze, which enabled our people to work during the whole day without inconvenience. Climate.

916. "The soil is exuberantly fertile, as is evident from the spontaneous vegetation that every where appears, and from the aspect of the garden which we made, wherein all the esculent vegetables of the European gardens, as well as sugar-canes, plantains, bananas, pine apples, the lime, the orange, the guava, the olive, and the vine of several species, which the Hankey brought from Teneriffe, thrive with a luxuriance that seemed marvellous to Englishmen, who were unacquainted with the combined effects of heat and moisture, upon rich and new land. The soil of the margin of the island, appears to be a red sand, mixed with loam; that of the interior savannahs, or natural meadows, a black mould. The country is agreeably diversified with undulating grounds, but possesses no land of such elevation, as to merit the denomination of a hill. Yet it contains many springs and brooks, according to the united testimony of several gentlemen who have traversed it. There are a few iron Soil.

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Animals,
fruits,

stones between high and low water mark; but we did not discover any of those beds of oyster-shells, and quarries of freestone, which, according to La Brue, it contains.

917. "The shores abound with fish of many species, and of which, with a seine to each ship, we took daily, in a few hours, as much as we could consume. The woods abound with a delicious species of deer, of a mouse colour, and about the size of large greyhounds, called by the natives of Sierra Leona (where the same species is found) Fillintonito; also with buffaloes, elephants, monkeys, Guinea-fowls, partridges, pheasants, Muscovy ducks, and pigeons. There are also some ferocious animals. These devoured a pair of oxen, 4 asses, and upwards of 40 goats and sheep, which were landed from the Hankey, before an inclosure could be prepared for them; but when the country comes to a be little cleared, those implacable savages will retire, as is their custom, from the habitations of men. Its spontaneous fruits are plums of various species, some of them of an agreeable flavour; a fruit of about the size of an ostrich's egg, with a yellow pulp of a sharp acid, like a tamarind, and a species of well tasted grape, whose stock or vine resembles that of a kidney bean, climbing up the slender trees.

roots, &c.

918. "It's roots are yams, 'eddoes, cassada, and a kind of sweet potato. It has trees which exude gums of various species; and it is extremely probable, that it contains camwood and other dying woods, in common with the continent. It's trees are for the most part very large, with spreading branches, but not very lofty, like those in the forests of America. There is neither underwood nor brambles in these woods; but the wild grafs grows under their shade as in a well-watered meadow.

Insects.

919. "We saw no serpents, or other poisonous reptiles; but the white ants are said to be troublesome at some seasons. Communities of them which are very frequent, dwell in hillocks about ten feet in height, and which were at first taken for huts of the natives. These may easily be destroyed by building up wood about them and setting fire to it. Swarms of bees, that make honey of a delicious flavour, are very numerous in the woods, and which may easily be domesticated."

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. Munden, to Mr. Flynn dated Bulama.

Lands purchased, &c.

920. "Our sloop went up the Rio Grande to purchase a large tract of land, opposite our island, belonging to the Biafaras, and returned last night, having made the purchase of the wished-for land, which is larger than all Bulama. We have likewise the island of *Arcas*. Fowls are very plenty up the rivers. The land we have purchased is wonderfully fine, and easy of cultivation. The country near the rivers abounds with cattle of all sorts, and a vast number of elephants. We have never met with beasts to annoy us, we have also cotton growing in our garden, and our peas and other vegetables flourish."

-Extract

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Extract of a Letter from Charles Drake, Esq. to Mess. Jackson, Sykes and Rushforth, at Manchester, dated S. Leona.

921. "With respect to the Island of Bulama, I think it one of the most pleasant I ever saw, abounding in a variety of fowl, deer and game: the soil particularly rich and fertile, and vegetation remarkably quick, as was observed by some seeds we set, which came up almost instantaneously. It seems well adapted for sugar and every other W. Indian produce; and, on the whole, I am persuaded it will prove an important object to the subscribers, particularly when a charter or grant is obtained, and a permanent government established, also people endowed with zeal and activity sent out to conduct the enterprize.

Soil, &c. of Bulama.

922. "We left the remains of several of our people at Bulama; but I know of none whose decease might not be accounted for, by their being addicted to drink rum."—See § 546, 572.

Mortality now owing to climate,

923. "With respect to this place, I have not time to give you my opinion of it in the manner I could wish. If we may judge by its effects, it is not near so healthy as Bulama. We are under much obligation to Mr. Clarkson's civility and attention. I wish some of his kind proposals had been accepted. He, however, positively refused allowing me to land my tobacco, which obliged me to send it to Bance Island, with my hardwares, &c,

which is better than that of S. Leona.

924. "With respect to the general trade of this coast, I have formed the most flattering expectations. I can plainly perceive a market for an immense quantity of British goods. The natives barter for our articles, with a great deal of avidity, and by them we can get a very considerable profit.

Commercial prospects.

925. "I think there can be no difficulty in disposing of the remaining land, (of Bulama) on the arrival of the Calypso, even at a very considerable advance; as it will then be known we have succeeded in many things that before were doubtful; namely,—That we have purchased and taken possession of the Island, with the full and entire approbation of every power who made any kind of claim to the island; that we find, what before we had many doubts about, viz. several rivulets and springs*, and plenty of fresh water on the island. The air, particularly the west point, which is open to the sea, is salubrious †, and the whole island infinitely more healthy, than either the Portuguese settlement of Bissao in it's neighbourhood, or the settlement of S. Leona.

Important particulars ascertained.

926. "Under these circumstances, nothing can possibly prevent the success of the plan, but a want of zeal and activity in those who undertake the execution of it.

Nothing wanting but a charter, &c.

* It is to be observed that the rainy season was not over when Mr. D. left the island. See § 529.

† This perfectly agrees with Mr. Dalrymple's opinion of the W. Point. See the Map.

APPENDIX. There appears to me nothing wanting to render this settlement of national importance, and a truly valuable object to the proprietors, but the obtaining a charter, with a well digested plan of government. Therefore I hope every exertion will be used towards obtaining the same.

Natives pacific. 927. "I have also not the smallest doubt but the Papells who live in Biffao, and the Biafaras people, who are both mild and well disposed, may be readily procured to work on the plantations.

"I remain, &c."

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Fr. Donelly, residing at the Island of Bulama, to J. Mangles, Esq. of London, dated 22d Nov. 1792.

Climate good. 928. "I take up my pen with great pleasure to address you, being, thank God, in perfect good health, since my first arrival upon the coast of Africa, except a few days indisposition, caused by eating wild plums. In short, I find the climate to agree very well with my constitution.—The prospects of success entirely depend upon the manly exertions of gentlemen in England.

Commercial prospects. 929. "The situation of our island and lands adjacent thereto, for a central trade, stands the first of any that I have heard of upon this coast. The island of Bulama, &c. deserves the particular attention of purchasers; as nothing already recited falls short of our prospects of its becoming, in good time, exceedingly productive. The chief trade carried on here, is by trading schooners. I think it may become an object worth attention to send a small sloop or good schooner, freighted with goods, well laid in, and chosen particularly in the London market, provided it meets the sanction of your very respectable friend.

"I remain, &c."

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from P. Beaver, Esq. to the Author, dated Bulama, 24th, July, 1793.

Commerce. 930. "We have the best soil here at Bulama, and it requires only moderate cultivation to make it incredibly rich. Though the primary object of this undertaking is cultivation; yet, in order that the colony should flourish, it is necessary that great attention must also be paid to commerce, and here we have the advantage of the S. Leona Colony.—That is a place well known, much frequented by ships, not only of our own, but also of foreign nations, who participate in their trade both for wax and ivory. This a place little known, not at all frequented, except by Portuguese, and the adjacent coasts are enriched with innumerable creeks, which are navigable for small vessels, and which gives us, as it were, all the inland navigation of these

these parts. The Portuguese then, Sir, are our only rivals. Which of the two nations will carry most of the commerce is evident.

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931. "The ground on which the block-house stands, I conceive to be elevated about fifty feet above the high water-mark. I believe that I have not seen any soil on the island but what is very good: at least, those seeds which I have lodged in it's bosom, have always come up with great strength and vigour. Those who understand better than myself the qualities of the earth, are lavish in its praise.

932. "Cotton, I know, will do here very well; for, in the garden, I have many very strong plants of it; and I have not a doubt of *sugar* and *coffee* succeeding as well. In the driest times we have had sufficient water for our colony; therefore, I searched not for more; but am inclined to think there is plenty on the island. Windmills, I am confident, will answer well. I have only to add, that I much wish for that day, when this colony shall be strengthened by yourself, or any of your friends; for, on your arrival, Sir, the success of our enterprize will no longer be considered problematical," &c.

* * * * *

933. "Return of the Deaths of the Bulama Adventurers, by J. Young, Esq.

	Men	Wen.	Child.	Abstract account of the Bulama colonists.
3 Died in the outward bound voyage	1	0	2	
8 Killed or died of their wounds at Bulama	7	1	0	
9 Died at Bulama*.	6	1	2	
2 Died prisoners at Canabac	0	1	1	
3 Died between Bulama and Sierra Leona	3	0	0	
21 Died at Sierra Leona	15	4	2	
13 Died between Sierra Leona and London	10	1	2	
5 Died after the ship arrived at her moorings in the river	3	1	1	
64	45	9	10	

"Return of the Living.

7 Taken by the Bijugas of Canabac, 3d June	0	4	3
5 Redeemed of these, the 19th June	0	3	2
1 Left at the Gorée from the Calypso	1	0	0
16 Left at Bissao at their own request, or sailed for America	10	3	3
13 Left at Sierra Leona	10	3	0
14 Took their passage from Sierra Leona in the other vessels	9	1	4
85 Arrived at London in the Calypso	37	32	16
141	67	46	28

"State of the Colony at Bulama.

87 At the time when the Calypso left the island	49	13	5
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* "Of the 9 persons who died at Bulama, not one contracted his fever there, but all of them at Bissao, except those who brought their diseases from England. Of the remaining number, many caught the fever at S. Leona, through intemperance, many others from the relaxation caused by living so long on salt provision, without any thing to correct it's effects; some on board the Calypso, never having been on shore from the time they left England, which was 8 months. The coast fever is of the intermittent kind, and not infectious.

APPENDIX.

934. The following Statement I have carefully extracted from Mr. Beaver's Lists transmitted to the Trustees.

	Men	Wom.	Child.
27 At Bulama, when the Calypso sailed according to § 54+ which agrees with the foregoing statement of Mr. Young	49	13	25
6 Returned from S. Leona, 6th Oct. 1792	2	3	1
93	51	16	26
<i>Of these,</i>			
19 To return in the Hankey, to England, by the W. Indies	12	3	4
3 Run	3	0	0
29 Alive in the colony at Bulama, 22d Nov. 1792	19	6	4
<i>Died at Bulama, from the time the Calypso sailed to 22d Nov. 1792, viz.</i>			
26 Fever	12	5	9
1 Fever and flux	1	0	0
2 Consumption	1	1	0
1 Lunacy	1	0	0
1 Mortified hand	1	0	0
1 Drowned	1	0	0
1 Worms	1	0	0
2 Complication of disorders	2	0	0
1 Hooping cough	0	0	1
4 Disorder not specified in Mr. Beaver's lists	3	0	1
40	23	6	11

935. I am sorry that I have not been able to procure *data* sufficient to enable me to remedy the defects of Mr. Y's statement, which seems to apply partly to the colonists on board the Calypso, and partly to the whole colony; nor to bring down the statement, taken from Mr. Beaver's lists, to Nov. 29th, 1793, when he evacuated Bulama.

Mortality
great, but not
peculiarly so.

936. I thought it my duty to give a fair abstract of the papers before me, without attempting to conceal the great mortality which they unhappily exhibit; but which, as well as the mortality at S. Leona, is sufficiently accounted for, in the four foregoing (abridged) reports, independently of any peculiar malignity of climate. To prove that neither of those colonial undertakings have been attended with any peculiar fatality, it was my intention (if I had had room, as I have not) to give some account of the mortality, disorders and disasters which attended the first formation of almost every European colony, both in North America and the W. Indies. I allude particularly to Canada, New England, Virginia, W. Florida, Jamaica, Surinam and Cayenne; some of which countries, however, are now found to be as healthful as any in the known world.*. That they were not so to the first colonists

* See the 1st Vol. of Winterbotham's View of the United States of America. Dr. Lind's Ess. on the Diseases in hot Climates, 4th. edit. p. 89, 99. Dr. Blane's Obs. on the Diseases incident to Sea-

colonists, appears to have been principally owing to the following causes.—1st, The overbearing spirit of commerce.—2dly, Inexperience in the means of preserving health in new and untried climates.—3dly, The fixing, for the sake of commerce, on swampy spots, and other improper situations. See § 75.—4thly, The want of proper food, and of proper framed houses, ready to be set up when they landed. See § 84.—5thly, Excessive labour, in building houses and clearing lands.—6thly, The unseasoned colonists not taking the little care of themselves which was in their power.—7thly, Their disorderly and debauched lives and irregular hours.—8thly, The want of proper medicines, and of medicinal men experienced in the diseases of different climates.—9thly, The want of firmness and unanimity among the immediate leaders, who, of course were incapable of preserving order among the colonists.—10thly, The general inexperience or selfishness of those who managed the concerns of such undertakings in Europe.

NOTE HH. 1. See § 543.

937. I fear some people will laugh at the rude signatures of these African kings: for a deed from a black prince having been lately read in a House of eminence, in Westminster; when the reader concluded with "*his mark*," a horse-laugh was vociferated by some individuals to whom *that* species of utterance is so *natural*, that on a former occasion they could not repress it even on hearing a recital, which drew tears from many or most of the audience. For the information of persons who cannot boast of such *qualifications*, and *opportunities* of improvement, I subjoin this quotation.—"Several charters still remain, where Kings affix *signum crucis, manu propria, pro ignoratione literarum* (the sign of the cross, with their own hands, because of their ignorance of letters.) From this is derived the phrase of *signing* a paper. In the ninth century, Herbaud, Comes Palatii, though supreme judge of the empire, could not write his name. So late as the fourteenth century, Du Guesclin, constable of France, the greatest man in the state, and one of the greatest men of his age, could neither

Ignorance and rudeness of ancient and modern legislators.

men. Dr. Mosley's Treatise on tropical Diseases, and Long's Hist. of Jamaica *passim*. From this last author, I cannot help transcribing one passage which shows that the mortality which attended some attempts to colonize certain waste lands, in that extensive island, was owing to the very same causes which unfortunately prevailed at S. Leona and Bulama. "Several poor adventurers," says Mr. Long, Vol. I. p. 426, "came at different times, from Europe to Jamaica, and among the rest, a colony of Palatines. They had the charge of their passage defrayed, and were subsisted till they arrived on the *lands assigned to them, which they found in wilderness, the trees for the most part of stupendous bulk and not one acre cleared. Destitute of habitations as well as of land prepared for culture, their time was necessarily first taken up with building houses and felling trees. The labour and hardships they had to struggle with were much too severe for persons just come from Europe. Most of them died, the rest dispersed, and not one of these families (as I am told) succeeded.*"

APPENDIX.

read nor write. The greater part of the clergy were not many degrees superior in science to the laity. Many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe the canons of those councils at which they sat as members." Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. Vol. I. p. 232.—It were easy to show, that extreme ignorance prevailed in many parts of Europe, at a very late period, and that, in several parts of it, extreme ignorance prevails at this hour. But enough has been said to prove that the ancestors of the present Europeans were, in no respect, superior to other barbarians.

NOTE H H. 2. See § 587.

E. Indian subscribers to the Bulama undertaking.

938. There can be no doubt, but that a number of respectable subscribers will come forward, as soon as a charter shall be obtained: and I have the satisfaction to mention that Colonel Kirkpatrick, stated at the last General Meeting at the Mansion-house, that he had lately received information from his agents at Fort George, that "they were about to advertise the plan of the Bulama association, in the Madras Courier, for raising a sum not exceeding £5000, in aid of the subscription; that they meant to give their own names to it; and that, if it did not fill at that presidency, they would publish it in the Bengal papers, where there could be little doubt of its succeeding."

Some farther accounts of the Danish colony at Aquapim. See § 599.

939. Since the sketch of the Danish colony, in Africa, was printed off, I have fortunately met with Mess. Moe and Hanson, who were so good as to communicate to me several interesting particulars respecting that part of the world, most of which are contained in the following interesting letter from Mr. Moe.

SIR,

940. "I should have been glad, if I could have answered your queries respecting the Gold Coast, particularly the Danish colony, now established at Aquapim. But having been in Africa yourself, you cannot but know, how difficult it is for persons, unconnected with the Slave trade, to obtain information concerning it. This trade absorbs so much of the attention and activity of the Europeans in that part of the world, that it is only the merchant who can come into it's secrets.

941. "During a stay of 14 months on the Gold Coast, I had quite different objects in view; and sickness, which never fails to meet Europeans there, took up great part of my time. I have, however, the satisfaction of acquainting you, that I have been in Aquapim, and have seen the late Capt. Isert's colonial establishment at that place*. It is situated on a high and mountainous tract of land; but so dif-

* M. Moe mentioned to me in conversation, that the late Dr. Isert was made captain, in consequence of his great exertions to establish the new colony.

tant from navigation, that it appears to me very inconvenient for commerce*. But, for the rest, I have good reason to think, that the soil, air and water are all very good. There are but few Europeans; but they were in the best state of health, during my stay among them. Mr. Flint, who till the arrival of Lieut. Col. von Rohrs, takes care of this infant colony, has established another similar one at the foot of the mountains, nearer to Acra; and I saw growing at both places, a considerable quantity of cotton-trees and maize, all of which flourished and throve very well. The dry and wet seasons are not so distinct at Aquapim, as near the coast; for rains fall there in all the other months of the year, as well as in the rainy season.

942. "I observed that, near the Danish forts at Rio Volta, Printzenstein and Quitta, the commanders of those places and a certain merchant have begun to plant cotton, sugar-canes, different kinds of garden stuffs, such as greens, sweat peas, &c.

943. "In the neighbourhood of Christiansburg, at Acra, an old, respectable negro, a native of Dunco, at a considerable distance up in the interior part, has established himself on a solitary spot, and has planted large fields with cotton, maize and various kinds of provisions and garden stuffs. By his intelligent and laborious cultivation, he has distinguished himself so much, that he is now come into great repute. He raises such quantities of provisions, that he supplies not only Christiansburg, but also most of the neighbouring negro villages.

944. "The ship, in which my worthy colleague and myself returned to Europe, being lost, together with all our papers, we with some difficulty reached Ireland; a circumstance which will sufficiently account for our not being able to fulfil our own wishes by satisfying all your enquiries.

London, 25th March, 1795.

"I am, &c.

"H. MOE."

945. I have only to add a circumstance, which M. Moe told me, but which he has forgotten to mention in the above letter, namely, That Mr. Flint's sister, with the same zeal for the civilization of Africa, by which Mrs. Dubois has done so much honour to the sex (§ 782,) has accompanied her brother to Aquapim, with a view to instruct the negro women in needle-work, spinning cotton and other parts of female industry; and that she has already made very considerable progress in this laudable and benevolent undertaking.

* The reader may suppose that I am not very much concerned at this circumstance, which I think rather in favour of a new and innocent colony.

*Documents, &c. respecting the Swedish colonial Design.*No. 1. See § 605. *Description of Cape Mefurado.*

Abridgment of the Chevalier Des Marchais' Description of Cape Mefurado, from the Account of his Voyages to Guinea and Cayenne, A. D. 1725, 1726, and 1727, by Order of the French Government. See Labat's Collection, Vol. I. page 93, et seq. Paris, 1746.

C. Mefurado
affords good
supplies for
shipping.

946. Almost every vessel, after leaving Cape Mount, touches at Cape Mefurado. They are obliged to call at this last Cape, for wood and water, to serve them while they remain at the factory at Whidah, where the water is indifferent, and difficult of access. Another reason is, that the natives at Whidah, looking upon trees of every kind, as a species of divinities, will neither cut them down themselves, nor allow other people to do it. In the third place, rice, maize, or Indian corn, fowls, sheep, goats, and even oxen, are in greater plenty at Mefurado, than at Whidah.

Anchorage
good.

947. The course from C. Mount to C. Mefurado, is S. E. and, when the wind is unfavourable, E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. the distance 18 leagues. The coast is clear, and the anchorage every where good. If the wind be contrary, it will be proper to anchor: if there be a calm, for security against the currents, you must also come to, and wait for the land breezes in the night, which are generally fair. The author had his patience exercised in this short passage, which, though often made in 6 hours, cost him 6 days; and, unless he had anchored, the contrary winds and currents would have carried him back. On the 9th Dec. 1724, he anchored half a league from C. Mefurado, in 11 fathoms, muddy bottom, mixed with sand and broken shells.

The king's
reception of
et Chev. Des
Marchais.

948. A canoe immediately came off to him. He was heartily welcomed by the natives, who had long known and esteemed him. The king being informed of his arrival, sent the Grand Marabou to invite him on shore, and accordingly he landed the next morning. The king, who was waiting at the river side, embraced him very cordially, and gave him the best reception, of which the princes in that country are capable. The king ordered water, wood and provisions to be carried on board. The cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, are abundant.

C. Mefurado
described,

949. C. Mefurado is a detached mountain, steep and high towards the sea; but less so on the land side. The summit forms a level plain, the soil of which is better than what is generally found in such situations. On the east is an extensive bay, bordered by a good and uniform soil, which is bounded by hills of a moderate elevation, covered with large trees. On the west is another great bay, which receives the river Mefurado.

also the river.

950. The Cape points to the S. E. It's lat. is $6^{\circ} 34'$ N. long. $5^{\circ} 37'$ from the meridian of Tenerife. On the east, a long spit of land separates the sea from a bay,

fon, (*flaque d'eau*;) formed by the R. Mefurado, and a smaller one which joins it. They navigate this last in their canoes, 6 or 7 leagues at low water, and double the distance at high water. The water is always salt, or at least brackish; but it is full of fish. The course of the great River (Mefurado) is N. W. for 17 or 18 leagues, afterwards N. E. but its length is unknown. They called for one of his subjects, who assured the Chev. Des Marchais, that he had gone up this river in his canoe, for 3 moons, when he came to a great river, whence it proceeded, which runs from E. to W. on which there are rich and powerful nations, who drive a great trade in gold, ivory, and slaves. The Mefurado runs through fine countries; but is so rapid, that those who have laboured 3 months in ascending it, may return in 18 days. The negroes call the rich country, where their river originates, *Alam*, that is, the country of gold.

951. In the great bafon (*flaque d'eau*) just mentioned, are two islands, a small one at the mouth of the little river, and a larger at that of the great river. This last is called the king's island, though he never resides there; but some of his slaves raise cattle and poultry on it, for his use. The king gave this island to the Chev. and very much pressed him to settle on it. It is never overflowed, even by the great annual inundations, which, as in the Niger, take place in July, Aug. and Sep. This island is 2 leagues long, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league broad. Its soil is excellent, as appears from the size and height of the trees, which also evince its depth. The winds which blow without intermission, from the N. the E. and N. E. render its air very temperate. The only inconvenience it labours under, is the want of fresh water, which must be brought from the springs on the continent. But these are at no great distance, and are very abundant.

The king gives the Chev. an island, and presses him to settle on it.

952. The tide flows 20 leagues up the Mefurado, at the equinoxes, and 8 or 9, during the rest of the year. In July, Aug. and Sep. the water is brackish only 3 leagues up, owing to the rapidity of the stream in these months; but 4, or 5 leagues up, the water is perfectly sweet.

Tide and water.

953. The king who reigned in 1724, was called Captain *Peter*, a name which has long been common to the kings of Mefurado. When dealing with the Dutch and English, both parties take every precaution against roguery. They are armed, hostages are exchanged, and mutual caution is observed.—The French, on the contrary, trade there, without the least suspicion. They put themselves in their power, go on board their ships without fear, and, on all occasions, manifest the most friendly dispositions towards them. The French deal with them as with old and faithful friends, go on shore unarmed, commit their persons and effects to their discretion, and never had any reason to repent of this confidence.

The king called Capt. Peter.

Dutch and English distrustful, French beloved.

954. The religion of the natives of Mefurado is a kind of idolatry, ill understood, and blended with a number of superstitions, to which, however few of them are bigoted. They easily change the object of their worship, and consider their *Fetishes*

Natives not bigoted.

only

APPENDIX.

Country populous, because there is little slave trade.

Character of the natives.

Their houses.

Their women, good wives and mothers.

only as a kind of household furniture. The sun is the most general object of their adoration; but it is a voluntary worship, and attended with no magnificent ceremonies.

955. In the space of a few leagues, are many large villages, swarming with children. They practise polygamy, and their women are very prolific. Besides, as those people deal no farther in slaves, than by selling their convicted criminals to the Europeans, the country is not depopulated like those in which the princes continually traffic in their subjects. The purity of the air, the goodness of the water, and the abundance of every necessary of life, all contribute to people this country.

956. The natives are of a large size, strong and well proportioned. Their mien is bold and martial; and their neighbours have often experienced their intrepidity, as well as those Europeans who attempted to injure them. They possess genius, think justly, speak correctly, perfectly know their own interests, and, like their ancient friends the Normans, recommend themselves with address, and even with politeness. Their lands are carefully cultivated, they do every thing with order and regularity, and they labour vigorously when they chuse, which, unfortunately, is not so often as could be wished. Interest stimulates them strongly; and they are fond of gain, without appearing so. Their friendship is constant; yet their friends must beware of making free with their wives, of whom they are very jealous. But they are not so delicate with respect to their daughters, who have an unbounded liberty, which is so far from impeding their marriage, that a man is pleased at finding that a woman has given proofs of fertility, especially as the presents of her lovers make some amends for that which he is obliged to give her parents, when he marries her. They tenderly love their children; and a sure and quick way to gain their friendship, is to caress their little ones, and to make them trifling presents.

957. Their houses are very neat. Their kitchens are somewhat elevated above the ground, and of a square or oblong figure; three sides are walled up, and the fourth side is left open, being that from which the wind does not commonly blow. They place their pots in a row, and cement them together with a kind of fat, red clay, which, without any mixture of lime, makes a strong and durable mortar. Their bed-chambers are raised three feet above the ground. This would seem to indicate that the country is marshy, or sometimes inundated. But this is by no means the case. The soil is dry, and they take care to build their houses beyond the reach of the greatest floods. But experience hath taught them, that this elevation contributes to health, by securing them from the damps caused by the copious dews, in houses not so elevated.

958. The women work in the fields, and kindly assist one another. They bring up their children with great care, and have no other object than to please their husbands.—What a noble example to those who are inclined to follow it.—Why shall we be obliged to contemplate this at such a distance? Why traverse the ocean to find it?

959. The extent of King Peter's dominions, towards the N. and N. E. is not well known; but, from the number of his troops, there is reason to believe it considerable. The eastern boundary is the river Junco, about 20 leagues from Cape Mefurado, and the western is a little river about half way from Cape Mount.

APPENDIX.

Extent of the king's territory.

960. The whole country is extremely fertile. The natives have gold among them; but whether found in this country, or brought thither in the course of trade, is not precisely known. The country produces fine red wood, and a variety of other beautiful and valuable woods. Sugar-canes, indigo, and cotton, grow without cultivation. The tobacco would be excellent, if the negroes were skilful in curing it. Elephants, and consequently ivory, are more numerous than the natives wish; for those cumbrous animals very much injure their corn fields, notwithstanding the hedges and ditches with which they so carefully fence them. The frequent attacks of lions and tigers, hinder not their cattle from multiplying rapidly; and their trees are laden with fruit, in spite of the mischief done to them by the monkey tribes. In a word, it is a rich and plentiful country, and well situated for commerce, which might be carried on here to any extent, by a nation beloved like the French; *for no nation must think of establishing themselves here by force.* The Chev. Des Marchais has proposed a plan for forming a colony at C. Mefurado, which (says his able editor, Father Labat) appears to me so promising and advantageous, that I think it my duty to lay it before the public.

Produce abundant.

Plan of a Colony at Cape Mefurado.

961. It has already been remarked, that King Peter gave to the Chev. Des Marchais, the largest of the little Islands at the mouth of the river Mefurado, and had very much urged him to settle upon it. That gentleman had it not in his power to accept this offer, not knowing whether it would be agreeable to the Company. He therefore declined it, giving the king such reasons as he could prudently communicate; for an entire disclosure of his sentiments on the matter, might have raised suspicions in the mind of *that Prince, who is extremely jealous of his liberty, and of that of his people.*

Ch. Des Marchais declines accepting an island offered him by the king.

962. It is certain that this little island is well situated, and might easily be put into a state of defence; that the soil is excellent; that the want of fresh water might be supplied by cisterns; that it lies in the very centre of all the trade, that can be carried on by the river Mefurado; that the provisions produced on it, and the fish which surround it, would maintain the European inhabitants a considerable time, even supposing the negroes should take it into their heads to besiege it, or to reduce it by famine.

Advantages of this island.

963. But it must be owned, that this little island is a great way from the entrance of the basin, (*flaque d'eau*) by which alone a communication can be kept up with

It's disadvantages.

T t

European

APPENDIX.

The king offers the Chev. any part of the country he chose to colonize.

He prefers the Cape itself, & describes it.

It might be fortified with advantage,

and with little expense.

European shipping; so that this colony would be in the power of the negroes, who could shut up the entrance when they pleased. The want of fresh water is a considerable objection, which could not be removed so easily as may be imagined; and *Europeans settled among negroes, ought always to be masters of the ingresses and egresses, to and from their habitations.*

964. Captain Peter, finding that the Chev. Des Marchais was not satisfied with the little island, told him to search for a place which he thought more proper for a colony, and he would cheerfully put him in possession of it.—On receiving this assurance, the Chevalier took a view of the country; but found no place better suited to his purpose, than the Cape itself, the summit of which is a level plain, about 4000 paces in circuit, The soil is good and some trees grow on it. This eminence effectually commands the road, or rather the roads; for the eastern bay will shelter a vessel, in a case of difficulty; though the best and most secure anchorage is in the western, at the foot of the Cape, and within a musquet-shot of the shore. There is good holding ground, in 8 or 10 fathoms, between the Cape and the mouth of the river or bason (*flaque d'eau.*) A bar runs along this bay, before the river's mouth, which, in some places, is dangerous; but it is easily got over by those who are accustomed to it, and who know the proper time. This bar, however, is scarcely perceptible at the foot of the Cape, in the angle which it makes with the continent. At this is a village, and a large perennial spring of water, which is light, keeps well, and is easily filled and brought on board. It issues from a rock, more than half way up the hill, whence it falls in a cascade, into a bason which it has formed, whence it runs into the sea. Here the casks are filled, and the boats come near enough to take them on board without difficulty or danger.

965. From this account it is evident, that those in possession of the elevated platform might, by fortifying themselves, and making a proper road, defend the shipping at the foot of the hill, and command the spring of water, and the entrance into their factory, even if the negroes should block it up on the land side.

966. The expense of a fortified factory, or even of a fort, would not be great. Clay fit for bricks, abounds every where, and even stone proper for ashlar work. Building timber grows on the spot; and the common country provisions are extremely cheap. Except wine, brandy, and wheat flour, which the Company must supply, every thing else is to be had on the spot. Beef, mutton, goats, and hogs, cost little, and game abounds. Antelopes and deer graze quietly with the tame cattle in the meadows. There are many species of birds. The bason, the two rivers, and the sea, afford plenty of fish and turtles. No river on the coast is so much frequented by sea-horses as the Mesurado. The flesh of these animals is good food, and their teeth, which are whiter and harder than those of the elephant, are scarce and dear. (See § 304.)

967. The following is a list of such goods as might be bought for the proposed trade and establishment, at the present prices in France. APPENDIX.

	Livres.		Livres.	
Brandy in kegs for	4000		Brought up	21500
Gunpowder	3000	Cowries		7000
Trade-guns	2000	Brass pans		4300
Swords	1000	Pewter plates and pots		3000
Dutch knives	500	Iron bars, flat and short		1000
Striped linen	5000	Coral		1000
Blue Salempouris (East Indian)	2000	India calicoes		2000
Glass ware, of all sorts	3000	Gun flints		200
Glass beads	1000			
			Livres	40,000
Carry up	21,500	(at 9d. = £1500 ster.)		

968. Besides this expense, annual presents must be made to the three nearest kings, namely, of Cape Mount, of Cape Mesurado, and another who lives some days' journey inland, in order to keep them steady to the Company's interests. These presents must be left to the discretion of the factors, who must remember that the negroes are importunate beggars, whose demands must not be too easily complied with, and who ought to be regularly paid for their services. Annual presents to the kings.

The first Expenses of a Factory.

	Livres.		Livres.	
The equipment of a vessel	50000		Brought up	80800
European and country provisions for 40 men, residing at the factory	12000	6 Months salary for 40 Company's servants		6610
Utensils and arms for the factory	4000	Presents for the kings		3000
12 Guns, 8 pounders, &c.	3600	For 40 negroes, hired for the service of the factory		3000
12 Swivels	1200	Materials for building		1000
2 Vessels from 25 to 30 tons each	10,000			
			Livres	94,410
Carry up	80,800	(at 9d. = £3540 7s. 6d. ster.)		

The Employments and yearly Salaries of the Officers.

	Livres.		Livres.	
The Director (or Factor) yearly	3000		Brought up	9120
The Chaplain	600	10 Sailors, 18 livres each per month		2160
2 Clerks, each 600 livres	1200	2 Masons, 300 livres each		600
A Surgeon	600	A Blacksmith		300
A Store-keeper	600	A Cooper		300
15 Soldiers at 9 livres each per month	1620	A Carpenter		400
A Gunner	500	A Cook		240
2 Masters of vessels, 500 each	1000			
			Livres	13,120
Carry up	9120	at 9d. = £492 ster.		
	H h 2			
				969. By

APPENDIX.

Flat-bottomed
boats for the
river trade,
which would
be important.

All Europe-
ans, except the
French, re-
quire gar-
risons.

River St. An-
drew also pro-
per for a colo-
ny.

969. By these three statements it appears, that the expense of settling the factory, including ships, boats, provisions, and wages for one year, will not exceed 147,530 livres, (=£5532 7s. 6d. ster.) and that this expense will continually diminish, inasmuch as that of the vessels, the buildings, &c. would not be annually repeated.

970. The two vessels would trade along shore, as is the practice of the English and other nations. But as the sand-banks would prevent them from going up the river, it would be necessary to use flat-bottomed boats for this purpose; for we are assured, that when the water is lowest, there is never less than 2 feet, which would be sufficient for such craft. The commerce of the river would undoubtedly be very advantageous. We should find out where the negroes get their gold, and perhaps might discover mines of that, or of other metals. We should buy captives and produce from the first hands, and hence our profits would be surer and greater. And when the inland negroes and merchants should be certain of always finding an assortment of goods at the factory, they would frequent it eagerly, and we should soon engross all the European trade on that coast.

971. "Such," continues Labat, "is the scheme which I propose to the Company, from the Chev. Des Marchais. It is surprising that they confine themselves to the trade in slaves at Whidah, while other nations are indifferent about this traffic, and principally attend to that of gold and ivory, dying woods and other valuable productions of the country. Their profits are immense, notwithstanding the prodigious expense of supporting garrisons, without which, the natives, who can scarcely endure them, would long ago have driven them from the country. The French need not be at the same expense: for they are every where beloved. The natives eagerly court them, and would always be ready to defend them against any other Europeans, who might attempt to disturb their commerce*.

972. At p. 166, *et seq.* the author describes the river St. Andrew, whose fertile banks produce provisions of all kinds in abundance, "and wild sugar-canes, larger, sweeter, and more juicy, than those cultivated in the W. Indies, from which large crops of sugar might be made, which are now destroyed by the elephants." He gives it as his opinion, that a settlement might be advantageously formed on that river; especially as there is at its mouth a natural fortress, on a high peninsula of table-land, similar to that at Mesurado. He says, a colony there would not be expensive, as the country abounds much with ground provisions and live stock, which are so very cheap, that a fine ox may be bought for a dozen of two-penny knives, and other things in proportion. Thus, says he, (p. 174.) there is "no danger of want of provisions, which has ruined so many of our colonial enterprises, and hath caused

* I had many conversations with the late Capt. Norris of Liverpool, concerning Africa in general, and Mesurado and its vicinity in particular; and I must say, that his account of that part of the coast, agreed, in most respects, with the foregoing description of Des Marchais.

the death of so many people, both in the islands and the continent of America. (See § 755.) In this plentiful country, a colony cannot be reduced to famine."—APPENDIX.
In short, this first volume of Labat's Collection, which contains the voyages of the Chevalier Des Marchais, appears to me so interesting, that I wonder it has not been translated into English.

* * * * *

No. 1. See § 609.

Extracts from various Authors who have written concerning AFRICA in general, and particularly of the Coast of Guinea, which may be useful in colonial undertakings in that part of the world.

E. Tilléman's Description of the Coast of Guinea, printed 1697.

973. Page 38. "On the whole Coast down to Cape Palmas, the best seasons for commerce are from December to May, during which time the weather is pretty good." P. 153. "The worst season to go between the Islands of Cape Verd and the coast, is in Sept. and Oct. the weather being then very calm, with variable winds." P. 155. "It is to be observed, that in the rainy seasons, which are in April, May and June, from Sierra-Leona all the way down to Tessic, one ought not to approach nearer the coast than about 6 English miles, as very strong winds, tornadoes and showers of rain may be expected." P. 156. "During these months, as well as in Feb. the natives are not fond of visiting the ships; it being too cold." P. 157. "In returning to Europe up the coast, observe to sail by the sea-wind every 6 hours, and every other 6 hours by the land wind, to anchor. The current sets to the shore all the way down the coast." P. 159. "In the large river Gaboon is an exceeding fine and fertile Island, called Prince Island, recommended strongly by the author for a colony." Extract from Tilléman.

* * * * *

J. Rafk's Description of the Coast of Guinea, 1754.

974. Page 46. "A sugar plantation was established 9 English miles from the Fort of Butra, 1707; but was discouraged by the slave trade." P. 80. "Plenty of gold in the country above Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado." P. 82 and 150. "Alfo at Aquambo." P. 185. "The most diligent and active negroes are a little above Acra." P. 186. "The rainy seasons are more regular in the interior part of the country." P. 197. "Very stormy weather is never to be found upon the whole coast." Extracts from Rafk.

Account

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Account of various Voyages to Africa and America by P. Grand Pierre. 1726.

Extracts from
Grand Pierre.

975. Page 134. This author thus describes Rio Sestos.—“ My ambition is, to be powerful and rich enough to fit out a large fleet, filled with able and intelligent people, to make a conquest of this fine country and change it's nature, by introducing the best social laws and religious knowledge. I cannot comprehend why similar grand schemes are not undertaken by our princes, who, in other respects, are so intoxicated with the love of glory and honour. Nothing would appear to me more glorious than the execution of such noble and humane undertakings.

* * * *

Account of the commerce carried on by different nations with the Coast of Guinea, as also a description of the Danish Island of Sta. Croix, in the W. Indies, printed at Copenhagen, 1758.

Extracts from
an anonymous
writer.

800. Page 38. “ It is to be observed that the negroes of the Windward Coast are by nature well disposed, and very friendly, inasmuch as Europeans among them, even in their cottages, are much safer than on the Gold Coast, though protected by forts mounting 30 or 40 cannon. Besides that the Windward Coast is very delightful and agreeable, as also much more fertile and productive. Many English captains have been so highly captivated by the beautiful situations and fertility of this part of the coast, that they have fixed themselves on five or six different places, on spots which they have probably before visited, and after unloading their cargoes, they have delivered their ships to the care of the mate, telling him, *You may now return and give my best compliments to all my ships owners.* Several of them have lived there many years, in the greatest happiness, and are even become very rich, &c. P. 116 *et seq.* “ Calculation of expences on a sugar plantation, which however, appears to be far from correct.” See § 755.

* * * *

Treatise on the Utility of Commerce and Colonization, in both the Indies and in Africa, by Ulric Nordenkiöld, 1776. Octavo.*

Extracts from
Ulric Norden-
kiöld.

977. Page 9. “ The expence of establishing a colony will certainly not be so great as many people imagine, unless the leading adventurers speculate with a view of forming their own immediate fortune at the expence of the colony, which unfortunately has been very often the case.” P. 10. “ Salaries should be paid in goods, and not in money. All merchants in a colony should only be allowed to carry on

* This respectable author, a brother of the late Mr. A. Nordenkiöld, see § 400, and Note R, seems to have owed many of his excellent propositions to the Moravians, whose pure and disinterested conduct does so much credit to christianity and to human nature.

a com-

a commission-trade. A sufficient number of persons, who are particularly acquainted with natural history, should be engaged in a new colony, in order to encourage every kind of natural production. The colonists ought to be connected together in true social order, and of course to find their own happiness in the increase of their colony." P. 11. "By the example of the French, the author shows that the best security against any insurrection of the natives is to behave well towards them, and that this has much better effect than the strongest forts or numbers of soldiers. In order to avoid all kinds of usurpation, the author proposes to study and observe a strict attention and maintenance of the laws, regulations and connections used among the natives themselves." P. 12. "France, during the reign of Lewis XIV. in 1685, framed a particular law for the negroes in the W. Indies formed on humane principles." P. 13. "The author quotes various examples of colonization, and gives it as his opinion, that in order effectually to promote a colony, the Directors of it should possess property both in Europe and upon the spot, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the interference of mercantile speculation. He also strongly recommends great caution in the choice of the first settlers, and advises, in the beginning, to have only a few, but well chosen characters." P. 29. "The Dutch were once inclined to establish sugar plantations on the Coast of Guinea, and actually began to clear the land with 200 negroes; but, being soon aware that this undertaking would be hurtful to the slave-trade, and to the trade in gold-dust, they abandoned it." P. 38. "Among the several places the author proposes for colonization, are Cape Mesurado, Cape Monte, Rio Sherbro, Bance Island in Sierra Leona river, &c." P. 41. "He recommends the Coast of Guinea to be explored by some of the disciples of the great Linnæus." P. 47. "The Dutch African Company (under the sanction of their government) clear 181,000 Guilders per Ann." P. 49. "In order to preserve barley, an article of great use for a colony, the author proposes to pound it with salt." P. 58 to 63. "Are several interesting tables with calculations for settling a colony with different numbers of people, expences, &c.

* * * * *

*Sketch of Temporary Regulations for the intended Settlement near Sierra Leona,
3d, Edition, by Granville Sharp, Esq. 1788.*

978. Page 1. The old English system of frank-pledge, or free suretyship, given by all householders for themselves and each other, is recommended very highly in a new colony, and is certainly of the greatest importance. P. 5 and 7. Civil and military government, in a very simple and easy manner, proposed on the ancient system. P. 8. The author seems to admit of apprenticeships in the new colony. P. 11. Encouragement for indented servants for obtaining their liberty sooner than the term first agreed on." P. 14. A most excellent proposal

Extracts from
Gr. Sharp.

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posaf that free labour should be made the standard or means, by which all kinds of commodities in the community might be measured, instead of money. P. 26. Best means for controlling or checking the credit of every individual and thus preventing abuses. P. 28. Excellent means for excluding slaves from the the community. P. 38. Institution of a public exchequer or bank founded upon day labour, and appears to be of the greatest importance in supporting real and practical social liberty, provided it be brought into a systematical form. P. 59. Day labour to form a standard in respect to value from cultivating the earth. Every indented servant to sign a certain number of days labour in the year, at the exchequer, as a tax, which forms a public revenue. Division of day labour into hours and minutes.

979. It were to be wished that the ingenious author had proposed an equal tax of day labour upon every individual; but, at page 69, he makes a further remark with respect to the rich and wealthy, whom he wishes to be taxed according to their inactivity, which, it is plain, would be a very difficult, if not an impossible, task. P. 63 and 64. Means proposed for knowing every ones debts in the community. P. 64. Value of day-labour currency reduced into English money. P. 81 and 82. Utility of frankpledge.

* * * * *

Extracts from "A Description of Sta. Croix, with a short View of the Islands of St. Thomas, Tortola, Spanish-town and Crab Island, by H. West." Printed in Danish, at Copenhagen, 1793.

Extract from
West, Climate.

980. Page 18. The climate is generally reckoned very favourable for white children, till in their seventh or eighth year.

Choice of co-
lonists.

981. At P. 55, the author laments the unhappy consequences of being careless in the choice of colonists; and then endeavouring to counteract their bad examples, by sending out enthusiastic missionaries. He says farther, that, when England sent her numerous convicts to America, Dr. Franklin knew of no better way of shewing the gratitude of the colonies to the mother country, than by returning the same number of rattle-snakes to be nursed and multiplied in the royal botanical garden at Kew. Franklin's moral is apposite and strong. P. 73. The author calculates the yearly expense of maintaining the slaves at 25 Danish rix-dollars each *.

Philanthropic
undertaking
of the Danish
government.

982. P. 96. He mentions, with the greatest respect, Lieut. Col. von Rohr, who, after having studied tropical climates for thirty six years with great attention and ability, has lately, in his fifty ninth year undertaken a voyage to Guinea, by order of the Danish government, for what specific purpose, the author does not say; but it appears, from his further expressions, *that this voyage forms a part of one of the*

* The proportion of the Danish rix-dollar to the English crown, in pure silver, is as $54\frac{2}{3}$ to $579\frac{3}{100}$. See Jöranfon Tabeller, 4to, 1777.

most philanthropic undertakings that any government was ever engaged in. (See § 599, 941.) P. 105. The author proposes a plan for the benefit of the negroes in St. Croix, to be tried on a single plantation, to the proprietor of which a loan for the purpose may be made by Government. This plan contains many valuable hints.

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983. At p. 113, the author justly observes, that “enthusiasts only, and not wise statesmen and true judges of mankind, will think of doing violence to nature, and bringing *children or negroes*, who in so many respects resemble one another, at once to apprehend abstract ideas. Enthusiasts alone will expect that those who can understand their obvious rights, will also find out their duties as christians, husbands, fathers, servants, citizens, proprietors, &c.” P. 115. It is undeniable that lawgivers ought not to indulge themselves in one single cruelty, and that the safety of the subject ought not to depend on the occasional character of the superior, but on the true protection of the laws.

Similarity between children and negroes.

984. P. 129. On the one hand, nothing works upon the negroes more than benevolence and encouragement; and, on the other, nothing is more necessary than punishment, or the fear of it, to stimulate their exertions. The whole art of managing them consists in knowing when and how to apply these opposite modes of treatment. Nor am I mistaken, when I believe that chastisement would be less frequent, but more severe and just, were the sentence and execution of it left to a jury of old and worthy negroes. P. 131. The conduct of the whites is of serious consequence, even in speaking or dropping inuendoes. P. 137. The author mentions jealousy as a frequent cause of the dissolution of the connection between negro men and women. This delicate subject appears to deserve the investigation of the clergy, in every regular community.

Management of the negroes.

985. In order to lay a foundation for a nearer incorporation of the negroes with the body of the state, and to prevent the atrocities which accompany the hideous man-trade on the coast of Africa, the Government (of Denmark) has limited it's existence to ten years, ending in 1802.

Incorporation of negroes with the body of the state 1802.

986. P. 150. The author very judiciously proposes, that no colonial regulation should be formed in a mother country which has not first been sent out, proposed, acknowledged and approved of by the colonists.

Colonial regulations,

987. P. 170. He points out the unfortunate consequences of introducing much money into a colony. P. 171. Speculation trade, or monopoly, very hurtful in a colony. P. 189. The author laments the deterioration of the coined currency, by the introduction of Birmingham counterfeits, which is not to be prevented. P. 190. Using the tickets of responsible people for the sake of change was inconvenient, *from it's not being brought to perfection*. P. 195. The weighing of specie is more just, less deceitful, and more conformable to the practice of the ancients.

Bad consequences of money.

988. P. 171. The author mentions that the crops at St. Croix fail regularly every third year. Does not this seem to prove, that the cultivation of African produce in that island, is not natural, but forced and artificial?

Crops,

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989. P. 174 to 183. He estimates the annual expence of a decent family in St. Croix, at 4040, and that of a single man at 2500 Danish Rix-dollars.

990. P. 221. St. Croix, being 7 Danish (about 40 English) miles in length, and 1 Danish (about 6 English,) in breadth, produced, in 1788, a very productive year, 24,000 hogfheads of fugar*.—P. 226. The number of slaves in St. Croix, of both sexes, and above 12 years of age, is 17,040.—P. 229. The soil of the level parts of St. Croix is not liable to be washed away by the rains, and although shallow, is most excellent for fugar,

Health.

991. P. 256. The cold bath, before sun-rise, fortifies the nerves, and furnishes strength for the day's business. Horse-exercise strengthens a weak stomach, and the pungent red pepper whets the appetite. Castor-oil, Peruvian-bark, old Madeira wine and opium are simple weapons against the common diseases. Could it well be believed by any European physician, that, in order to bring a dying person to life again, it was necessary to make him swallow 45 bottles of old Madeira and 7 bottles of burnt brandy in 9 days?

Climate.

992. P. 257, in speaking of the climate, the author has the following words; "and although the first abode of a European in a warm climate, is not altogether "pleasing or comfortable, still, custom, connections and a way of living nearer to "the order of nature, will soon compensate to him for the artful pleasures of Europe, provided his constitution be not totally averse to the climate; that he enjoys "the necessaries and conveniences of life; and that he has not placed his whole enjoyment in exercising such kinds of science, as local circumstances, moral and "physical, cannot allow."

* In order to shew, (merely to satisfy the reader's curiosity,) what quantity of fugar may be produced by a certain number of labourers, the following facts, taken from observations on the Jamaica plantations, may serve as examples.—The calculation shews how many negroes in each of the following parishes are required to make 100 hogfheads of fugar, each 14 cwt.

In the County of Middlesex. St. Catharines 171, St. Dorothy 200, St. Thomas in the Vale 180, St. John 168, Clarendon 127, Vere 138, St. Ann 200, St. Mary 150. Total 1334

In the County of Surry. Port Royal 250, St. Andrews 162, St. David 172, St. Thomas in the east 120, Portland 182, St. George 158. Total 1044

In the C. of Cornwall. St. Elizabeth 204, Westmorel. 141, Hanover 142, St. James's. 132. Total 619

So that, in Jamaica, the production of every 1800 hhds. requires negroes 2997

In other words, on an average of the whole island of Jamaica, every 5 negroes produce 3 hhds. of fugar, (each 14 cwt.) In the parish of Port Royal, twice as many negroes are required to produce 100 hhds. as in the parish of St. Thomas in the East. The astonishing disparities in this statement, are owing to differences of soil, rains, &c. *within the same island.* And the proportionable disparity of expence, (in raising the *gross produce*) is a convincing proof of the difficulty, or the impossibility, of estimating for practical purposes, the *net profits*, (if any) of fugar estates, *in the whole W. Indies.* See Long's Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. 2, p. 438; and § 755; note, and 774.

993. P. 315. The author points out methods for preserving plants.—P. 345, He describes the flourishing state of European garden vegetables, as peas, cauliflower, &c.—says, the milk is rich and well tasted, and the butter delicate. APPENDIX.

994. P. 263. The author, after touching on the present state of commercial politics in Europe, concludes his excellent work with these remarkable words. “*I believe, that the West Indian islands are at their zenith, with respect to the interest of, and submission to, Europe.*”

No. 2. See § 610. *Plan for exploring Africa, by M. Chauvel, Swedish Consul General, at Havre de Grace, drawn up in 1784.*

995. The following paper was, at M. Chauvel's request, transmitted to the author by his partner Nicol Reinicke, Esq. who has since succeeded him, as Swedish Consul General at Havre de Grace. M. Chauvel, *true to his mercantile principles*, fixes his attention entirely on gold, neglecting all the other hints and proposals; though the application, to which the following is an answer, related chiefly to the cultivation of the land, and the exploration of the interior country. Gold was barely mentioned as one of the articles it afforded, and not a word was said of the slave-trade.

M. Chauvel mistakes the proposals made to him.

996. “In answer to the proposal of the two Swedish Gentlemen, who wish to visit Africa, to search for gold mines, the Sieur Chauvel, Consul General of Sweden, begs leave to state the particulars which have come to his knowledge. He has carried on an extensive commerce to the Gold Coast, and he has just sent thither two very intelligent captains, in addition to his agents, who have resided many years in that country; and they think that Kalienaut and Natacou, near Fort St. Joseph in Galam, on the river Senegal, are the most proper places to search for gold. The following are the grounds of his opinion.

997. “M. David, Director General of the Senegal Company, returning to France in 1741, prevailed on the Company to prosecute a plan he had formerly proposed, respecting the mines at Galam*. Accordingly, after trying some bags of earth which he had brought home, the Directors resolved upon a second attempt. The Sr. David was himself empowered to go to Galam, and to take the proper measures for the proposed search. On viewing the country, he established some factories; and, after satisfying himself of the richness of the mines, he returned to the principal factory, and sent the Sieur de la Brue to Galam, to execute the plan. In the mean time, the war of 1744 broke out. M. David was sent to the Isle of France, and La Brue succeeded him as Director General of Senegal. Other objects engaged the Compa-

M. David's exertions for opening the gold mines.

* M. David was still alive when I was in Paris in 1787, and a very aged man. Though I called on him several times, I was not so fortunate as to see him. But my fellow traveller, Dr. Sparrman, had a good deal of interesting conversation with him.

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ny's attention till the peace. Yet the plan was not abandoned. The factories established by M. David, at Bambouc and Boudou, were kept up. The Sieur Auffenac, Governor of Fort St. Joseph in Galam, went in 1756, to Kelienaut and Natacou, where new mines were discovered, which, finding to be rich and abundant, he sent to the Director of the Company at Paris, ores (*des mineraux*) so rich in gold, that several of them yielded 3 and 4 drams. The Sr. Auffenac observed in one of his memoirs, that the deeper the mines were dug, the richer they were found; and he stated, as the result of all the attempts, that, after paying all expenses, there remained a profit of between 40 and 50 per cent; and that this profit would be greatly augmented, because all preparatory expenses were paid, and need not be repeated. The taking of Senegal in 1758, put an end to this business. The English, indeed, sent out an artist who died at Galam; and such has since been the unsettled state of that country, that no farther attempts have been made. (See § 70, 651, *et seq* *.)

Expense of the expedition,

998. "The Sieur Chauvel is so much convinced, that two persons of skill would easily discover this precious metal in that country, that he hereby proposes to equip a vessel of between 100 and 150 tons burden, which ought not to draw more than nine feet water, when loaded. She ought to be well sheathed, to prevent the worm, common in those hot climates, from damaging her bottom. Such a vessel, well equipped and furnished with one year's provisions, would cost from 25 to 30,000 livres Tournois. It would be proper to put on board this vessel, goods to the value of 60 or 70,000 livres; so that the whole expedition would cost from 90 to 100,000 livres. The Sieur Chauvel will defray one half of this expense, if the two gentlemen, or their friends, will furnish the other half.

and it's objects

999. "If the gentlemen consent to this condition, the management of the business must be committed to the Sr. Chauvel, who will address a memorial to the Minister

* The fate of the miners sent from England, is mentioned by Dr. Lind, in his Essay on the Diseases of hot Climates, p. 40, where, on the authority of a medical gentleman, he gives a lamentable account of the loss of lives, in the passage of 6 weeks, up the river, against the stream; and also of the mortality at the little fort situated on it's banks, above 700 miles from the sea. During the inundations, this fort is surrounded by the waters of the river, and during the rest of the year, by a large extent of mud and slime. It is no wonder then, that in such a navigation, and such a situation, the mortality was enormous. But I beg leave to observe, that, as my fellow travellers and myself intended to have gone to Galam, if we had not been prevented, (§ 615.) we made very particular enquiries respecting that place, and the journey thither. We were assured by several persons at Goree, and particularly by a respectable French officer who had twice visited Galam, that the journey by land is attended with little mortality, and that the mountains, where the gold is found, at a moderate distance from the oozy banks of the river, are blessed with a healthful air. I was told, at the same time, of a French officer, who had lived many years among the natives at Galam, and that he was so well pleased with his situation, that he rejected some very tempting offers made him by the Senegal Company, only to come down and acquaint them with the nature of the country, and the best mode of cultivating a commercial intercourse with the natives.

of the Marine, to obtain the protection necessary for such an undertaking, the success of which will be the more certain, as it will embrace two objects—first, the discovery of mines;—and, secondly, trading with the natives, while the gentlemen reside on the spot; so that, in case they should not succeed in their researches, (which I hold to be impossible,) their expenses might be defrayed by the following operations.

1000. "The vessel ought to be ready to sail in May; so that they may be upon the coast in June and July, to take advantage of a sort of convoys which the natives fit out, at that time of the year for Galam *. And, instead of coming down the river, with the annual floods, as is the practice of those whose only object is trade, the vessel would remain at Galam, and trade in ivory, gold and slaves. These articles, though not very abundant, are yet in sufficient plenty to employ advantageously the time in which the gentlemen will be making their researches.

Trade combined with mining scheme.

1001. "A very small number of men will suffice to navigate the vessel to Senegal, which is commonly performed in 3 or 4 weeks. On arriving at Fort Louis, it will be advisable to take on board a reinforcement of the natives, who are excellent sailors.

1002. "To prevent disputes with the natives, it will be necessary to obtain some of the king's sons as hostages, (which is never refused) and to detain them, till the business be finished.

1003. "The gentlemen need not carry any attendants with them; for negroes are easily hired in the country, to perform every kind of labour. Besides the negroes purchased in the course of trade may be employed in the most laborious work.

1004. "The gentlemen being able, as there is no room to doubt, to fulfil the object of their voyage, by the discovery of the mines, would remain to pursue their researches, while the vessel, having finished her business, would proceed with the negroes to St. Domingo, and return with produce to Havre. And to supply the gentlemen with necessaries, M. Chauvel, on receiving advice from them, would dispatch a vessel to them, if needful: or they might be supplied by the ships belonging to a company to whom the king has granted an exclusive charter for the gum trade, and, who of course will have many ships going and coming to and from that part of the world.

1005. "If the foregoing proposals meet with the approbation of the gentlemen, an agreement to the following purport may be signed by these gentlemen, and by M. Reinicke, in behalf of D. Chauvel and son.

Conditions proposed by Mess. Chauvel.

1006. "We, the underwritten residing at and Dd. Chauvel and son, Merchants in Havre, in whose behalf M. N. Reinicke will sign these presents, have mutually agreed upon the following articles.

* M. Chauvel here means the convoy which annually sails from Fort Louis, up the Senegal, during the inundations, and which, in some years, consists of 50 or 60 vessels, large and small.

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1007. (1°.) "The Sieurs D. Chauvel and son, shall fit out a vessel of such size as may appear to them proper for trading in the river Senegal, and the forts and rivers thereon depending.

1008. (2°.) "The Sieur Chauvel and son are hereby empowered, to purchase such goods as they may think suitable, for the cargo of the said vessel.

1009. (3°.) "The proposed plan of operation, after arriving at Senegal, is to hire black sailors, and to take one of the king's sons as a hostage, who shall remain at Senegal, while they proceed to search for mines, and to trade in slaves, ivory and gold-dust.

1010. (4°.) "Messieurs _____ are hereby authorized to remain as long as they think it convenient, for the discovering of mines, and the vessel, when she shall have finished her trade, shall proceed to St. Domingo with the slaves, and return with produce to Havre, whence she shall be immediately dispatched to Senegal with such articles as the gentlemen may request to be sent them: and the same vessel, if they think proper, shall attend them upon other discoveries, of which they shall be bound to give notice to the Sr. Chauvel, when they send for the goods which they may want.

1011. (5°.) "While the vessel remains at Senegal, or is on her voyage to St. Domingo and Havre, and back to Senegal, if Messieurs _____ should be in want of any European articles, the Sr. Chauvel and son, on receiving advice thereof, will take care to send them out by the first opportunity; or, if they are of great importance, will even dispatch another vessel with them.

1012. (6°.) "It is computed that the cargo and outfit will cost from 90 to 100,000 livres, of which one half shall be on account of the Sieurs Chauvel, and the other half on account of Messieurs _____ who, on signing this agreement, shall direct some house in Stockholm, Hamburg, Amsterdam or London, to make reimbursement.

1013. (7°.) "All the transactions respecting the ship and cargo, the discovery of mines, and the expense thereof, as well as the profits which may result therefrom, shall be $\frac{1}{2}$ an account of Mess. _____ and the other of Mess. Chauvel.

1014. (8°.) "The management of the whole business, in Europe, shall be entirely committed to the Srs. D. Chauvel and son, not only the outfit of the vessel, and the purchase of the cargo, but the sale of the returns; and Messieurs _____ oblige themselves to remit to them all the gold and other minerals resulting from their researches, and which the Srs. Chauvel and son bind themselves to sell, and to apply one half of the neat proceeds, agreeable to the order of Mess.

1015. (9°.) "The vessel shall be under the orders of Messieurs _____ who may conduct her to any place where they chuse to make researches; but the trade in slaves, gold-dust and ivory shall be entrusted to the captain.

1016. (10°.) " If Messieurs do not understand French, they may carry with them a young man to act as interpreter and clerk, at the expense of the concern, APPENDIX.

D. CHAUVEL and SON.

No. 3. See § 613. *Letters explaining various Difficulties in the Execution of our Undertaking, and how they were to be removed; also shewing with what Zeal and Generosity the Swedish Ambassador, (Baron de Stael,) and the French Minister, (Marechal de Castries,) promoted our Views.*

M. Le Baron de Stael d'Holstein.

Baron Stael von Holstein.

Paris, le 12 Août, 1787.

Paris, Aug. 12, 1787.

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

SIR,

La Compagnie s'étoit empressée d'offrir ses services les plus étendus à M. M. de Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Waditrom. Les ordres qu'elle a reçus depuis, à ce sujet, de M. le Mar. de Castries, et la recommandation que vous lui avez fait l'honneur de lui adresser, sont autant la récompense de son zèle, que des motifs de devoir et d'encouragement. Elle a eu plusieurs conférences avec ces savants sur les moyens de rendre leur voyage de l'intérieur de l'Afrique, aussi sûr et le moins pénible qu'il sera possible. Ils trouveront dans les comptoirs, et auprès des agents de la Compagnie, les renseignements, le secours, les ressources que la colonie peut comporter; et en attendant ils seront traités avec beaucoup de distinction dans le navire qui va les transporter au Senegal.

La Compagnie se félicite infiniment d'avoir une pareille occasion de témoigner à votre Excellence combien elle désire de lui être agréable.

Je suis, avec respect,

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR, &c.

FRAISSE, Adr. Dcur.

Par procuration de la Compagnie du Senegal.

THE Company anxiously wish to offer the most extensive services to Messrs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Waditrom. The order they have received on that head, from the Marechal de Castries, and the recommendation which you have done them the honour to address to them, at once recompense their zeal, and are motives for their activity. The Company had many conferences with those learned gentlemen, respecting the means of rendering their journey into the interior, as secure and easy as possible. They will find at the factories, and with the Company's agents, the directions, assistance, and resources, which the settlements can afford; and, in the mean time, they will be treated with great attention on board the ship which is to convey them to Senegal.

The Company is extremely happy in having this opportunity of shewing your Excellency how much they desire to be agreeable to you.

I am, with respect,

Your Excellency's, &c.

FRAISSE, Acting Director.

For the Senegal Company.

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No. 4. See § 613.

*M. Le Baron de Stael d'Holstein.**Baron Stael von Holstein.*

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

SIR,

The Compa-
ny excuse
themselves to
Bar. de Stael.

VOUS me faites l'honneur de me
marquer, que M. Mistral, Intendant de la Ma-
rine au Havre, fait difficulté de laisser embarquer
M. M. Arrhenius et Wadstrom. La Compagnie
n'y a aucune part, puisqu'elle a donné ordre à ses
administrateurs au Havre, d'accorder le passage
gratis, à ces naturalistes, aussi qu'à M. Sparrman.
Je pense, Monsieur, que ce que j'ai de mieux à
faire c'est d'envoyer à Havre, la lettre originale
par laquelle M. le Marechal de Castries a recom-
mandé à la Compagnie ces trois voyageurs, sans
exception; et néanmoins je vais écrire à ce Mi-
nistre, pour le supplier de faire savoir ses inten-
tions à M. Mistral incessamment à ce sujet. J'ai
vu dans les bureaux, sa décision donnée sur une
lettre de M. de Maleherbes, qui ne lui recom-
mandoit que M. Sparrman. C'est là-dessus que
les commis auront fait la lettre ministérielle, pour
ordonner au bureau de classes du Havre, que ce
Docteur fut embarqué au frais du roi; et ils au-
ront ignoré qu'il avoit deux compagnons. Votre
Excellence peut-être persuadée, que ces deux com-
pagnons auront au moins, incessamment la per-
mission de s'embarquer. Quant au frais de leur
passage, la compagnie en recevra le rembourse-
ment du ministre, si ce sont ses intentions: mais
elle ne le demandera point, parce qu'elle est très
flattée de pouvoir contribuer de son mieux à des
voyages aussi intéressants.

Je suis, avec respect, &c.

FRAISSE, Adv. D^{eur}.

Par procuration de la Compagnie du Senegal.

YOU do me the honour to observe,
that M. Mistral, Intendant of the Marine at
Havre, objects to the embarkation of Messrs.
Arrhenius and Wadstrom. This was no fault of
the Company, who have ordered their managers
at Havre, to give a passage *gratis*, to these natu-
ralists, as well as to M. Sparrman. I think, Sir,
I had best send to Havre the original letter, in
which the Marshal of Castries, hath recommended
to the Company those three travellers, without
exception; and I will, moreover, write to that
minister, to make his intentions on that subject
known immediately to M. Mistral. I have seen
in the office his determination, in a letter to M.
de Maleherbes, which recommended M. Sparr-
man only. In consequence, the clerks, in writ-
ing the minister's letter, ordering the office of the
department of Havre, to give the Doctor a passage
at the king's expense, did not know he had two
companions. Your Excellency may rest assured
that the two other gentlemen shall have immediate
permission to embark. As to the expense of their
passage, the Company will receive it from the
minister, if such be his intention. But they will
never ask for it, being much gratified by having
it in their power to contribute to their utmost, to
voyages of this interesting nature.

I am, with respect, &c.

FRAISSE, Acting Director.

For the Senegal Company.

No. 5. See § 613.

M. Le Baron de Stael d'Holstein.

A Versailles, le 29 Juillet, 1787.

COLONIES.

On a écrit aux Administrateurs de la Compagnie, en faveur de Sieurs Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadstrom.

MONSIEUR,

J'ai reçu la nouvelle lettre, que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 16^e de ce mois, à l'occasion de Mess. Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadstrom, qui se proposent de voyager en Afrique. Ce n'est en effet qu'avec des marchandises que l'on parvient à traiter avec les habitans de ce continent; mais comme ils pourroient éprouver des difficultés à cet égard, sur la partie des côtes entre le Cap Blanc et le Cap Verd, dont la traite est réservée à la Compagnie du Sénégal, j'ai écrit conformément à vos desirs, à cette Compagnie, pour les faire lever. Je ne doute pas qu'elle ne se prête, autant qu'il dépendra d'elle à procurer aux Srs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadstrom, toutes les facilités nécessaires pour le succès de leur voyage.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec un très sincère attachement,

Monseigneur, votre très humble,
et très obéissant serviteur,

LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

Baron Stael von Holstein.

Versailles, 29 July, 1787.

COLONIES.

The Directors of the Company have also been written to in favour of Mess. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadstrom.

SIR,

I have been honoured with a fresh letter from you, on the 16th inst. in behalf of Mess. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadstrom, who wish to sail for Africa. They can only trade with the natives, by means of goods. But, as they may meet with some difficulties, in this respect, on the coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Verd, the trade of which is reserved for the Senegal Company, I have, agreeable to your request, written to the Company, to remove those difficulties. And I doubt not that they will be ready to contribute every thing within their province, to the success of the voyage of those gentlemen.

Obstacles to travelling in Africa removed.

I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment,

Sir, your most obedient,
and most humble servant,

LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

No. 6. See § 613.

M. GOURY.

A Versailles, le 7 Juillet, 1787.

JUDA

En faveur de Messrs. de Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadstrom.

CETTE lettre, Monsieur, vous sera remise par Mess. de Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadstrom, Suédois, qui se rendent en Afrique pour se livrer à des recherches relatives à l'histoire naturelle. Si par une suite du plan de leur voyages, ces Messieurs

M. GOURY,

Versailles, 7 July, 1787.

WHIDAH.

In favour of Messrs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadstrom.

THIS letter, Sir, will be delivered to you by Letters of Messrs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadstrom, introduction. Swedes, who come to Africa, to make researches in natural history. If in the prosecution of their plan, those gentlemen should call at Whidah, you

X x

will

APPENDIX. Messieurs passent à Juda, vous voudrez bien leur procurer toutes les facilités qui dépendront de vous, pour qu'ils puissent remplir avec succès l'objet de leur recherches.

will of course do every thing in your power to facilitate the successful accomplishment of their object.

Je suis, &c.
LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

I am, &c.
LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

1017. We were furnished with similar letters to the following persons, viz. Monsieur Vallière, Vice Consul, Chargé des affaires du Consulat à Tripoly.

Monsieur du Chateauneuf, Consul Général, Chargé des affaires du Roy, auprès du Bey à Tunis.

Monsieur du Rocher, Consul Général, Chargé des affaires du Roy, auprès de l'Empereur de Maroc, à Salés.

Monsieur de Kerey, Consul Général, Chargé des affaires du Roy, auprès du Dey, à Alger.

Monsieur le Directeur du Comptoir d'Amakou, sur la Côte d'Or,

Monsieur le Directeur du Comptoir de Gambia, à l'entrée de la Rivière de Serra Lionne.

No. 7. See § 618. (5.)

Extract of a Letter, to the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains of Sierra Leona, dated Leadenhall Street, London, 16th May, 1788, by GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq.

Mr. Sharp generously recommends lands to be given gratis,

1018. AS I have thus incurred a very great expence, not only this year, but also on your first embarkation last year, without the least view of any private interest to myself, but rather for a general good, in promoting a just and honourable trade in African productions, in contradistinction to the abominable *Slave trade*: also for the peculiar advantage of yourselves, I trust you will be so sensible of this, that you will not deny my earnest request to you, as a favour to myself, that you will readily admit all the persons that are now passengers on board the Miro, people of colour as well as white, together with the captain, mates, and such of the seamen as desire it, to an equal share with yourselves in the settlement, gratis, agreeable to what is proposed in page 122 of the Additional Regulations, even if the Miro should unfortunately be delayed from arriving at the settlement, within 12 months from the first establishment. The 12 months will expire on the 12th of the next month; for I see by an extract from the log-book of the Nautilus, that the lots were drawn on the 12th July, 1787; and though the Miro was chartered on the 23d April, 1788, time enough for her arrival within the first year, yet so many unforeseen delays have happened, that there is a probability that she may not reach your settlement, till after the commencement

of the second year since your establishment; nevertheless, I rely on your friendship, that you will fulfil my request, in granting lots *gratis* to the passengers, &c. in the Miro, and, (as the rainy season will probably be set in,) that you will receive them into your houses, and afford them the best accommodations you can give, with assistance to procure shelter also for their goods, cattle, and fowls, and to aid them in erecting houses for themselves, as soon as the weather will permit.

1019. I must likewise request that you will lay out a free lot, and cause it to be registered, and reserved for the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarkson, a gentleman who has eminently distinguished himself by several excellent publications, as an able, strenuous, and successful advocate, for the liberty and natural rights of the negroes, and who, at present, is prevented from joining the settlement, by his continued indefatigable exertions in the same just cause, as a Member of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; to which society a continuance of his assistance is at present indispensibly necessary.

to several English gentlemen and negroes:

1020. Also a lot, to be laid out, registered, and reserved, in like manner, for William Sydney Smith, Esq. Post Captain of the Royal Navy, and another for John Spencer Smith, Esq. Page of Honour to Her Majesty the Queen,—also a lot registered and reserved, for Lieut. John Clarkson of the Royal Navy, (brother to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, above mentioned,) a gentleman every way qualified to render you very essential service; as a member of your *free community*, whenever he may arrive.

1021. Also a reserved lot for Mr. Peter Nassau, son of Peter King of Mesurado, who had entered himself as a passenger in this ship; but afterwards was prevailed onto stay some time longer in England, on account of education: and for Mr. William Johnson, a mulatto, who redeemed him (Mr. Peter Nassau) from slavery in the West Indies. (See § 784, *et seq.*)

1022. Also for Henry Martin Burrows, a poor negro, whom I saved this year from slavery (with another man,) by a writ of Habeas Corpus, from on board a Honduras ship, and whose legs (which were mortified with cold and hardship) have been lately cut off in St. Bartholomew's hospital.—Also for William James, a black man, lately arrived at Bristol, from New York, who is strongly recommended to me for his abilities; but he cannot have time to arrive here before the ship sails.—Also for Henry Byron who was this day sent on shore from on board the Miro, on account of sickness.

1023. Also for the undernamed 12 Swedish gentlemen of rank, great learning, and abilities, several of them members of universities, and philosophers, who propose to embark in two or three months time, but perhaps may be delayed a little longer,

also to 12 Swedish gentlemen.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| viz, | 1. A. N. | 2. C. F. N. | 3. U. N. |
| | 4. C. J. | 5. A. J. | 6. A. B. |
| | 7. C. B. W. | 8. G. | 9. A. A. |
| | 10. J. S. | 11. M. S. | 12. G. S.* |

* Several reasons prevent the author from mentioning their names at full length.

APPENDIX.

His reasons.

1024. The free admission of these Swedish gentlemen, to an equal participation with yourselves in the settlement, *gratis*, I earnestly recommend to you, because I believe it will be highly beneficial to the settlement in general, that they should set up their head quarters with you, and make their principal residence in the *Province of Freedom*, which will probably be a means of opening to you an extensive communication with the internal parts of Africa, which they (with the most benevolent intention towards the natives) mean to explore: and their associating with you will certainly promote trade, and will secure and enrich the settlement. (See § 606.)

1025. Although this work has unavoidably far exceeded it's prescribed limits; yet the author thinks himself bound, by his promise at § 594, to insert the names of the *original*-subscribers to the S. Leona and Bulama undertakings. Indeed he could not, without doing violence to his feelings, omit this opportunity of rendering as public as he can, the names of the first promoters of the civilization of Africa, who have done so much honour to this age, to this country, and to mankind*.

* It is pleasing to observe, how much the following lists are graced with the names of Ladies; a circumstance the more remarkable, as, in general, their property is not so much at their own immediate disposal, as that of the Gentlemen. This is one instance, among many, to show how warmly the Ladies interest themselves in liberal and humane enterprizes; and their example, in supporting the S. Leona and Bulama undertakings, appears not to have been lost upon the other sex. To what sublime degrees of humane feeling and heroic virtue, might not mankind arrive, if, in union with the sex, they would always set before them the amiable pattern of female goodness!

LIST

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE CAPITAL JOINT STOCK OF THE

SIERRA LEONA COMPANY.

INSTITUTED FOR PROMOTING THE
CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA;

With an Abridgement of the Act of Parliament, which incorporated that respectable Body.

The original Price of each Share was £50.—The Subscriptions closed, in June, 1792.

NB. The Figures annexed to the Names, denote the Number of Shares subscribed for.

A					
Abdy, Rev. W. Jarvis, <i>Horsleydown</i>	1	Arney Scheve, <i>Wellclose Sq.</i>	1	Bankes, Rev. J. Staines, <i>Trinity ball, Cambridge</i>	2
Adams, Peter, <i>Whitechapel</i>	2	Arnold J. <i>Plymouth dock</i>	1	Banks, George, <i>of the Bank of Engl.</i>	1
Adams, Thomas, esq. <i>Alnwick, Northumberland</i>	3	Arthur, J. <i>Copthall court</i>	2	Banner, Francis, <i>Beech st. Crippleg.</i>	2
Adamson, Rob. esq. <i>New Broad st.</i>	3	Astle, W. <i>Portpool l. Gray's Inn l.</i>	2	Barclay, Rob. Esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	3
Adcock, John, <i>Leadenhall st.</i>	1	Atkinson, R. <i>St. George's l. Monum.</i>	1	Barclay, G. esq. <i>M. P. Hatton Gar.</i>	10
Addison, John, esq. <i>Sudbury</i>	3	Atkinson, T. esq. <i>Mold green, near Huddersfield, Yorksire</i>	20	Barker, J. <i>Howden, near Hull</i>	1
Addison, R. at Mess. Child's, <i>Temple Bar</i>	1	Atkinson, Law, <i>Ditto</i>	10	Barker, Rev. R. <i>Hollym, Holderness,</i>	2
Addison, Thos. <i>Ludgate hill</i>	2	Atkinson, Cu. <i>Muncaster, Cumberl.</i>	1	Barlow, J. <i>Cranbourn st. Leicester st.</i>	3
Affelck, Ann, <i>Bury. St. Edmunds</i>	1	Atkinson, Jasp. esq. <i>Aldermanbury</i>	1	Barnard, John, <i>Norwich</i>	3
Agar, Will. esq. <i>Lincoln Inn</i>	1	Atkinson, Thos. esq. <i>Lothbury</i>	1	Barnard, Sam. Esq. <i>Boston</i>	3
Alburn, Rob. <i>Taken house yd.</i>	1	Atkinson, W. esq. <i>London st. Tottenham Court Road</i>	3	Barnard Will. esq. <i>Norwich</i>	2
Alifon, Al. esq. <i>Excise Off. Edinburgh</i>	2	Atterfale, Jos. <i>Fulham</i>	1	Barnett, T. at Mess. <i>Wilsons, Minor.</i>	3
Allen, J. Bruce, <i>Wellclose Sq.</i>	1	Atwood, Rich. <i>Bath</i>	1	Barnett, W. <i>Bridge st. Westminster</i>	1
Allen, Oswald, <i>Lothbury, York</i>	1	Audley, J. esq. <i>of Cambridge</i>	3	Barnett, J. esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	2
Allen, Maxey, esq. <i>Lynn, Norfolk</i>	2	Austin, J. Bap. <i>General Post Office</i>	5	Barnett, Mich. <i>Cock l. Snowhill</i>	3
Allen, Mrs. (Exec. of Hen. Allen, esq.) <i>Swansea</i>	1	Ayton, Will. <i>Banker Lombard st.</i>	2	Barnett, Robert, <i>Minories</i>	1
Allen, Lewis Rob. esq. <i>Southwick, near Fareham, Hants</i>	5	B			2
Alleyne, Mrs. Penelope, <i>Nottingham</i>	1	Babington, Rev. Mat. <i>Rotherley Leicestershire</i>	4	Barrett, Bry. esq. <i>Stockwell, Surry</i>	11
Alleyne, Miss Ann, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Babington, Thos. esq. <i>Rotherley Temple Leicester</i>	10	Barrett, H. Bry. <i>Hay Market</i>	7
Ames, John, esq. <i>Bristol</i>	3	Bacchard, Jo. <i>Wandsworth</i>	10	Barry, J. Esq. <i>Teneriffe</i>	2
Anderfon, Lady Frances, <i>York</i>	2	Bagshaw, J. esq. <i>the Oaks, Sheffield</i>	2	Bartrum, Charles, <i>Peckham</i>	1
Andrews, J. P. esq. <i>Brompton, Midd.</i>	3	Bailey, George, <i>Mark l.</i>	1	Bartrum, Cha. jun. <i>London Bridge</i>	4
Andrews, Sir J. Bart. <i>Knights bridge</i>	1	Bailey, John, <i>Cornhill</i>	1	Bafeley, J. Green, esq. <i>Norwich</i>	4
Andrews, Rev. Mordacai, <i>Coggeshall, Essex</i>	3	Bailey, Th. <i>little Tower st.</i>	10	Bafeley, Miss Harriet, <i>Norwich</i>	1
Angell, Will. Sandell, <i>Cornhill</i>	1	Bailey, Rev. Hugh, <i>Hanbury, near Burton on Trent</i>	1	Bafeley, Thos. Warrener, <i>Norwich</i>	1
Annelley, Alex. esq. <i>Bridge st.</i>	1	Baile, Rich. esq. <i>Litchfield</i>	2	Bafeley, Miss Eliz. <i>Norwich</i>	1
Anstley, J. <i>Bread st. Cheap side</i>	5	Bainbridge, George, <i>Bread st.</i>	2	Bafnett, John <i>Oakingham</i>	2
Ansell, Geo. esq. <i>of Godmans fields</i>	2	Baker, J. esq. <i>Peckham, Surry</i>	2	Bals, Will. <i>Goswell st.</i>	1
Anstie, Benj. Webb, <i>Devizes</i>	5	Bale, Charles, <i>Albemarle st.</i>	1	Bateman, Th. <i>Great Yarmouth, Norf.</i>	1
Anstie, John, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Balgonie, Lord, <i>Balgonie House, Edinburgh</i>	1	Batley, Benj. <i>Thames street</i>	6
Arden, J. esq. <i>Beverley</i>	2	Baly, W. <i>Wycombe, Bucks</i>	1	Batterfly, Edw. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	2
Arden, Miss Jane, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Bancroft, Dr. Ed. <i>Francis st. Bedford Sq.</i>	2	Bax, John, esq. <i>New Broad st.</i>	1
Arkwright, Sir R. esq. <i>Bakewell, Derbyshire</i>	3	Banger, Josiah, esq. <i>Hackney</i>	3	Bayley, Thos. <i>Butterworth, esq. Hope, Manchester</i>	3
Arnaud, John, <i>Strand</i>	1	Y y			1
Arnett, Rich. <i>Bearbinder lane</i>	2			Bayley, Arthur, <i>Treasury</i>	1
				Bayley, John, <i>Ditto</i>	1
				Bayley, Mrs. Sarah, <i>Ditto</i>	1
				Bazett, Hen. <i>Richmond, Surry</i>	1
				Beacroft, Judith, <i>Thorp, Norwich</i>	2
				Beams, Hugh, <i>96, Fleet st.</i>	1
				Beardmore, Jos. <i>Milk st.</i>	3
				Beaumont,	

Beaumont, R. H. esq. <i>Whitley, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire</i>	2	Blinkhorn, T. <i>Raven Row, Spitalfi.</i>	2	Briggs, J. Hobart, <i>Post Off. Lombard st.</i>	5
Bedder, Tho. <i>Little St. Tho. Apostle</i>	2	Blizard, Jo. <i>Broad street</i>	3	Broadwood, J. S. <i>Great Poulteney st.</i>	2
Bedome, Sam. <i>Long l. Bermondsey</i>	2	Blunt, John, esq. <i>Prescott street</i>	3	Broadwood, John <i>Doitto</i>	4
Beer, Benj. <i>Blackfriars</i>	4	Blunt, J. junr. esq. <i>Doitto</i>	1	Brocas, Mrs. Har. <i>Wakefield, Berks</i>	1
Begbie, Alex. <i>Great St. Tho. Apostle</i>	1	Bode, John, <i>General Post Office</i>	1	Brocklehurst, Mifs, <i>Manchester</i>	1
Belcher, Will. <i>Milk st.</i>	10	Boddington, Mrs. Eleanor, <i>Enfield</i>	1	Brocklehurst, John, <i>Doitto</i>	1
Bell, Daniel, esq. <i>Leadenhall st.</i>	1	Bogue, Rev. David, <i>Gosport</i>	3	Brocklehurst, Wm. esq. <i>junr. Doitto</i>	2
Bell, J. <i>Martin's l. Cannon st.</i>	3	Boileau, Jn. Peter, esq. <i>Hertford st.</i>	2	Brook, Joseph, <i>Whitechapel</i>	1
Bell, James, <i>Cecil st. Strand</i>	3	Boldaro, Ed. Gale, <i>Cornhill</i>	1	Brooke, George, esq. <i>Chancery l.</i>	10
Bell, James, <i>Coventry st.</i>	2	Bond, J. <i>of old Broad st.</i>	8	Brown, Mifs Ha. Myles, <i>Church c.</i>	1
Bendelack, Moses, <i>Jame's c. Bury st.</i>	1	Bonham, Henry, esq. <i>Cornhill</i>	3	<i>Kensington</i>	1
Benfield, Paul, esq. <i>M. P. Gorwer st.</i>	3	Booth, J. No. 20, <i>Little Tower st.</i>	2	Brown, Thomas, <i>Hull</i>	2
Benford, Will. esq. <i>York row, Newington Butts</i>	3	Booth, Abraham, <i>Newgate st.</i>	1	Browne, Hutchin. <i>Hotherall, Cus-</i>	1
Benham, Rob. 331. <i>Borough</i>	1	Booth, Jacob, <i>Tower Hill</i>	1	<i>tom house</i>	1
Benufan, Sam. Levy. <i>Plough court, Lombard street</i>	1	Booth, Isaac, No. 18, <i>Chamber's st. Goodman's fields</i>	1	Brown, Ed. <i>Raven row, Spitalfi.</i>	3
Bent, Will. <i>St. Martin's l.</i>	3	Bofanquat, Chr <i>Bishopsgate st.</i>	2	Brown, Jn. <i>Upper Market, Norw.</i>	3
Bentall, Will. esq. <i>Totness, Devon.</i>	5	Boultee, C. <i>Raxterly, Warwick sh.</i>	1	Brown, Thomas, <i>St. Mary Axe</i>	3
Bentinck, Capt. Will. at Mrs. <i>Bentinck's, Priory gardens</i>	2	Boultee, John, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Browning, Jn. <i>Five-foot l. Southw.</i>	5
Bentley, Rev. Roger, <i>Cambertwell</i>	3	Boultee, Jos. esq. <i>Doitto</i>	1	Brundfon, Charles, <i>Basinghall st.</i>	1
Bentley, Will. <i>Ordinance Off. Tower</i>	2	Boultee, Jos. junr. esq. <i>Rotherley, Leicester shire</i>	1	Buck, James, <i>Leeds</i>	3
Berjeu, John Paine, <i>Bristol</i>	2	Boultee, Tho. esq. <i>Leister</i>	1	Buckingham, Ja. esq. <i>Bread st.</i>	3
Berwick, Jos. esq. 35, <i>Cornb. banker</i>	2	Boultee, Wm. Rich c. <i>Lime st.</i>	1	Bukle, Mifs, <i>Wakefield</i>	1
Bett, Robert esq. <i>deputy secretary of the Bank</i>	1	Boultee, Hercules, <i>Rotherley, Leic.</i>	1	Bulkley, Ja. <i>Huntley Hall, Stafford.</i>	1
Bett, Geo. <i>Duke st. St. James's</i>	1	Bourne, Rev. Jo. <i>Charterhouse, Hull</i>	1	Bullock, Wm. esq. <i>Milk st.</i>	14
Betke, Cha. esq. <i>Budge Row</i>	8	Boultee, Joseph, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Bulmer, Francis, <i>Butter Factor, York</i>	1
Beawan, W. Hibbs, <i>Lincolnshire</i>	1	Boulton, Mat. esq. <i>Soho, Birmingh.</i>	2	Bulmer, Peter John, <i>Hull</i>	1
Bewicke, Hen. esq. <i>Lawrence l.</i>	1	Bowler, Mifs H. <i>Gay st. Bath</i>	1	Burbidge, Wm. <i>Newark-upon-Trent</i>	2
Beynon, Rev. Tho. <i>Tlandilo, Carmarthenshire</i>	2	Bowen, Capt. James, <i>Deptford</i>	1	Burbidge, John, <i>Ludgate st.</i>	1
Bick, Ed. <i>Manfion House st.</i>	1	Bowers, N. Ward, <i>Cannon st.</i>	20	Burcham, Wm. <i>Wigton, Norfolk</i>	1
Biddle, Will. esq. <i>of Cupers Gardens</i>	6	Bowers, William, <i>Doitto</i>	3	Burchall, Robert, <i>Lothbury</i>	1
Biddle, Ardr. Ed. <i>Wycombe, Bucks.</i>	1	Bowley, G. <i>Gilman, Bishopsg. With.</i>	2	Burges, Rev. Thomas, <i>Durham</i>	3
Biddulph, Francis, esq. <i>Charing cross</i>	1	Bowman, John Christian, No. 71, <i>Queen st. Borough</i>	1	Burges, J. B. esq. M. P. <i>White H.</i>	17
Billinge, George, <i>Cateaton st.</i>	1	Bowler, G. <i>Newington Green</i>	1	Burges, Wm. esq. <i>Brabant c.</i>	3
Billinge, Tho. <i>Cateaton st.</i>	1	Bowzer, R. <i>Fair st. St. John's, South.</i>	2	Burges, Ynyr, esq. <i>East Ham, Eff.</i>	1
Binham, Richard, <i>Exeter</i>	2	Boyes, John. esq. <i>Hull</i>	1	Burgh, Wm. esq. <i>York</i>	1
Birche, Will. Gr. <i>Qu. st. Lincoln's Inn fields</i>	2	Boys, Thomas, <i>Hendon, Middlesex</i>	1	Burland, John Berkeley, esq. <i>Stoke House, Dorset</i>	8
Bird, W. W. esq. <i>Wood st.</i>	1	Boys, Mrs. Mary, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Burnett, Robert, <i>jun. Vauxhall</i>	3
Birket, Daniel, esq. 74, <i>Hatton gar.</i>	1	Boys, Tho. junr. <i>Newgate Market</i>	1	Burnett, Robert, sen. esq. <i>Vauxhall</i>	3
Bischoff, James, <i>Leeds</i>	1	Brackenbury, Mat. Ely, <i>Cambridges.</i>	2	Burftall, John, <i>Hull</i>	1
Bischoff, Mifs Magdalen, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Bradbury, Sam. <i>Basinghall st.</i>	1	Burton, Dan. <i>Cannon st. Manchester</i>	1
Bischoff, Mifs Martha, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Braithwait, G. esq. <i>Newington Gr.</i>	3	Burton, James, <i>Upper Guilford st.</i>	3
Bischoff, Thomas, <i>Doitto</i>	2	Brand, Aug. Ever. <i>Arlington st. Pic.</i>	2	Buham, Joseph, esq. <i>Guildhall</i>	5
Blagbrough, Samuel, <i>Leeds</i>	1	Brandam, Sam. esq. <i>Size lane</i>	20	Butcher, William, <i>Sutton Ashfield, Nottinghamshire</i>	1
Blake, Will. esq. <i>Aldergate st.</i>	3	Brandam, James, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Butler, James, <i>Cheapside</i>	2
Blake, Thomas, junr. <i>Norwich</i>	1	Brandreth, John, <i>Buxton</i>	1	Butterworth, Mat. <i>Dowgate Hill</i>	1
Blakemore, Tho. <i>West Bromwich, Warwickshire</i>	2	Brandstrom, Mrs. Letitia, <i>Hull</i>	1	Button, Rev. W. 24, <i>Paternoster r.</i>	1
Blakeley, J. <i>Hinckley, Leicestershire</i>	1	Brandstrom, Mifs Elizabeth, <i>Doitto</i>	1	Buxton, Thomas, <i>Leicester</i>	1
Blakeley, J. <i>Bishopsgate st.</i>	1	Brassey, Nathaniel, esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	10	Buxton, John, <i>Bermondsey street</i>	2
Blakeley, J. junr. <i>Doitto</i>	5	Braune, J. Gotlob, <i>Furrier, No. 8, Warwick c. Holborn</i>	2	Buxton, Isaac, <i>Leicester</i>	1
Blamire, Ed. <i>Ayliffe st. Goodman's f.</i>	1	Brazier, J. esq. <i>Camberwell</i>	3	Buxton, Charles, <i>Doitto</i>	1
Blanchenay, Francis, <i>Leadenhall st.</i>	2	Bree, Dr. Robert, <i>Leicester</i>	2	Buxton, Robert John, esq. <i>Shadwell Lodge, Norfolk</i>	1
Blaxland, Henry, <i>Broad street</i>	3	Brickwood, J. esq. <i>Rich court Lime st.</i>	2	Buxton, Rev. J. <i>Carleton Rode, Norf.</i>	1
Blew, William, <i>Crutched Friars</i>	1	Brickwood, Jn. junr. <i>Doitto</i>	1	Buxton, Thomas Bentley, <i>Leicester</i>	1
		Brickwood, Law. <i>Doitto</i>	1	Byerley, Thomas, <i>Greek-street</i>	11
		Brickwood, Nath. <i>Thames st.</i>	1		
		Bridges, Jn. <i>Charterhouse Sq.</i>	2	C.	
				Caddick, Henry, <i>Piccadilly</i>	1

Caldecot, John, <i>Rugby</i>	2	Clark, Rich. Hall, esq. <i>Bridewell</i>	2	Corbie, Joseph, <i>Duckfoot-lane</i>	10
Call, Sir J. Bart. <i>Old Burlington-st.</i>	4	near <i>Cullumpton</i>	2	Cosby, Sir Henry, <i>Harley-street</i>	4
Calthrop, Eliz. 63, <i>Oxford-street</i>	1	Clark, Samuel, <i>Leicester</i>	1	Cotton, Henry Calveley, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	5
Calthrop, John, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Clark, Mrs. Sarah, <i>wife of the Rev.</i>	1	Cotton, James, jun. <i>Rumford</i>	2
Calthrop, Mrs. Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1	<i>Thomas Clark</i>	1	Coverdale, Norrison, esq. <i>Shadwell</i>	2
Calthrop, Robert, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Clark, Rev. Thomas, <i>Hill</i>	2	Cowell, George, <i>Water-lane</i>	1
Calverley, John, esq. <i>Leeds</i>	20	Clark, John Alden, esq. <i>Manfion-</i>	2	Cowell, John, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Calvert, Peter, esq. <i>Theobalds, Herts.</i>	3	<i>house-street</i>	2	Cowley, John, <i>Cuteaton-street</i>	2
Cammeier, Ch. <i>Great Trinity-lane</i>	4	Clarke, William, 269, <i>Borough</i>	5	Cowper, Char. esq. <i>Middle-Temple</i>	1
Campbell, John, <i>Edinburgh</i>	2	Clarkson, Rich. <i>Kingston, Surry</i>	1	Cowper, David, 117, <i>Lower</i>	2
Campion, William, esq. 47, <i>Great</i>	5	Clarkson, Rev. Thomas	10	<i>Thames-street</i>	2
<i>Ormond-street</i>	5	Clay, John, <i>Smithfield Barrs, St.</i>	6	Cowper, Edward, <i>Borough</i>	2
Cannarvon, Thomas, <i>Greenwich</i>	2	<i>John-street</i>	6	Cowper, Miss Fra. <i>Hinckley, Leic.</i>	1
Cardale, William, <i>Bedford-row</i>	2	Clayton, Ralph, <i>Serjeants'-Inn</i>	2	Cox, Leader, esq. <i>Brixton Causeway</i>	2
Cardwell, Richard, esq. <i>Blackburn,</i>	10	<i>Chancery-lane</i>	2	Cox, Mrs. Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1
<i>Lancashire</i>	10	Clementi, Muzie, Mr. <i>Broadwood's</i>	4	Cox, Thomas, <i>Wisbech, Camb.</i>	6
Carr, Henry, <i>Cambridge</i>	1	<i>Great P. Levy-street</i>	4	Coxhead, Th. esq. M. P. <i>Great Her-</i>	2
Carr, Samuel, <i>Puplett, Colchester</i>	1	Clements, J. esq. <i>Portland Place</i>	5	<i>mitage-st. St. George's in the East</i>	2
Carter, Miss Hannah, <i>Malden</i>	2	Clemiston, Ja. esq. <i>Switbin's-lane</i>	2	Cracklow, Aaron, <i>Tooley-st. Southw.</i>	2
Cary, General, <i>Leven Grove, Yorks.</i>	2	Coad, Joseph, 41, <i>Brewer-street</i>	1	Cracklow, Henry, <i>Ditto</i>	2
Cas, John, <i>Whitechapel</i>	2	<i>Golden-square</i>	1	Cracroft, John, esq. <i>Hackthorn, near</i>	1
Cawthorn, George, <i>Abchurch-lane</i>	1	Coad, Mrs. Elea. <i>Narrowwall, Lamb.</i>	2	<i>Lincoln</i>	1
Cay, Hen. Boulst, esq. <i>Curfio-st.</i>	1	Cobb, James, esq. <i>East India house</i>	2	Crafton, Robert, <i>Coleman-street</i>	3
Cazalet, Peter, esq. <i>Austin Fryars</i>	5	Cock, Charles, <i>Great Dunmow, Eff.</i>	2	Crane, Mrs. Sarah, <i>Enfield</i>	1
Chalk, Robert, jun. <i>Linton, Camb.</i>	1	Cock, Miss Elizabeth, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Craven, John, <i>Buckle-street, Good-</i>	3
Chambers, Mrs. Ann, <i>Welbeck-st.</i>	2	Cock, Miss Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	2	<i>man's-fields</i>	3
Chambers, Jarvis, <i>Bennet-st. Surry</i>	1	Cocks, Mrs. Eliz. <i>Acton, Middlesex</i>	1	Crawshaw, Richard, esq. <i>Upper</i>	2
Champion, Alex. esq. <i>Winchester-st.</i>	5	Cocks, Thomas Sommer, esq.	1	<i>Thames-street</i>	2
Champion, Miss Elizabeth, <i>Ditto</i>	1	<i>Downing-street</i>	1	Cremier, George, 93, <i>Holborn-hill</i>	1
Champion, Miss Henrietta, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Cohen, Levy, <i>Bevis Marks, St.</i>	1	Creswell, Henry, <i>Billingsgate</i>	5
Champion, Miss Maria, <i>Ditto</i>	1	<i>Mary Axe</i>	1	Crisp, Sam. esq. <i>Hariford, Herts.</i>	2
Champion, William, <i>Old City Road</i>	6	Cohen, Samuel, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Crompton, Gilbert, esq. <i>York</i>	1
Chandler, Benj. <i>St. Paul's Ch. Yd.</i>	3	Cole, Charles, esq. <i>Egham, Surry</i>	1	Crompton, Mrs. Hannah, <i>Clapham</i>	2
Chandler, Richard, <i>Gloucester</i>	2	Collett, Isaac, <i>Bath</i>	2	Croft, Robert, <i>Exeter</i>	1
Chaplin, John, <i>Ludgate-street</i>	1	Collier, Mary, <i>Plymouth</i>	1	Crosse, J. N. <i>Hull</i>	1
Cater, Richard, <i>Lothbury</i>	1	Collinson, Edw. esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	5	Croucher, John, <i>Haymarket</i>	1
Chapman, James, <i>Bungay</i>	2	Collinson, J. <i>Gravel-lane, Southw.</i>	1	Crump, Joseph, esq. <i>New Broad-st.</i>	5
Chapman, Will. <i>Penton-st. Islington</i>	2	Coltman, Miss E. <i>Neworks, Leicester</i>	1	Culme, John, esq. <i>Plymouth</i>	1
Charlesworth, Rev. J. <i>Ossington</i>	2	Coltman, John, <i>Leicester</i>	3	Cunliffe, Miss Margaret Eliza,	1
near <i>Tuxford Nottingham</i>	2	Comber, Rev. William, <i>Kirby</i>	2	<i>New Norfolk-street</i>	1
Chase, Mrs. Eliz. Ann, <i>Luton, Bedf.</i>	1	<i>Moorfield, near Helmsley Yorks.</i>	2	Cunliffe, Lady Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Chater, Eleazer, <i>Corubill</i>	2	Compton, John, <i>Portsmouth Com-</i>	2	Cunningham, Jo. 33, <i>St. James-st.</i>	1
Chater, Nath. <i>St. Dunstan's Hill</i>	1	<i>mon, Hampshire</i>	2	Cure, Capel, esq. <i>Great George-</i>	3
Cheefment, John, G. <i>Wolfs', esq.</i>	2	Compton, Spencer, <i>Clapton, Hackney</i>	1	<i>street, Westminster</i>	3
<i>America Square</i>	2	Compton, Thomas, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Curling, Daniel, <i>Custom-house</i>	1
Chefelden, Miss Ann Lavinia,	1	Constable, Marmaduke, esq. <i>Waf-</i>	2	Curling, Jesse, <i>Paradise-row, Ro-</i>	2
<i>Bread-street</i>	1	<i>sand, near Beverly</i>	2	<i>therhithe</i>	2
Chetwynd, Lord Viscount, <i>Bolton</i>	1	Conyngnam, Burton, esq. <i>Jermyn st.</i>	3	Curling, John, <i>Princes'-street, ditto</i>	1
<i>Row Piccadilly</i>	1	Cook, David, <i>Trump street</i>	1	Curling, Robert,	1
Christie, Dan. Beat, esq. <i>Wimpole-st.</i>	10	Cooke, Rev. James, <i>White-Lyon</i>	1	Currie, William, esq. <i>East Horsley,</i>	2
Church, John, <i>Bett's-street, Rat-</i>	1	<i>Yard, Oxford street</i>	1	<i>Surry</i>	2
<i>cliff Highway</i>	1	Cookson, Rev. Christ. <i>Stamford</i>	2		
Clapton, Miss Ann, <i>Great Dun-</i>	2	Cookson, Rev. William, <i>Fornceet</i>	2		
<i>more, Essex</i>	2	near <i>Long Stetton, Norfolk</i>	1		
Clapton, Miss Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Cooe, Benjamin, <i>St. Peterburg</i>	1		
Clapton, Miss Mary, <i>Knefworth,</i>	1	Coope, John, jun. <i>Oxborn-street</i>	3		
<i>Cambridgehire</i>	1	<i>Whitechapel</i>	3		
Clark, Mrs. Mary, <i>wife of Richard</i>	2	Cooper, John, <i>Hinckley, Leicester-sh.</i>	1		
<i>Hall Clark, esq.</i>	2	Cornwall, J. esq. <i>Portland Place</i>	10		
Clark, Richard, esq. (Alderman)	2	Corrie, John, <i>Vauxhall</i>	1		
<i>New B.idge street</i>	2	Corrie, Richard, <i>Wellingborough</i>	3		

Davies, William, 9, <i>Serle-street</i> , <i>Lincoln's-inn-fields</i> 1	Donaldson, Wm. esq. at <i>Childs</i> <i>and Co. Temple-bar</i> 4	Elliot, C. <i>New Bond street</i> 3
Davies, John, <i>Wood-street</i> 3	Dore, Rev. James, at <i>Keene's, esq.</i> <i>Wakworth</i> 1	Elliot, Jo. 8, <i>Billiter lane</i> 1
Davies, Timothy, <i>Bond-street</i> 3	Dornford, T. <i>Philpot-lane</i> 2	Ellis, Jos. <i>Tooley street</i> 1
Davison, Alex. esq. <i>Harpur-street</i> 1	Dorrien, George, esq. <i>Finch-lane</i> 3	Ellis, Will. 19, <i>Fleet street</i> 1
Davison, Tho. esq. <i>Egham, Surrey</i> 1	Dorrien, Thomas, esq. <i>ditto</i> 3	Elmsall, Edward, <i>Thornhill, near</i> <i>Wakefield</i> 1
Davy, Samuel, <i>Crediton, Devons.</i> 1	Dorville, Jo. jun. esq. <i>New Bridge-st.</i> 3	Elphinstone, Hon. Will. <i>Mortimer</i> <i>St. Cavendish Sq.</i> 1
Davy, William, <i>ditto</i> 1	Down, Rich. esq. <i>Bartholomew-lane</i> 3	Engell, Henry, <i>Wellclose Square</i> 2
Daw, Wm. esq. <i>Elm-court, Temple</i> 2	Drake, Jo. <i>Exmouth</i> 1	Enovy, Jo. Christian, <i>Rockingham</i> <i>row, Newington</i> 1
Dawson, Miss Alice, <i>Gower-street</i> 2	Draper, Richard, <i>Bishopsgate-st.</i> 1	Erck, Hen. <i>Wentworth-st. Whitech.</i> 2
Dawson, Benj. <i>Walcot Parade, Bath</i> 1	Drewe, Sam. esq. <i>Charterhouse-sq.</i> 1	Eddaile, Eliz. <i>Clapham</i> 2
Dawson, Miss Isabella, <i>Gower-st.</i> 2	Droz, Simeon, esq. <i>Berners-street</i> 3	Eddaile, Will. <i>ditto</i> 3
Dawson, Miss Martha, <i>ditto</i> 2	Drummond, Jo. esq. <i>Bedford-sq.</i> 2	Edlin, Rev. J. P. <i>Bristol</i> 2
Deacon, James, esq. <i>James-street</i> <i>Westminster</i> 6	Drummond, Ro. esq. <i>Hereford-st.</i> 10	Etheridge, Sam. <i>Bank-bullion Office</i> 3
Dean, George, 11, <i>Fish-street-hill</i> 2	Duckett, Rich. <i>Rutley Temple,</i> <i>Leicester-shire</i> 1	Evance, Jo. <i>Queen st. Cheap-side</i> 4
Dearden, John, esq. <i>Hollyns, near</i> <i>Halifax</i> 1	Dudman, Jo. <i>Deptford</i> 1	Evan, C. esq. <i>Highbury, near Glou.</i> 1
Debaufre, Joseph, esq. <i>Old Broad-st.</i> 2	Duncan, Alex. esq. <i>Camberwell</i> 1	Evans, Miss Ann Janet, 10, <i>Old</i> <i>Change</i> 1
De Bons, Henry, 7, <i>Wormwood-st.</i> 7	Duncomb, H. esq. <i>M.P. Pall Mall</i> 1	Evans, David, <i>Old Change</i> 2
De Grave, Charles, 59, <i>St. Mar-</i> <i>tin's le Grand</i> 1	Durham, Bishop of, <i>Cavendish-sq.</i> 1	Evans, Fra. Mr. <i>Thompson, Grace-</i> <i>church street</i> 2
Delap, Char. <i>Pewrith, Cumberland</i> 1	Duthoit, James, <i>Old Broad-st.</i> 1	Evans, Henry, esq. 27, <i>Hatton st.</i> 5
Denman, Dr Tho. <i>Burlington-st.</i> 1	Duthoit, Peter, esq. <i>Highbury Place</i> 1	Evans, Henry, <i>King street</i> 2
Dennis, Ad. <i>Clements-lane, Lom-</i> <i>bard-street</i> 5	Duthoit, Miss Susannah, <i>ditto</i> 1	Evans, Jo. 21, <i>Lombard st.</i> 1
Deformeaux, James Lewis, <i>Pearl-</i> <i>street, Spitalfields</i> 1	Dyer, George, esq. <i>Mincing-lane</i> 1	Evans, Jonathan, <i>Exeter</i> 1
Dettman, George, <i>Virginia-street</i> 1	Dyneley, Jo. esq. <i>Bloomsbury-sq.</i> 5	Evans, Walter, <i>Derby</i> 2
Dettman, Joseph, <i>Betti-street, Rat-</i> <i>cliff-Highway</i> 2	Dyson, George, <i>Batolph-lane</i> 4	Evans, Will. <i>Austin friars</i> 1
Dewes, Matthew, <i>Chipping Norton</i> 1	Dyson, Theophilus, <i>New Basing-</i> <i>hall-street</i> 1	Everett, Jo. Gale esq. <i>Heytesbury,</i> <i>Wilts.</i> 5
Dewes, Robert, esq. <i>Coal Harbour</i> 1	Dyson, Thomas, <i>Diss, Norfolk</i> 1	Everett, Jos. <i>Surum, Wilts.</i> 5
Dewey, James, <i>Spital-square</i> 3	E	Everett, Tho. <i>Bedford Sq.</i> 17
Dickenon, Miss E. <i>Truro, Cornwall</i> 2	Earle, Jos. 92, <i>Walling st.</i> 2	Eyre, Rev. Jo. <i>Hackney</i> 1
Digby, Knelm, esq. 6, <i>Welbeck-st.</i> 2	Echalaz, Jos. <i>Broad st.</i> 2	Eyton, T. esq. <i>Wellington, Shropsh.</i> 1
Digby, Robert, Vice Admiral, <i>Harley-street</i> 2	Eckerfall, Jo. <i>Knill Park, Bristol</i> 2	F
Digby, The Hon. Stephen, <i>Wel-</i> <i>beck-street</i> 5	Edgar, Capt. Alex. Mr. <i>Ommans's</i> <i>Bloomsbury Square</i> 2	Faden, Will. <i>Strand</i> 2
Digby, Writlesley, esq. <i>Merreden,</i> <i>Warwickshire</i> 1	Edmunds, Miss Amelia, <i>Worborough,</i> <i>near Barnesley</i> 1	Fagg, Jo. esq. <i>Ramsgate</i> 1
Dillingham, Bampton Gurdon, esq. <i>Norfolk</i> 1	Edwards, Edward, <i>Aldersgate st.</i> 1	Falkner, Francis, <i>Bath</i> 1
Dirs, Carlton, <i>Wellclose-square</i> 2	Edwards, Gerard Noel, esq. <i>M. P.</i> <i>Carmarthen, near Uppingham</i> 1	Farborough, Jos. <i>Highbury, Borrough</i> 5
Dixon, Rev. Jo. <i>Tuddington. Bed-</i> <i>fordshire</i> 1	Edwards, Joseph, esq. <i>Northorham,</i> <i>near Halifax</i> 4	Farhill, Jo. esq. <i>Great Russell st.</i> 1
Dixon, Joseph Harrison, esq. 17, <i>Cheapside</i> 1	Edwards, Miss Sally, <i>ditto</i> 1	Farish, Jas. <i>Cambridge</i> 2
Dixon, Marcus, <i>London-st.</i> 5	Edwards, Miss Sophia Elizabeth, <i>Keiland, Rutlandshire</i> 1	Farish, Rev. W. <i>Magdalen College</i> <i>Cambridge</i> 2
Dixon, Richard, <i>Hartford End</i> <i>near Felfed, Essex</i> 1	Edwards, William, <i>Coleman st.</i> 2	Farmer, Rich. <i>Kennington Common</i> 3
Dixon, Robert, <i>Felfed, Essex</i> 1	Edye, Jos. esq. <i>Bristol</i> 2	Farquharson, Jas. esq. <i>Camberwell</i> 2
Dixon, Wm. <i>Mead Place, Lambeth</i> 3	Egerton, Ezekiel, <i>Budge Row</i> 1	Farquharson, Rob. junr. esq. <i>ditto</i> 2
Dods, Robert, esq. <i>Haslar-Hospital</i> <i>Gosport</i> 1	Elam, Emanuel, <i>Leeds</i> 3	Farrer, J. esq. <i>St. Mary Hill</i> 3
Dolben, Mrs. Ann, <i>Finedon near</i> <i>Wellingborough</i> 1	Elam, Mrs. Mary, <i>ditto</i> 2	Fasslet, Thomas, esq. <i>Sturbiton, near</i> <i>Kingston</i> 1
Dolben, Lady Charlotte, <i>Abing-</i> <i>don-street, Westminster</i> 1	Elam, Sam. junr. <i>ditto</i> 2	Fasslet, William, <i>Ludgate-st.</i> 2
Dolben, Sir Wm. Bart. M.P. <i>ditto</i> 1	Eldred, Tho. <i>Castle c. Birchin l.</i> 1	Fawkes, Edw. esq. <i>Battersea rise</i> 2
	Elford, Jona. esq. <i>Plymouth</i> 3	Feilden, H. esq. <i>Blackburn, Lancash.</i> 1
	Elford, W. esq. <i>Bickham, near Plym.</i> 2	Fellows, Jo. esq. <i>Nottingham</i> 1
	Eliot, The Hon. Ed. Ja. M. P. <i>Downing st.</i> 2	Fenn, Jo. <i>Cornhill</i> 3
	Ellice, Alex. esq. <i>Mark lane</i> 1	Fenn, Nathl. <i>Batolph-lane</i> 10
	Ellis, Jo. esq. <i>Cannon st.</i> 1	Fenn, Thos. esq. <i>Ballingdon, Essex</i> 8
		Fenton, David, <i>Old Jewry</i> 1
		Fenton, Wm. esq. <i>Spring Grove,</i> <i>near Huddersfield</i> 2
		Fernhough,

Fernhough, Jo. <i>George inn, Snow h.</i>	2	Fryer, J. esq. <i>Queen Sq. Bloomsbury</i>	3	Goodacre, T. senr. esq. <i>Leic. Leic.</i>	3
Ferremar, Rev. G. <i>Cherry Burton, Yorkshire</i>	2	Fuller, Benj. <i>Clements c. Milk street</i>	5	Goodheart, Eman. <i>Horsey ferry L. me-boys</i>	2
Ferrers, Thos. <i>Angel Alley, Whitec.</i>	2	Fuller, Wm. esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	3	Goodheart, Eman. jun. <i>L. mehouse</i>	1
Field, Rich. <i>Bankside, Southwark</i>	2	Fuller, Wm. <i>Mess. Child's, and Co. Temple Bar</i>	1	Goodheart, Jac. <i>Ditto</i>	2
Field, Wm. <i>Upper Thames-st.</i>	1			Goodhew, Wm. esq. <i>Deptford</i>	1
Finch, Christopher, esq. <i>Sudbury</i>	2	G.		Goodman, Job, <i>Towcester, Northba.</i>	1
Finch, Jas. <i>Siblebedingham, Essex</i>	3	Gadesley, Rev. Tho. <i>Bedford</i>	1	Goodyer, Geo. Dynely, esq. <i>Glouc.</i>	2
Findlay, Rev. R. <i>Professor of Divinity, Glasgow</i>	1	Gainsborough, Right Hon. The Earl of, <i>Carvendish Square</i>	2	Gosling, W. <i>Merchant, Mark lane</i>	6
Fisher, Wm. <i>Blandford, Dorsetsh.</i>	4	Gambier, Sam. esq. <i>Shenley hill, Herts</i>	5	Gorton, Will. esq. <i>St. James's pal.</i>	1
Fishwick, Rich. <i>Newcastle upon Tyne</i>	1	Garlies, Lord Viscount, <i>Charles st. St. James's sq.</i>	2	Grace, Rich. <i>Minories</i>	1
Fleming, Jas. <i>Whitechapel</i>	1	Gardiner, Col. Tho. <i>Hampton court Green, Middlesex</i>	20	Grace, Rich. esq. <i>Old street</i>	8
Fletcher, Henry, <i>Wapping</i>	1	Garland, Tho. <i>Winchester street</i>	1	Grafton, Miss Mary, <i>Rumford Essex</i>	1
Flight, Jos. <i>St. Mary Axe</i>	1	Garrat, Fr. esq. <i>Old Swan</i>	1	Grafton, Mrs. Eliz. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Flint, Jos. esq. <i>Shrewsbury</i>	1	Gaviller, Geo. <i>Virginia st.</i>	1	Grahame, Rob. <i>Glasgow</i>	1
Flower, Richard, <i>Hertford</i>	1	Gataker, Tho. esq. <i>Princes st.</i>	5	Grant, Ch. esq. <i>Queens sq. Bloomsb.</i>	5
Foggo, Jas. <i>Vineyard walk, Cold bath fields</i>	1	Gazaam, Wm. junr. <i>Cambridge</i>	1	Grant, Jn. esq. <i>London st.</i>	2
Forbes, Jas. esq. <i>Stanmore, Middl.</i>	1	Gazely, J. S. Gr. Q. <i>St. Lincoln's inn fields</i>	2	Grave, Jn. esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	1
Ford, Hugh, esq. <i>Leek, Staffordsh.</i>	1	Gee, Rev. Rich. <i>Hotbam, Yorksh.</i>	2	Graves, Rev. Tho. <i>Broughton, Ayles, Leicestershire</i>	2
Fordham, Ed. King, <i>Royston, Herts.</i>	1	Geat, Rich. esq. <i>Lytche ball, near coal hill, Warwickshire</i>	2	Graves, Tho. <i>Rumford</i>	1
Fordham, Elias, <i>Knutswoorth, Cam.</i>	1	Gibbons, Tho. sen. <i>Treasury</i>	5	Gray, Benj. <i>Scot's yard, Bush lane</i>	5
Fordham, Geo. <i>Sandom, Herts.</i>	1	Gibbons, Jo. Cha. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Gray, Walker, esq. <i>London st.</i>	3
Forster, Benj. Meggot, esq. <i>Thread-needle st.</i>	3	Gibbons, Mrs. Mary <i>Ditto</i>	1	Gray, W. junr. <i>Tork</i>	2
Forster, Edw. <i>Ditto</i>	3	Gibbs, Rev. Phil. <i>Plymouth</i>	2	Greathead, Rev. Sam. <i>Newport, Pagnel, Bucks</i>	5
Forster, Edw. junr. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Gibbs, James, <i>Walbrook</i>	12	Green, Miss An. Maria, <i>Terrace, Camberwell</i>	1
Forster, Miss Susanah Dorothy, <i>Walbamstow, Essex</i>	1	Gibby, Rev. Jn. <i>Winterton, Lincoln</i>	2	Green, Jn. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2
Forster, Tho. esq. <i>Clements lane</i>	2	Gibson, Rev. G. <i>Carlisle Ho. Lamb.</i>	1	Green, Jn. <i>Canterbury sq.</i>	2
Forster, Tho. Furley, esq. <i>Thread-needle st.</i>	1	Gibson, Ja. esq. <i>Leadenhall st.</i>	2	Green, Jos. <i>Winchester st.</i>	10
Forster, Tho. Furley, esq. jun. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Gibson, W. <i>Penton pl. Islington</i>	2	Green, Sir Wm. Batt. <i>Mortimer st. Cavendish sq.</i>	4
Forster, Wm. <i>Hull</i>	2	Gill, Ja. <i>Size lane</i>	1	Green, W. esq. <i>Little Winchester st</i>	1
Forster, Rev. Henry, <i>Wilderness row, Goswells st.</i>	3	Gill, Jn. esq. <i>Savil. row, Walworth</i>	2	Greene, Rev. Hen. <i>Rolleston, near Harborough, Leicestershire</i>	2
Forster, Joel, <i>Hull</i>	6	Giles, Dan. esq. <i>one of the Directors of the Bank of Eng and</i>	2	Greene, Hen. esq. <i>Peter house Col. Cambridge</i>	2
Fothergill, Dr. Anthony, <i>Bath</i>	6	Giles, Jn. esq. <i>Greenwich</i>	2	Greenwood, Abr. esq. <i>Staining lane</i>	2
Fothergill, John, esq. <i>York</i>	2	Gisborne, Rev. Tho. <i>Yoxall lodge, near Litchfield</i>	5	Greenwood, Jos. <i>Coggeshall, Essex</i>	1
Fourdrinier, Hen. sen. <i>Lombard st.</i>	1	Gisborne, Mrs. Mary <i>Ditto</i>	2	Greenwood, Tho. 23, <i>Fenchurch st.</i>	1
Fourdrinier, Jo. Rawson, <i>Whitec.</i>	1	Glaister, Sam. <i>Bishopsgate st.</i>	2	Greville, And. Crewe, <i>St. John's st.</i>	1
Fowler, Geo. esq. <i>Hull</i>	2	Glegg, Jn. <i>Witbington, near Knutsford, Cheshire</i>	2	Grey, John, <i>Water lane</i>	3
Fox, John, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Glencroft, Ja. <i>Plymouth dock, Devo.</i>	2	Griffin, Cha. <i>New Bond st.</i>	1
Fox, Wm. <i>Cheapside</i>	1	Glover, D. <i>Martin's l. Cannon st.</i>	1	Griffin, Wm. sen. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Fox, Wm. <i>Kingsland Turnpike</i>	1	Glover, Rev. Ed. <i>Norwich</i>	3	Griffinhoofe, Mrs. Jane, <i>Hampton</i>	1
Fox, Wm. <i>Kings Arms stairs, Lamb.</i>	5	Glynn, Sir Rich. Kerr, <i>Birchin l.</i>	3	Griffinhoofe, Wm. Jo. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Franks, Wm. esq. <i>Beech hill, Barnet</i>	5	Godsal, Phil. <i>Lengacre</i>	4	Griffin, Geo. <i>Phoenix Fire Office</i>	2
Free, Jo. esq. <i>Bartholomew lane</i>	3	Gold, Mrs. Ann, <i>Loughborough, Leicestershire</i>	1	Griffith, Ed. esq. <i>Caeenarvon</i>	1
Free, Peter, esq. <i>Broad st. Buildings</i>	3	Golding, Wm. <i>Threecrown c. South.</i>	3	Grigby, Jos. esq. <i>Drinkston, Bury</i>	2
Freeman, Sam. Flower, esq. <i>Mark lane</i>	3	Goldsmid, Benj. <i>Stamford bil.</i>	1	Grill, Claes, esq. <i>Savedish Consul General, Dunster c. Mincing lane</i>	1
Freeman, Tho. Edwards, esq. <i>Sackville st. Piccadilly</i>	5	Goldsmid, Abr. <i>Ayliffe st. Good-man's fields</i>	1	Grill, Mrs. Maria, <i>Ditto</i>	1
French, Andrew, esq. <i>Copthall co.</i>	6	Goodacre, Jn. sen. esq. <i>Peatling hill, Leicestershire</i>	3	Grill, Miss Carolina, <i>Ditto</i>	1
French, Dr. Hugh, <i>Ratbone place</i>	3	Goodacre, Jn. jun. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Grill, Miss Maria, <i>Ditto</i>	1
French, Mrs. Judith, <i>Ditto</i>	1			Grill, Charles Henry, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Fred, Rev. Wm. <i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>	2			Grimston, Hen. esq. <i>Easton, near Beverley, Yorksh.</i>	1
Frewen, Rev. E. <i>Colchester</i>	2			Grimston, Tho. esq. <i>Kilnwick, near Beverley, Yorksh.</i>	2
Fribby, Charles, <i>Mark lane</i>	1			Grimwood, J. M. esq. <i>Lincoln's Inn</i>	3
		Z z		Groom-	

Groombridge, Step. W. Smithfield	1	Harrop, Cha. Hammersmith	2	Hill, Jo. esq. Lombard st.	4
Grote, Geo. esq. Threadneedle st.	5	Hart, George, Wakewick Terrace	2	Hill, Miss Rupertia, Fore st.	2
Grote, Jos. esq. Leadenhall st.	3	Hart, Jos. Cambridge	3	Hill, Rev. Rowland, Surry Chap.	
Guillaume, Tho. esq. Southampton	2	Hart, Rev. Benj. Norwich	1	St. Gen. road	3
Gurdon, Rev. Phil. Affington hall, near Boxford, Suffolk	5	Harvey, Rob. jun. esq. Norwich	4	Hill, Tho. Merchant, Exeter	2
Gurney, Bartlet, esq. Norwich	3	Hase, Hen. Upper Thames st.	1	Hiller, Nath. esq. Lavenham, Suff.	2
Gurney, Jos. Eastlane, Wakewick	1	Hatfull, Geo. Union st. Deptford	1	Hillier, Rich. 7, Gr. Surry st. Black- friars road	1
Gutteridge, Jos. esq. Camberwell	5	Haughton, Harry, esq. Queen sq.	10	Hillier, Miss Eliza. Pancras l.	3
Guyon, Claude Phil. esq. Greenwich	3	Hawes, Jo. Sugar refiner, Mansell st.	3	Hilman, Sir Wm. Board of Green cloth, St. James's palace	2
		Hawkins, J. esq. Burton upon Trent	20	Hills, Miss Martha, Bishopsgate st.	1
		Hay, Miss Frances, Glynburne, Suff- sex, No. 17. Cavendish sq.	1	Hillton, Fr. esq. Finsbury place	2
H.		Hay, Miss Henrietta, Ditto	1	Hinckley, Hen. Leeds	2
Haddock, John, Rye, Suffex	1	Haycraft, Tho. Deptford	1	Hippell, Cha. Birch lane	2
Hadley, Nath. Longacre	2	Haycraft, Jos. Greenland dock	1	Hirst, Edw. 72, Aldersgate st.	2
Hadley, Sam. esq. Ditto	2	Hayne, Tho. Milk st.	3	Hoare, Hen. esq. Fleet st.	2
Hainworth, Miss Han. Graveley, Herts.	1	Hayne, Wm. Ditto	10	Hoare, Hen. Hugh, esq. Ditto	2
Hall, Amb. Basinghall st.	1	Hayton, Amos, esq. Mark lane	3	Hoare, Rev. Ed. Hen. Newark	2
Hall, Rev. Ja. Edinburgh	1	Hayward, J. Newington causeway, Surry	2	Hoare, Sam. jun. esq. Lombard st.	10
Hall, Jos. Bristol	4	Hearne, Tho. Bankside, near Coop- ers bridge	2	Hobbs, Rev. Giles, Northbill, C. lc.	2
Hall, Hen. Owen, Gracechurch st.	1	Heineken, Cristian, esq. Peckham	10	Hodges, Weckens, esq. Highgate	1
Hall, Luke, Gutter lane	1	Hennell, Dav. Wollaston, Northamp.	2	Hodgkinson, Enoch, esq. Stamford st.	4
Hambly, Tho. New cross st. Deptford	1	Hennell, Rob. esq. Foster lane	12	Hodgkinson, Samson, 87, Snow h.	1
Hamilton, Dr. Rob. Lynn, Norfolk	1	Hepburn, Jo. Long lane, Southwark	2	Hodgson, Rob. esq. Congleton, Cheshire	20
Hammerley, Tho. esq. Pallmall	10	Hepworth, Rev. Jo. Burton upon Trent	2	Hodgson, Tho. Church l. Whitech.	3
Hammond, Arth. Atherley, esq. St. John's Coll. Cambridge	1	Herron, Rich. Borrough	1	Hoffman, Jo. Christian, Bishopsgate st. within	2
Hammond, Cha. Hillgrove, esq. Trinity Coll. Oxford	1	Herring, Jo. 8. Store st. Bedford sq.	2	Hogg, Rev. Reynold, Thrapston, Northampton	5
Hammond, Geo. 145, Whitechapel	1	Herring, Will. Norwich	2	Holbert, Rich. Denmark bill, Cam.	2
Hammond, Jo. Trump st.	1	Hervey, Rev. Edm. Willan, Herts.	1	Holbrook, Jos. esq. Villers st. Strand	2
Hammond, Sam. Cheap side	2	Hervey, Mrs. Eliza, Hinxworth, near New Inn Baldock, Herts.	1	Holden, Jos. Newington Green, Crosby st. Islington	3
Hanbury, John, Threadneedle st.	1	Hervey, Jo. esq. Norwich	1	Holdworth, Wm. 80, E. Smithfield	2
Hancock, J. Queen st. Cheap side	3	Hesse, Mrs. Sarah, Betts st. Rat- cliffe	1	Holland, Hen. General Post Office	1
Hancock, Jos. London st.	1	Hewlett, Will. 460, Strand	2	Hollingworth, Rich. esq. Queen st. Westminster	2
Hancock, J. Ellington, Ditto	1	Hewson, Dav. Botolph lane	10	Holloway, Tho. Chancery lane	5
Hancock, Mat. Clements c. Milk st.	3	Hey, Rev. Jo. Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge	2	Holms, Wm. Pudsey, near Leeds	1
Hanrott, Fr. esq. Ely pl. Holborn	2	Hey, Rev. Sam. Steeple Aston, near Trowbridge, Wilts.	1	Holt, Ja. esq. Tottenham	3
Hanson, Edw. esq. Steel yard	5	Hey, Rich. Magdalen Col. Cambr.	1	Holt, Jo. esq. Ditto	5
Hanson, Sam. Botolph lane	2	Hey, Will. esq. Leeds	10	Holwell, Ed. esq. Exmouth, Devon	1
Hardcastle, Jos. esq. Ducksfoot l.	20	Heygate, J. esq. Aldermanbury	5	Homewood, Ed. Kirby h. Horion Kent	2
Hardcastle, Mrs. Eliza, Islington pl.	4	Heyman, Hen. esq. Old Jewry	17	Homewood, Wm. Faversham, Kent	1
Hare, John, Lincoln	1	Heyrick, Jo. jun. esq. Leicester	3	Hooper, Cleeve, Ringmore, near Leam, Suffex	1
Harford, Edw. esq. Bristol	2	Heyrick, Will. esq. Ditto	1	Hooper, Geo. esq. Greenwich, Kent	1
Harford, J. Scandrett, esq. Ditto	2	Hibbert, Jos. Crutched friars	1	Hooper, Steph. Margate	1
Harford, Rich. esq. Fredericks pla.	1	Hide, Tho. Seymour, esq. Chaffield lodge, Herts.	17	Hoppe, Jo. St. Paul's church yard	1
Hargood, Hezeki. esq. Villers st.	4	Higgin, Jo. esq. London st.	2	Hornby, Wm. esq. Gainsborough, Lincolnshire	5
Harman, Abr. Chiswell st. Moorfi.	2	Higginson, Alex. esq. Harley st.	10	Horncastle, Tho. Battersea	2
Harman, Jer. esq. Finsbury sq.	2	Higmore, Mr. Anth. jun. Bury c. St. Mary Axe	1	Horner, Jo. jun. Hull	1
Harrison, Mrs. Barbara, Pentonville	1	Hilbert, Jo. esq. Wandsworth	10	Horner, Miss Jane, Ditto	1
Harrison, Tho. E. Smithfield	3	Hill, Sir Rich. Bart. M. P. Hawthorn, Salop	1	Horner, Miss Mary, Hull	1
Harrison, Jos. Tooley st.	1	Hill, Jo. General Post Office	1	Horner, Jos. Butterfield, York	1
Harrison, Rob. Lombard st.	2			Horniblow,	
Harris, Jo. Bridge st. Westminster	3				
Harris, Mrs. Mary, Leicester	2				
Harris, Rich. 7 bames st.	5				
Harris, Wm. Palace yd.	1				
Harris, Miss Sarah, 69, Fleet st.	1				

Hornblow, Wm. esq. <i>Shipston, Worcester-shire</i>	3	Jeffery, Geo. esq. <i>Threemorton-st.</i>	5	Kettle, Godfrey, esq. <i>Gower-street, Bedford-square</i>	5
Hornidge, Jo. <i>Lombard st.</i>	1	Jeffreys, Mat. <i>Kidderminster, Worc.</i>	5	Keyfall, John, <i>Temple Bar</i>	1
Horton, Jo. <i>Lawrence Pountney l.</i>	5	Jeffreys, Thomas, <i>Cockspur-street</i>	5	Keyfer, Asfur, <i>Savage-garden, Tower-hill</i>	1
Horton, Tho. <i>Ditto</i>	5	Jeffreys, John, esq. <i>Baib</i>	2	King, Rev. Rich. <i>Worthen, Salop</i>	1
Hose, J. D. esq. <i>Merch. Ludgate b.</i>	5	Jeffries, John, esq. <i>Gloucester</i>	6	King, Edw. esq. <i>Searle-street, Lincoln's inn-fields</i>	2
Hoskyn, Mrs. Eliz. <i>Harpsford, near Ottery, Devonsh.</i>	2	Jelf, James, <i>Gloucester</i>	1	King, Samuel, esq. <i>Hull</i>	3
Houghton, Jo. <i>Drap. r, Huddersfield</i>	6	Jennings, Jo. Wingate, jun. <i>Harlington, near Woodburn, Bedfordsh.</i>	2	King, Isaac, <i>Wycombe, Bucks</i>	1
Houlbrooke, Rev. Theoph. <i>Hollygrove, Shropsh.</i>	2	Jenour, Joshua, esq. <i>Fleet-street</i>	5	King, John, <i>Blandford</i>	1
Houison, Ja. <i>Lincoln's Inn</i>	2	Jessop, Wm. <i>Newark-upon-Trent</i>	5	Kinglake, Rob. esq. <i>Chippingnorton</i>	2
How, Rich. <i>Aspley, Bedfordsh.</i>	1	Ind, Edward, esq. <i>Cambridge</i>	2	Kingbury, Rev. Wm. <i>Southampton</i>	1
Howard, Benj. 23, <i>Martin's-lane Cannon-street</i>	3	Inglis, Hugh, esq. <i>Bedford-row</i>	1	Kington, Benj. esq. <i>Wimpole-street</i>	3
Howard, Jo. Garton, <i>Hull</i>	2	Inglis, John, esq. <i>Mark-lane</i>	1	Kington, Geo. <i>Bandon, near Corke</i>	1
Howard, Miss Ann, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Jobling, John, <i>Cripplegate</i>	2	Kington, Jo. esq. <i>Lower Grosvenor-street</i>	10
Howe, Edw. Russell, esq. <i>Gower-st. Bedford-square</i>	5	Johnson, Andrew, esq. <i>Broad-st.</i>	2	Kington, Robert, esq. <i>Coleman-st.</i>	5
Howe, Capt. Jo. <i>Queen Ann st. eet Westminster</i>	2	Johnson, Mrs. Sarah, <i>Burleigh-field, near Loughborough, Leicestersh.</i>	2	Kington, Rob. esq. <i>Oporto</i>	3
Howlett, Rev. Jo. <i>Great Dunmow Essex</i>	4	Johnson, Miss Anne Jane, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Kington, Stephen, <i>Philadelphia</i>	2
Hudson, Ja. esq. <i>Norwich</i>	3	Johnson, Miss Elizabeth, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Kinnaird, Rt. Hon.-Geo. Lord, <i>Messrs. Hammersty, Pall Mall</i>	1
Hughes, Rev. Tho. <i>Wimbledon</i>	1	Johnson, Miss Sarah, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Kittmer, Benj. <i>Walsingham, Norf.</i>	2
Hulme, Dr. Nath. <i>Chatterhouse sq.</i>	3	Jones, Evan, Jo. <i>Poultry, Crown-st. Moorfields</i>	1	Knies, Andrew, <i>Welch-close-square</i>	1
Humphrey, Rev. Jo. <i>Sprouston Hall, Norfolk</i>	2	Jones, John, <i>West Smithfield</i>	1	Knight, William, <i>Camberwell</i>	1
Hundlebee, Abednego, <i>Crown-st. Moorfields</i>	1	Jones, Tho. 284, <i>High-st. Southw.</i>	3	Knight, Edw. <i>Brick-lane, Old-st.</i>	1
Hunt, Jo. Newton, <i>Colchester</i>	2	Jones, Rev. Tho. <i>Trinity College, Cambridge</i>	2	Knight, Fr. esq. <i>Clifford-street Burlington-garden</i>	2
Hunt, Wm. <i>Essex</i>	1	Jones, William, <i>Charing-cross</i>	3	Knipe, Rob. esq. <i>Weymouth-street, Portland-place</i>	3
Hunt, William, <i>Manufacturer-square, Birmingham</i>	3	Jones, William, <i>St. Mary Axe</i>	2	Knowles, Henry, <i>High-st. Borough</i>	4
Hunter, T. <i>Pilgrim st. Blackfriars</i>	2	Jones, Rev. Wm. <i>Oakham Ripley, Surry</i>	1	Kohn, George Lewis, <i>London-street</i>	1
Hurlock, Jos. sen. esq. <i>Linsay-row Chelsea-common</i>	2	Jordan, John, <i>Gosport</i>	3	Kymer, Jo. esq. <i>Scot's Yd. Bishp-l.</i>	17
Hutchinson, Isaac, <i>Cannon-st.</i>	1	Jocelyn, Mrs. Martha, <i>Rumford, Es.</i>	1	L.	
Hutchinson, Bury, esq. <i>Brewer's Hall, Adle-street</i>	1	Joseph, R. <i>Pewterer, Little New-st.</i>	2	Ladbroke, Rich. esq. <i>Queen's-sq.</i>	5
Hutton, Henry, esq. <i>Custom-house</i>	2	Jowett, Rev. Dr. Jos. <i>Professor of Civil Law, Cambridge</i>	4	Laforest, Wm. <i>Upper Thames-st.</i>	4
Hynam, Wm. <i>Ratcliff-highway</i>	1	Joyce, Joshua, <i>Essex-st. Strand</i>	2	Lamb, John, esq. <i>Golden square</i>	10
I.		Irtton, Edm. <i>Lamplugh, esq. Irton Hall, Whitehaven, Cumberland</i>	2	Lambard, Multon, esq. <i>Sevenoaks, Kent</i>	3
Jackon, Abr. <i>Finch-lane, Cornhill</i>	3	Isaac, Elias, <i>Worcester</i>	1	Lambe, Wm. esq. <i>Pump-c. Temple</i>	2
Jackon, Ja. esq. <i>New Road, St. George's in the East</i>	3	Iselin, Jo. Fredr. 4, <i>Cloak-lane</i>	1	Lane, Timothy, <i>Aldersgate-street</i>	3
Jackon, Jo. <i>Bungay, Suffolk</i>	4	Iselin, J. Luke, esq. <i>Norwich</i>	2	Lanear, Amb. 32, <i>Cheapside</i>	3
Jackon, Jos. esq. <i>Hatton Garden</i>	3	Isherwood, Thomas, esq. <i>Highgate</i>	2	Langston, William, <i>Gutter-lane</i>	1
Jackon, Sam. <i>Great Poultney-st. St. James's</i>	1	Judd, Joseph, 6, <i>White-lion-street, Norton-Falgate</i>	1	Langston, S. esq. <i>Watling-street</i>	2
Jacobs, Wm. <i>Pavement, Moorfields</i>	1	Ives, Jer. esq. <i>Carion, near Norwich</i>	3	Lardner, Jo. 36, <i>High-st. Southw.</i>	1
Jameson, Rob. <i>Ironmonger-lane</i>	1	Izod, Tho. <i>Adams Place, near St. George's Church, Southwark</i>	2	Latham, Charles, <i>Melton, Mowbray</i>	2
Jaques, Rev. J. <i>Packington, Warw.</i>	1	K.		Lauder, Rev. Ab. Collin, <i>Notting.</i>	1
Jaques, Rich. Lister, <i>Size-lane</i>	5	Kaye, Benjamin, <i>Leeds</i>	1	Law, Robert, <i>Stock Exchange</i>	5
Jarman, Mrs. Margaret, <i>Charter-house-square</i>	2	Keddy, Ralph, <i>Mile-end</i>	6	Law, James, esq. <i>Portland Place</i>	1
Jarratt, Rev. Rob. <i>Wellington, Somf.</i>	2	Kenley, Henry, esq. <i>Walworth</i>	5	Lawford, Samuel, <i>Peckham</i>	1
Jee, Tho. <i>Weightman, Pickleton, Leicestershire</i>	1	Kemble, Jo. esq. <i>Caroline-st. Bedford-square</i>	2	Lawrence, Effingham, <i>Merchant Great Tower-hill</i>	1
Jefferies, Ed. esq. <i>St. Tho's Hospital</i>	5	Kemble, Edw. <i>Bow lane, Cheapside</i>	2	Lawrence, J. Towers, <i>Birmingham</i>	1
		Kemble, Francis, <i>Sweithing's-lane</i>	3	Lawrence, Richard, esq. <i>Leman-street, Goodman's-fields</i>	1
		Kemp, Jo. <i>Coal Factor, Bermond.</i>	1	Layton, John, 41, <i>Lincol.-st.</i>	1
		Kennedy, Rev. Tho. <i>Manchester</i>	1	Lee, Richard, <i>Old Jewry</i>	1
		Kerrih, John, esq. <i>Ha. lefton-ball, Norfolk</i>	2	Leathley, John, <i>St. Dunstons-hill</i>	2
		Kett, Thomas esq. <i>Norwich</i>	2	Leach, John, <i>Cornhill</i>	5
				Lee, Joshua, <i>High-street, Southwark</i>	1
				Leech,	

Leech, Tim. <i>Corbett-court, Gracechurch-street</i>	2	Lum, Miss Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Mather, Jo. <i>Martin's-l. Cannon-st.</i>	1
Leigh, Rev. William, <i>Bath</i>	2	Luttrell, Fr. Fownes, esq. <i>Powis-pl.</i>	2	Mather, Benj. <i>Wellingborough, Northamptonshire</i>	2
Legard, Mrs. Frances, <i>Beverley, York-shire</i>	2	Lushington, William, esq. <i>M. P. Portland-place</i>	4	Matthew, Rev. Anthony Stephen, <i>Rathbone Place</i>	2
Le Mesurier, Paul, esq. <i>M. P. Walbrook</i>	5	Lyon, Dr. Benj. <i>Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn</i>	2	Matthews, George, <i>Chipping-norton</i>	2
Lettice, Rev. John, <i>Peasmarsh, near Lambeth, Suffex</i>	1	M.		Matthews, Mrs. Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Leverson, Thomas, <i>Queen's-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields</i>	1	Macauley, Rev. Auley, esq. <i>Claybrook, Leicestershire</i>	1	Maud, Jam. Jo. esq. <i>Prince's-sq.</i>	1
Levett, William, <i>Hull</i>	1	Machell, Chr. esq. <i>Beverley</i>	1	Maver, Jo. esq. <i>Fox Orchard, court, Nicholas-lane</i>	1
Levy, Zach. <i>Broad-st. Buildings</i>	5	Mackay, Alex. Geo. <i>34, New Broad-street</i>	1	Maw, Jo. <i>Gainsborough, Lincoln-sh.</i>	4
Lewis, Edw. <i>Upper Thames-street</i>	3	Macreth, Rob. esq. <i>M. P. Cork-st.</i>	2	May, John, esq. <i>Malden, Essex</i>	1
Lewis, Mrs. Hannah, <i>16, Bishopsgate-street, within</i>	1	Macmurdo, Edw. Longdon, esq. <i>Bread-street</i>	3	Mayellstone, Ja. <i>Circus, Minories</i>	1
Lewis, J. <i>St. Paul's Church Yard</i>	10	Maclaggart, Jo. esq. <i>Scot's-Yard, Bishop-lane</i>	27	Maynard, Tho. <i>18, Sutton-garden</i>	1
Lewis, Thomas, esq. <i>Gower-street</i>	5	Maddox, Wm. <i>Paradise-row, Rotterhithe</i>	1	Maynard, Th. esq. <i>Hoxton-hall, Suff.</i>	2
Leycester, Ralph, esq. <i>Hallgrove near Bagshot, Surrey</i>	5	Mair, John, esq. <i>60, Friday-street, Cambridge</i>	3	Mayow, Winnel Mayow, <i>Sydenham</i>	1
Lievre, Rev. Peter, <i>Church-street, Deptford</i>	1	Mainwaring, Mrs. Ann, <i>Bennet-street, Cambridge</i>	2	Mazzanti, Ferdinand, <i>4, Titchfield-street, Oxford Market</i>	3
Lilckindey, George, <i>Parson-street, East Smithfield</i>	1	Maitland, Jo. esq. <i>Basinghall-st.</i>	10	Meggitt, John, <i>Wakfield, Yorks</i>	1
Lindo, Moses, jun. <i>30, Leadenb.-st.</i>	2	Mallet, John, <i>Newington Green</i>	3	Mellish, John, esq. <i>Bishopsgate-st.</i>	1
Lister, Daniel, <i>Hackney</i>	5	Mallet, Mrs. Martha, <i>Mark-lane</i>	3	Mellish, William, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	3
Livius, George, esq. <i>Bulford</i>	10	Mallet, Philip, jun. <i>Newington Green</i>	3	Meller, John, <i>Caico Printer, Levensholm, near Manchester</i>	1
Lloyd, Miss Ann, <i>York</i>	2	Mallet, Phil. <i>Mark-lane</i>	3	Mercer, Wm. esq. <i>Basinghall-st.</i>	1
Lloyd, Daniel, <i>Berkdown, near Uley, Gloucestershire</i>	2	Mallet, Charles, <i>Newington Green</i>	3	Mestaer, Peter Everitt, esq. <i>Rotterhithe</i>	3
Lloyd, Sir Edward, Bart. <i>Lower Seymour-street</i>	2	Mallet, Miss Patty, <i>Ditto</i>	3	Metcalf, Bilton, <i>Golden-leg-court Cleaphide</i>	3
Lloyd, Gamaliel, esq. <i>Bury, Suff.</i>	2	Maltby, Tho. <i>at Messrs. Walter's, Malby, and Co.</i>	3	Meyer, Miss Cath. <i>Leadenhall-st.</i>	1
Lloyd, Nathan. <i>Uly, Gloucestershire</i>	2	Manning, Geo. <i>St. Thomas, Exeter</i>	3	Meyer, Herman, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Lloyd, Sam. Merchant, <i>Lower Thames-street</i>	10	Manning, Miss Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Meyer, James, <i>Ditto</i>	2
Lloyd, William, <i>Ditto</i>	10	Manning, Rev. James, <i>Exeter</i>	2	Meyer, John, <i>A gel-court, Throgmorton street</i>	3
Lock, John, <i>Fish-street-bill</i>	1	Manning, Rev. Jo. <i>Wycomb, Bucks</i>	1	Mexted, John, <i>Barking-church-yard, Tower-street</i>	1
Lock, Rev. Robert, <i>Newark</i>	1	Manning, Mrs. Mary, <i>Exeter</i>	1	Meymott, William, <i>Prospert-place, St. George's, Southwark</i>	1
Lockwood, Tho. esq. <i>Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square</i>	4	Manning, Sam. esq. <i>Wycomb, Bucks</i>	1	Middleton, Sir Charles, Bart. <i>Hertford street, Mayfair</i>	10
Loggen, Tho. <i>Basinghall-street</i>	1	Manning, Tho. <i>Topsam, Devon.</i>	2	Mildred, Daniel, esq. <i>Fishbury-sq.</i>	1
Lomas, Rev. Hen. <i>Chipping-norton</i>	3	Mansfield, John, esq. <i>Leicester</i>	2	Mildred, Thomas, <i>Diss, Norfolk</i>	1
London, Dr. B. Porteus, Bishop of, <i>St. James's-square</i>	1	Mansfield, John, jun. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Miles, Robert, <i>Aston Magna</i>	1
Longridge, Mic. <i>Sunderland, Dur.</i>	1	Mansfield, James, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Miles, Rich. <i>Campden, Gloucestershire</i>	1
Loseby, John, <i>Leicester</i>	2	Manfield, Miss Sarah, <i>Drury</i>	1	Milford, Samuel, esq. <i>Exeter</i>	5
Loufada, H. Baruch, esq. <i>Devonshire-square</i>	4	Marriot, Rich. <i>Rathbone Place</i>	1	Milford, Samuel Frederick, <i>Merchant, Exeter</i>	2
Lovenden, Edw. Lovenden, esq. <i>M. P. Chancery street</i>	4	Marriot, William, <i>Hoxton-square</i>	1	Millard, Rev. Charles, <i>Beacons-dau, near Norwich</i>	2
Lucas, Matthew, <i>Tower Dock</i>	1	Marshall, Caleb, <i>Scot's-yd. Barb-l.</i>	5	Miller, Jo. <i>Stone Buildings, Lincoln's-inn</i>	1
Lucas, Nathaniel, esq. <i>Barge-row</i>	8	Martin, Amb. esq. <i>Finner-lane</i>	3	Miller, Frederick, <i>Swallow-street</i>	4
Lucas, Rob. St. John, <i>York-bos, Bath</i>	1	Martin, James, esq. <i>M. P. Tewkesbury</i>	5	Millikin, H. Benson, <i>Whitechapel</i>	1
Luders, Alex. <i>Abingdon, W. Oxon.</i>	5	Martin, Mrs. <i>Downing-street</i>	1	Mills, Charles, esq. <i>Birchin-lane</i>	6
Ludlam, Wm. esq. <i>Queen-street, Cheapside</i>	1	Martindale, J. esq. <i>St. James's-st.</i>	2	Mills, Jacob, <i>Miner's-clofe</i>	5
Lum, Aubrey Jos. <i>Stuart-street, Old Artillery Ground</i>	1	Martineau, Philip Meadows, esq. <i>Norwich</i>	2	Mills, John, <i>Chichester</i>	3
		Maferes, Fran. esq. <i>Kings-bench Walk, Temple</i>	2	Mills, Wm. esq. <i>Straford Place</i>	10
		Mason, John, <i>Deptford</i>	1	Milner, Jos. 73, <i>Aldermanbury</i>	3
		Mason, Rev. Geo. <i>Leicester</i>	2	Milnes, James, esq. <i>Wakefield</i>	5
		Mason, John, <i>Groc r, Lombard-st.</i>	1	Milnes, Rich. Slater, esq. <i>M. P. Picadilly</i>	5
		Mason, Rev. William, <i>York</i>	2		

Milnes, Mrs. Rachel,	6	Neale, Miss Leonara Mary Ann,	3	Parker, Sam. esq. <i>New Bridge-st.</i>	15
Milnes, James, jun. esq. <i>Thorn House, Wakefield</i>	2	Neale, Miss Henrietta, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Parker, William, <i>Fleet-street</i>	5
Milnes, Mrs. Mary Ann, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Neale, John, <i>St. Paul's Ch. Yd.</i>	4	Parkinson, John, sen. <i>Raquet-court, Fleet-street</i>	1
Minshull, William, <i>Snowhill</i>	1	Neate, John, <i>Devizes, Wiltshire</i>	2	Parkinson, John, jun. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Mitchell, George, <i>Deptford</i>	3	Nelson, Mrs. Elizabeth, <i>Beverley</i>	1	Parnell, Rt. Hon. Sir John, Bart. <i>Dublin</i>	2
Mitchell, Wm. esq. <i>Princes-square</i>	1	Nesbitt, Thomas, <i>Bank of England</i>	1	Parry, Isaac, <i>Deptford</i>	3
Mitchell, Wm. esq. <i>Boothtown Halifax</i>	2	Newbald, Robert, <i>Rotherhithe</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Mitchell, Capt. William, at Mr. <i>Wilson's, Navy Office</i>	2	Newberry, Mrs. Rachael, <i>Southampton-row, Bloomsbury</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Mitchell, John, esq. <i>Chelsea</i>	1	Newnam, Tho. esq. <i>Bedford-row</i>	4	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Mitton, Henry, esq. <i>Birchin-lane</i>	6	Newton, John, <i>Coptball-court</i>	4	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Molling, Fred. esq. <i>Dowgate-hill</i>	8	Newton, Rev. Jo. <i>Coleman street</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moncrieff, R. Scott, esq. <i>Glasgow</i>	1	Newton, Rev. Sam. <i>Thorpe, near Norwich</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Monckton, Hon. Edw. M. P. <i>Upper Grosvenor-street</i>	10	Nichols, Benjamin, <i>Tower-street</i>	3	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Montague, Matthew, esq. M. P. <i>Manchester-square</i>	2	Nicholls, Miss Sarah, <i>Kidderminster</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Montague, Charles, <i>Guildhall</i>	2	Nicholson, Joseph, <i>Philadelphia</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, Edward, esq. <i>Stockwell</i>	1	Nickling, James, <i>Botolph-lane</i>	10	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, George, <i>Hoxton</i>	1	Nind, Benjamin, <i>Great Pres-st.</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, William, <i>Ludgate-street</i>	3	Nisbett, Samuel, <i>Islington</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, Peter, esq. <i>Queen-square, Westminster</i>	3	Nixon, John, esq. <i>Cateaton-street</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, Rev. Jo. <i>Appleby, Leice.</i>	1	Norden, Abr. <i>Walthamstow, Essex</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, John, <i>Leicester</i>	1	Nottidge, Thomas, <i>Bocking, Essex</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, John, jun. <i>Ditto</i>	3	Nourie, Joseph, <i>Welbeck-street</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, Miss Elizabeth, <i>Ditto</i>	1			Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moore, Miss Ann, <i>Ditto</i>	1	O.		Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
More, Miss Hannah, <i>Bath</i>	1	Oakley, Wm. <i>Church-street, St. John's, Southwark</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Moreton, Wm. esq. <i>Clement's-lane</i>	2	Ogburn, Rich. <i>Bishopsgate-street</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morin, Mrs. Ann Salome, 26, <i>Sherard-street</i>	1	Ogle, John Ogle, <i>Bridlington Key</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morland, William, esq. <i>Pallmall</i>	6	Oldham, James Oldham, <i>Holborn</i>	6	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morley, William, esq. <i>Broad-st.</i>	2	Olding, John, esq. <i>Cornhill</i>	3	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morley, Wm. jun. <i>Broad-street</i>	1	Ommaney, Edward, esq. <i>Bloomsbury-square</i>	10	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morris, Thomas, esq. <i>Camberwell</i>	3	Onley, Rev. Ch. <i>Stirled Hall, Essex</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morris, John, <i>Nottingham</i>	2	Orange, John Baptist, <i>Turner's Hill, Cheshunt</i>	3	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morrit, Mrs. Frances, <i>York</i>	1	Osborn, Wm. M. D. <i>Hanover-sq.</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morton, A chibald, <i>Wellingborough, Northamptonshire</i>	3	Othen, Isaac, <i>Lombard street</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Morton, Mrs. Frances, Rev. Dr. <i>Frewar's, Colchester</i>	2	Overend, Joshua, <i>Hull</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Mucklow, Horatio, <i>Custom-house</i>	1	P.		Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Muncaster, Lord, M. P. <i>Raven-glass, Cumberland</i>	2	Pack, Richard, <i>Upper Thames-st.</i>	3	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Munnings, Chr. esq. <i>Kingston</i>	2	Padman, Isaac, jun. <i>Broad-street</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Muggrave, Peete, <i>Cambridge</i>	10	Painter, William, <i>Bristol</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
N.		Paleke, Lewis, <i>America-square</i>	10	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Naimbanna, Prince Henry Granville, Son of King Naimbanna, <i>Sierra Leona</i>	1	Paley, Richard, <i>Leeds</i>	5	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Nautes, Henry, esq. <i>Broad-street</i>	2	Palmer, Wm. esq. <i>Chippingnorton</i>	5	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Nash, Sir Stephen, <i>Bristol</i>	2	Panter, William, <i>St. Dunstons-hill</i>	3	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Nash, William, <i>Roydon, Herts.</i>	1	Pares, Miss Mary, <i>Leicester</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Natali, Jos. <i>Charles-st. Horsleydown</i>	6	Pares, Mrs. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
Neale, James, <i>St. Paul's Ch. Yd.</i>	1	Parker, David, esq. <i>King's Mews</i>	5	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
		Parker, George, <i>Tipton, Stafford-sh.</i>	2	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
		Parker, John Kennet, <i>Princes-sq.</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
		Parker, Joseph, esq. <i>Mettingham, near Bungay</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
		Parker, Miss Phillis, <i>Fleet-street</i>	1	Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1
				Parsons, Wm, esq. <i>Princes-street</i>	1

Platt, Thomas, <i>Stanford-st. Surry</i>	6		Roberts, Rev. W. H. D.D.		
Plowes, John, esq. <i>Leeds, Yorkshire</i>	1	R.	<i>Loughborough House, Surry</i>	2	
Plummer, Rob. <i>Walsingham, Norf.</i>	1	Raby, Alen, <i>Steel Yard</i>	2	Robins, John. <i>Stoke Newington</i>	1
Plumbtre, Jo, esq. <i>Fredville, Kent</i>	2	Raby, George, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Robinson, Charles, <i>St. George's-</i>	
Plymley, Rev. Jos. <i>Lougnor, Salop</i>	3	Rackett, Rev. Thomas, <i>Spetisbury</i>	1	<i>row, St. George's-fields</i>	1
Polhill, Charles, esq. <i>Chislehead-</i>		Rae, John, esq. <i>Angel-c. Throg-</i>		Robinson, John, <i>Hall</i>	2
<i>place, Kent</i>	6	<i>morton-street</i>	1	Robinson, Rev. John, <i>Wilborne,</i>	
Polhill, Mrs. Elizabeth, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Raikes, Tho. esq. <i>New Broad-st.</i>	3	<i>near Kirby Moorfside</i>	1
Pollard, William, <i>Swithins-lane</i>	2	Randall, Edward, <i>Cambridge</i>	2	Robson, John, <i>Chamberlain, New</i>	
Popham, Col. Wm. <i>Dover-street</i>	2	Raper, Mrs. Ellen, 1, <i>Wigmore-st.</i>	1	<i>Ormond-street</i>	5
Popkin, John, esq. <i>Coytrebene,</i>		Raper, Matthew, esq. <i>Stratford-pl.</i>	3	Robson, Robert, <i>Royal Exchange</i>	5
<i>Glamorganhire</i>	2	Rastall, Rev. William, <i>Newark</i>	3	Rodwell, Thomas, <i>Craven-street</i>	1
Porter, Joseph, esq. <i>Hatton Garden</i>	3	Rathbone, William, <i>Liverpool</i>	2	Roebuck, John, esq. <i>St. Mary Hill</i>	3
Postlethwaite, Rev. Tho. D.D.		Ravencroft, Edw. esq. <i>Harley-st.</i>	6	Rogers, Charles, esq. <i>College of</i>	
<i>Master of Trinity College, Camb.</i>	6	Raw, Matthew, <i>Lombard-street</i>	1	<i>Physicians, Warwick-lane</i>	3
Potter, Samuel, <i>Milk-street</i>	3	Rawdon, William, <i>Cheapside</i>	1	Rogers, John, esq. <i>Yarlington</i>	
Pottinger, Chr. esq. <i>Stock Exchange</i>	5	Rawlings, Tho. <i>Padstow, Cornw.</i>	1	<i>Lodge, near Wincanton</i>	1
Potts, Charles, esq. <i>Chester</i>	4	Rawlings, Wm. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Rogers, Samuel, esq. <i>Freeman's-</i>	
Powell, Dav. jun. <i>Great St. Helen's</i>	1	Rawlinson, William, <i>Friday-street</i>	2	<i>court, Cornhill</i>	3
Powell, Baden, jun. esq. <i>Little</i>		Rawson, Samuel, <i>Halifax</i>	3	Rofe, Miss Frances, <i>Darking, Surry</i>	1
<i>St. Helen's</i>	1	Rawson, William, <i>Corbet-court,</i>		Rofe, Richard, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Powell, John Clark, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1	<i>Gracechurch-street</i>	3	Rofe, Rev. Wm. Lucas, <i>Darenty</i>	2
Powell, Ja. esq. <i>Crown-c. Broad-st.</i>	1	Ray, Rev. Orbel, <i>Tostock, Suffolk</i>	2	Rofs, Abraham, <i>Tokenhouse Yard</i>	1
Pratt, Charles, <i>Lawn, South Lamb.</i>	1	Raybould, Tho. <i>Broad-st. Ratcliff</i>	2	Rofs, Mrs. Henrietta, <i>Raffie, near</i>	
Pratt, John, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Rea, John, <i>Minories</i>	1	<i>Montrow</i>	1
Pratt, John, jun. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Reddal, Richard Ambrose, esq.		Rofs, Hercules, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2
Pratt, Jos. Stephen, esq. <i>Wood-</i>		<i>Woburn, Bedfordshire</i>	1	Rofs, James Tyrell, <i>Crown-street,</i>	
<i>house Grove, near Bradford, Yorks</i>	4	Reeve, Edw. <i>Upper Bro k-street</i>	3	<i>Westminster</i>	1
Preft, Edward, esq. <i>York</i>	2	Reeve, Miss Frances, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Rofs, William, <i>Ditto</i>	1
Preston, Mrs. Jane, <i>Miles's-lane</i>		Reeve, Joseph, <i>Canterbury-square</i>	2	Roffer, Richard, <i>Cheapside</i>	1
<i>Cannon-street</i>	1	Remington, John, <i>Milk-street</i>	10	Rowcroft, Thomas, <i>Lime-street</i>	2
Preston, Thomas, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Rennard, Joseph, <i>Hull</i>	2	Rowe, John, <i>New River Office</i>	1
Price, Charles, <i>Snodhill</i>	2	Revell, George, <i>Princes-st. Man-</i>		Rowe, Rev. John, <i>Shrewsbury</i>	1
Price, John, <i>Leicester</i>	1	<i>tion-house</i>	1	Rowe, Miss Sarah, <i>Carmarthen</i>	1
Price, Joseph, esq. <i>Stratton-street,</i>		Reynes, Sam. <i>Friday-street</i>	2	Royds, Jerem. esq. <i>Bucklersbury</i>	20
<i>Piccadilly</i>	17	Reyner, Jos. esq. <i>Ducksfoot-lane</i>	10	Rumsey, Hen. jun. <i>Chebbam, Bucks</i>	1
Price, Robert, <i>Milk-street</i>	3	Reynolds, Forster, esq. <i>Carshalton</i>	2	Ruffel, Miss Sarah Gill, <i>Saville-</i>	
Price, Thomas, <i>Leadenhall-street</i>	2	Reynolds, Wm. <i>Ketley, near Shif-</i>		<i>row, Walworth</i>	2
Prickett, Joseph, <i>Hull</i>	1	<i>nal, Shropshire</i>	3	Rutland, William, <i>Bishopsgate-st.</i>	1
Prideaux, John, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Reynolds, Wm. <i>Folkestone, Kent</i>	1	Rutt, John Towel, <i>Thames-street</i>	10
Prideaux, Tho. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Richard, Sam. <i>King's-road, Chelsea</i>	4	Rutton, Thomas, <i>Charing-cross</i>	1
Prime, Richard, <i>Bucklersbury</i>	1	Richards, John, jun. <i>Leicester</i>	1	Ryder, Rt. Hon. Dudley, M. P.	
Prinsep, John, esq. <i>Barnetts,</i>		Richardson, Hannah, <i>Hull</i>	1	<i>Park-street</i>	1
<i>Hoare, and Co.</i>	4	Richardson, John, esq. <i>Upper</i>			
Pringle, Wm. esq. <i>Rathbone-place</i>	20	<i>Wimpole-street</i>	10	S.	
Pritzer, Theophilus, esq. <i>Well-</i>		Richardson, Jo. esq. <i>Pitfour, Perth</i>	1	Sage, Edw. esq. <i>Cheapside</i>	1
<i>close-square</i>	1	Richardson, Thomas, <i>Carlton,</i>		Salloway, Sam. <i>St. Johns-st. South.</i>	2
Pryce, Edward, <i>Bucklersbury</i>	2	<i>near Hull, Yorkshire</i>	1	Salmon, Rev. <i>Rector of Caester,</i>	
Pryce, Tho. <i>General Post Office</i>	1	Rickards, Rev. Robert, <i>Lantrif-</i>		<i>Norfolk</i>	1
Puddicombe, Rev. John Newell,		<i>font, Glamorgan</i>	1	Salte, William, <i>Poultry</i>	2
<i>Dulwich College</i>	3	Rickards, Thomas, esq. <i>Clapton</i>	4	Samler, Herman, <i>St. Andrews hill</i>	4
Puddicombe, Rev. Thomas,		Ridley, John, <i>Princes-square</i>	2	Sanford, Wm. esq. <i>New Bond-st.</i>	5
<i>Rumford, Essex</i>	3	Ridfdale, William, <i>Mr. Reyners's,</i>		Sanfon, Phil. esq. <i>London-st.</i>	9
Pugh, David Heron, <i>Peckham</i>	1	<i>Ducksfoot-lane</i>	2	Sargeant, Edw. jun. <i>Grove House,</i>	
Pugh, Joseph, <i>Threadneedle-street</i>	1	Rigby, Edward, <i>Norwich</i>	5	<i>Mile End</i>	2
Puller, Mrs. Mary, <i>Cranbourn-st.</i>		Ripley, John Richard, <i>Lawrence</i>		Sargeant, Edward, jun. <i>Circus,</i>	
<i>Leicester-fields</i>	2	<i>Pountney lane</i>	2	<i>Minories</i>	3
Puller, Miss Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Roberts, Daniel, esq. <i>Chatbam-pl.</i>	1	Sargeant, Geo. Edw. 77, <i>Longacre</i>	1
Pulley, Joseph, <i>Stock Exchange</i>	1	Roberts, Henry, sen. <i>Long Mari-</i>		Sargeant, Jo. <i>Queen-st. Lincolnian-st.</i>	1
Pyndar, Rev. Reginald, <i>Madfor</i>		<i>ton, Gloucestershire</i>	1	Sarney, Josiah, <i>Bishopsgate-st.</i>	2
<i>House, near Draitwich, Worcester</i>	5	Roberts, Hen. jun. <i>Clapton, Glouc.</i>	1	Satchell, Miss Eliz. <i>Limehouse</i>	1
				Savage,	

Savage, Mifs Ann, <i>Kenington</i>	2	Skrimshire, Wm. <i>Wybech</i>	3	Spencer, Rt. Hon. Jo. Earl, <i>St. James's place</i>	2
Savage, Jof. esq. <i>Bishopgate st. without</i>	5	Slack, Tho. esq. Mr. Sikes, <i>Dif. taff lane</i>	3	Spencer, Jo. <i>Fenchurch st.</i>	1
Savill, Jof. <i>Bocking, Essex</i>	4	Slade, Dan. <i>Three Crown c. Borough</i>	3	Speanger, Jo. esq. <i>Symonds Inn</i>	2
Savill, William, <i>Hendon sq.</i>	2	Slade, Miss Eliz. <i>Rye, Suffex</i>	1	Stanhope, Walter! Spencer, esq.	1
Sawrey, Miles, <i>Plymouth</i>	9	Slade, Miss Mary, <i>Ditto</i>	1	<i>Cannon hall, near Barnsly, Yorks.</i>	4
Schneider, Jo. Nicholas, <i>Holborn</i>	1	Slann, Jas. Bright, <i>7, Cheapside</i>	1	Stanhope, Mrs. Mary Spencer,	2
Scholefield, Rev. Radcliffe, <i>Birmingham</i>	1	Slater, Adam, esq. <i>Chesterfield</i>	1	<i>Ditto</i>	2
Scholey, Geo. esq. <i>Old Swan</i>	1	Sloman, Wm. <i>Deptford</i>	2	Staniforth, Ch. <i>Broad st. Buildings</i>	3
Schooling, Jas. 44, <i>Bishopgate st. within</i>	1	Smales, Rich. <i>Walworth</i>	1	Stansfield, Tim. <i>Upper Thames st.</i>	10
Schroder, Herman, 9, <i>College hill</i>	2	Smalley, Cornwall, esq. <i>Kings Arms yard</i>	10	Statham, Samuel, <i>Nottingham</i>	2
Scotney, Benj. esq. 46, <i>Gorver st.</i>	2	Smalley, Wm. <i>Wybech, Cambridge</i>	2	Steel, Dav. <i>Union row, Minories</i>	1
Scott, Claude, esq. <i>Gorver st.</i>	10	Smart, Rich. esq. <i>Lambs Conduit st.</i>	2	Steele, Jof. esq. <i>Tower hill</i>	1
Scott, Geo. <i>Hatton Garden</i>	2	Smith, Drummond, esq. <i>Grafton st.</i>	2	Steele, Jof. <i>Finsbury sq.</i>	1
Scott, Hugh, esq. <i>Harley st.</i>	2	Smith, Fran. esq. <i>Norwich</i>	1	Stevens, Merret, <i>Gloucester</i>	2
Scott, Jo. esq. <i>Strand</i>	3	Smith, Jas. Ed. M. D. <i>Marlbrough st.</i>	1	Stevens, Sir Phil. Bart. M. P. <i>Admiralty</i>	5
Scott, Rob. esq. <i>Wimpole st.</i>	6	Smith, Jas. <i>Fifth street hill</i>	4	Stephenson, Rich. <i>Swanland, Hull</i>	2
Scott, R. <i>Woodcote, near Huddersf.</i>	4	Smith, Jas. <i>Norwich</i>	1	Steven, Rob. <i>Upper Thames st.</i>	2
Scott, Tho. <i>Ludgate hill</i>	5	Smith, Jo. Fred. <i>Wakefield, Yorks.</i>	1	Stevenfon, Jof. esq. <i>Batolph lane</i>	10
Seale, David, <i>Peckham, Surry</i>	2	Smith, Rev. Jo. Gee, at <i>Mess. Kett's, and Co. Norwich</i>	2	Stewart, Edw. esq. <i>Aldermanbury</i>	5
Sealy, Jo. <i>Ornamental stone manufactory, Lambeth</i>	1	Smith, Jo. <i>Cirenster</i>	3	Stewart, Jo. Tiffin, 13, <i>Gracechurch st.</i>	1
Searle, Jas. <i>Cheapside</i>	3	Smith, Jo. <i>Red Lion st. Whitechapel</i>	1	Stiff, Tho. <i>New st. Covent Garden</i>	4
Secker, Roger, <i>Newington Butts</i>	2	Smith, Jo. <i>Warwick lane</i>	1	Stillingfleet, Rev. J. <i>Hottham, near Market Weighton, Yorks.</i>	2
Secretan, Fred. Sam. <i>Walbrook</i>	1	Smith, Jofa. esq. M. P. <i>Great George st. Westminster</i>	2	Stokes, Ed. esq. <i>Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire</i>	4
Sells, Ed. jun. 49, <i>Bankside, Southw.</i>	1	Smith, If. <i>Margaret st. Westminster</i>	1	Stokes, Ed. Major, jun. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Sergeant, W. <i>Melton, Lincolnshire</i>	2	Smith, Martin Fred. 21, <i>Panton st. Haymarket</i>	2	Stokes, Henry, <i>Friday st.</i>	1
Sharp, Geo. 37, <i>Threacneedle st.</i>	5	Smith, Mrs. <i>Piercefield, Monmouth</i>	1	Stonark, Nathen, <i>Bromley, Middlef.</i>	1
Sharp, Gran. esq. <i>Garden c. Temple</i>	5	Smith, Rob. esq. M. P. <i>Hemalls, Herts.</i>	1	Stone, Jo. 230, <i>High Holborn</i>	1
Sharp, Wm. <i>Fulham</i>	5	Smith, Rob. esq. M. P. <i>Hemalls, Herts.</i>	1	Stone, Jo. Hurford, esq. <i>Hackney</i>	3
Shaw, Jas. <i>Margaret st. Cavendish square</i>	1	Smith, Rob. esq.	1	Stonehouse, Jo. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	1
Shaw, Jo. <i>King st. Cheapside</i>	1	Smith, Rob. esq.	1	Stonehouse, Geo. <i>Brent Knoll, near Bridgewater, Somersetshire</i>	10
Shaw, Rev. Will. <i>Enfield</i>	2	Smith, Rob. <i>Church hill, Oxford</i>	1	Storage, Step. <i>Ratbone place</i>	1
Shears, Jas. <i>Fleet Market</i>	1	Smith, Sam. esq. M. P. <i>Wellford, Nottinghamshire</i>	3	Storey, Rob. esq. <i>Bedford sq.</i>	3
Shelton, Tho. <i>Sessions h. Old Bailey</i>	3	Smith, Rev. Dr. Sam. <i>Prebendary, Westminster</i>	2	Stott, Ely, 5, <i>Pump c. Temple</i>	1
Shepherd, Rev. H. <i>Beverley, Yorks.</i>	2	Smith, Tho. esq. <i>Grays Inn</i>	3	Stovin, Jas. esq.	2
Shepherd, Wm. <i>Lambs Conduit pl.</i>	1	Smith, Tho. <i>Rochester</i>	1	Stovin, Mrs. <i>Theodosia, Carr House, near Doncaster</i>	2
Sheppard, Edw. <i>Basinghall st.</i>	2	Smith, Tho. <i>Bridge st.</i>	3	Stracey, Randolph, <i>Whitechapel ro.</i>	1
Sheppard, Tho. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Smith, Tho. <i>Woodrooffe, esq. Great St. Helens</i>	2	Strangman, Miss Ann, <i>Leek, Staffordshire</i>	1
Shore, Bohum, esq. <i>Meersbrook, near Sheffield</i>	2	Smith, Wildman, <i>Fredericks place</i>	1	Stratton, Geo. esq. <i>Great Terw, near Henson, Oxford</i>	5
Shore, am. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Smith, Will. esq. M. P. <i>Clapham, Surry</i>	6	Stratton, Gibfon, and Schonberg, <i>Leadenhall st.</i>	3
Shores, Wm. 71, <i>Cheapside</i>	1	Smith, Wm. <i>Stockwell st. Greenw.</i>	2	Stratton, Sam. jun. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2
Short, Barth. esq. <i>Lothbury</i>	1	Smithus, Hen. <i>Clink st. Southwark</i>	1	Stratton, Tho. esq. <i>Hackney</i>	2
Shuttleworth, H. <i>Raynes Ludgate st.</i>	2	Smith, Christopher, <i>Northampton</i>	10	Strickland, Ed. <i>Fish st. hill</i>	2
Shibald, Geo. esq. <i>Harley st.</i>	1	Smyth, Jo. esq. <i>Bruton st.</i>	1	Strode, Jo. esq. <i>South hill, Shepton Mallet</i>	2
Sibley, Miss Mary, <i>Cheapside</i>	1	Sneyd, Ed. sen. esq. <i>Lichfield, Staffordshire</i>	2	Stubbing, Rob. <i>Hedon, near Hull</i>	1
Sibley, Miss Sarah, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Sneyd, Jo. esq. <i>Bellmont, Stafford</i>	4	Stuckey, Geo. esq. <i>Hackney College</i>	3
Sikes, Jo. <i>Difaff lane</i>	3	Solly, Rich. esq. <i>St. Mary Axe</i>	1	Stuckey, Sam. esq. <i>Langport, Somerset</i>	3
Simeon, Rev. Ch. <i>Kings Col. Cam.</i>	2	Sowerby, Jo. esq. <i>Hatton Garden</i>	5	Stutfield, Cha. 154, <i>Ratcliff high way</i>	1
Simpfon, Rev. Dav. <i>Macclesfield, Cheshire</i>	2	Sparke, Jof. <i>Bank</i>	1	Styleman, Nicho. <i>Norwich</i>	3
Simpfon, Jas. Warne, <i>Lime st.</i>	2	Sparrow, Rev. Bence, <i>Baker st. Portman sq.</i>	2	Sutton, Benj. <i>Leicester</i>	2
Simpfon, John, <i>Hull</i>	2	Spear, Rob. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	1		
Simpfon, W. Wooley, <i>Dif. Norf.</i>	1				
Skinow, Wm. <i>Borough High st.</i>	3				

Names of the original Subscribers

Sutton, Eliz. <i>Charterhouse sq.</i>	1	Thorn, Abraham, <i>Hackney</i>	1	Turner, Jofa. <i>Leeds</i>	1
Sutton, Jas. <i>Devizes</i>	2	Thornton, Henry, esq. M. P. <i>Kings arms yard</i>	58	Turner, Tho. esq. <i>Hull</i>	1
Sutton, Jo. <i>Stock Exchange</i>	1	Thornton, Jo. <i>King James's stairs, Shadwell</i>	3	Turner, Tho. <i>Derby</i>	1
Sutton, Miss Martha, <i>Devizes, Wills.</i>	1	Thornton, Rich. <i>Horsleydown</i>	8	Turney, Wm. <i>Wood st. Cheap side</i>	1
Sutton, Miss Sarah, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Thornton, Rob. esq. M. P. <i>Clapham, Surry</i>	18	Tutin, William, <i>Birmingham</i>	1
Sutton, Rob. <i>Manston House st.</i>	1	Thornton, Sam. esq. M. P. <i>Ditto</i>	6	Twining, Jo. <i>Essex st.</i>	3
Sutton, Will. esq. <i>Canterbury sq.</i>	1	Thorold, Mrs. Frances, <i>Grimby, Lincolnshire</i>	2	Twining, Rich. <i>Ditto</i>	3
Swaine, Rob. <i>Crofs hill, Halifax</i>	1	Thorold, Mrs. Mary, <i>Hampstead</i>	2	Tylee, John, <i>Devizes</i>	2
Swale, Jo. esq. <i>Charlotte st. Bloomf.</i>	3	Thorp, Abr. 76. <i>Bishopsgate st.</i>	1	Tyler, Rev. Will. <i>Partney, Lincoln.</i>	2
Swan, Will. <i>Wigan, Lancashire</i>	1	Thorpe, Anthony, <i>York</i>	2	V.	
Sykes, Sir Christopher, <i>Bart. Sledmore Yorkshire</i>	10	Tibbits, Rich. <i>Milk st.</i>	17	Valpy, Rev. Dav. <i>Reading</i>	1
Sykes, Jof. esq. <i>Hull</i>	4	Tickell, Wm. <i>Bath</i>	5	Vaux, Edw. esq. <i>Anstis Friars</i>	4
Sykes, Mrs. <i>West Ella, Yorkshire</i>	1	Tigh, Rob. Stearne, esq. <i>Clanville Lodge, near Andover</i>	4	Venn, Edw. <i>Bow lane, Cheap side</i>	1
Sykes, Miss Mary Ann, <i>Ditto</i>	2	Tigncombe, Jo. esq. <i>Plymouth</i>	3	Vincent, Zelophehad Wyeth, <i>Little St. Thomas Apostle</i>	2
Syms, James Renat, <i>Pudding lane</i>	1	Tiler, John, <i>Bow lane</i>	1	Vivian, Jo. esq. <i>Tanfield c. Temple</i>	5
T.		Tilley, William, <i>Newgate st.</i>	1	Vulliamy, Lewis, <i>Leman st. Goodman's fields</i>	1
Tabor, Rob. esq. <i>Hythe, Colchester</i>	2	Tindall, Jas. <i>Scarborough</i>	2	W.	
Tailer, Jo. Bayly, <i>Woodbridge, Suff.</i>	2	Tingcombe, Jonathan, <i>Plymouth</i>	2	Waddington, Jo. <i>Minories</i>	3
Taylor, Rev. Tho. <i>Porwis place, Ormond st.</i>	3	Tolcien, Dan. <i>Godlieb, Bedford st. Covent garden</i>	1	Wadstrom, Ch. B. <i>Manchester</i>	1
Taylor, Benj. <i>Sutton, St. Edmunds, near Wilsob</i>	2	Tomkins, Benj. <i>Upper Thames st.</i>	1	Wagstaffe, Jo. <i>Norwich</i>	1
Taylor, Ed. Farmer, <i>Chicknell, Claverley, Salop</i>	5	Tomkins, Jo. <i>Abingdon</i>	1	Wainman, Rev. Rich. B. A. <i>Boddington, Northampton sh.</i>	1
Taylor, Gawan, <i>Scarborough</i>	2	Tomkins, Jof. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Wainman, Will. esq. <i>Carbead, Craven, Yorksh.</i>	4
Taylor, Geo. Alderson, esq. <i>Borwe, near Greata bridge</i>	2	Tomkins, Wm. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Waldron, Jo. <i>Bank of England</i>	7
Taylor, Jo. esq. <i>Birmingham</i>	7	Tomkins, Wm. jun. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Wallford, Jo. <i>Tower Dock</i>	4
Taylor, Jo. esq. <i>Steel yard</i>	2	Toogood, Wm. esq. <i>Sherborn, Dorsetshire</i>	2	Walford, Jo. <i>Little Winchester st.</i>	1
Taylor, Jof. esq. <i>Lynn, Norfolk</i>	3	Toplis, Jo. esq. <i>Worksworth, Derby</i>	2	Walford, Luke Wm. <i>Ditto</i>	5
Taylor, Isaac, <i>Bishopsgate st. without</i>	1	Torkington, James, <i>Stamford</i>	1	Walker, Jo. <i>Brick lane</i>	5
Taylor, Meadows, esq. <i>Dijf, Norf.</i>	2	Torkington, William, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Walker, Jona. esq. <i>Fernham, near Rotherham</i>	2
Taylor, Sam. esq. <i>Hutton garden</i>	5	Towgood, Jo. esq. <i>Clements l.</i>	10	Walker, Jof. esq. <i>Eastwood, near Ditto</i>	4
Taylor, Vickeris, esq. <i>Great St. Helens</i>	5	Towgood, Matt. <i>Stock Exchange</i>	5	Walker, Jofa. esq. <i>Clifton, near Ditto</i>	5
Taylor, Walter, esq. <i>Southampton</i>	1	Towle, Jof. <i>Borough High st.</i>	10	Walker, Rich. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	5
Taylor, Wm. esq. <i>Greenwich</i>	3	Townsend, Rich. 18. <i>Fenchurch st.</i>	1	Walker, Rich. <i>at Mr. Willis's, Borough</i>	1
Taylor, Wm. jun. <i>Norwich</i>	3	Townley, Jas. esq. <i>Doctors Commons</i>	3	Walker, Rob. <i>Labour in vain hill</i>	5
Templeman, Mrs. Cather. <i>Size l.</i>	1	Townsend, Edw. 47. <i>Lime st.</i>	1	Walker, Sam. esq. <i>Marlborough, near Rotherham</i>	4
Templeman, Thomas, <i>Ditto</i>	10	Trigge, Capt. Jo. <i>Bath</i>	1	Walker, Tho. <i>Holmes, near Ditto</i>	2
Terrington, John, <i>Hull</i>	1	Trimbey, Jo. esq. <i>Queen st. Cheap.</i>	10	Walker, Tho. esq. <i>Redland, Bristol</i>	2
Terrington, Wm. <i>Newington Butts</i>	2	Trimmer, Jas. <i>Botolph lane</i>	10	Walker, Tho. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	5
Terry, Rich. <i>Hull</i>	1	Tritton, Jo. Hinton, esq. <i>Lombard st.</i>	1	Walker, Wm. <i>Gravel l. Houndsditch</i>	3
Thefegar, Augustus, <i>General Post Office</i>	3	Trump, Tho. <i>Paradise st. Rotherham</i>	1	Walker, Wm. <i>Upper Charlotte st. Portland place</i>	3
Thompson, Achiefon, esq. <i>Newry, Ireland</i>	4	Trye, Ch. Brandon, <i>Gloucester</i>	3	Wallis, Peter, <i>Trump st.</i>	1
Thompson, Jas. <i>Dyers buildings, Hol.</i>	1	Tucker, Tho. 20. <i>Somerset st. Whitechapel</i>	1	Walrond, Miss Eliz. <i>Fryer, Exeter</i>	2
Thompson, Jo. esq. <i>Croydon, Surry</i>	1	Tuffen, Jo. <i>Furnell, Lower Thames st.</i>	1	Walsh, Francis, <i>Bank of England</i>	1
Thompson, Isaac, <i>Crofs lane, St. Mary's hill</i>	2	Tulk, Jo. Aug. esq. <i>Sloan st. Knightbridge</i>	2	Walton, Jo. <i>Church l. Whitechapel</i>	1
Thompson, Isaac, jun. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Tupper, Jo. <i>Elitha, Guernsey</i>	2	Walton, Pearson, <i>St. Mary Axe</i>	1
Thompson, Rev. <i>Clapham</i>	1	Turnbull, Jo. esq. <i>Devonshire sq.</i>	2	Walton, Will. <i>Deputy Accountant Bank</i>	1
Thompson, Tho. esq. <i>Hull</i>	1	Turner, Rev. Baptist Noel, <i>Den-ton, Lincolnshire</i>	2	Wanley, Geo. <i>Warminster</i>	1
Thompson, Wm. <i>Leeds</i>	5	Turner, Dorothy, <i>Limehouse</i>	1	Ward, Archer, <i>at Mess. Walkers, Maltby and Co.</i>	3
Thompson, Wm. <i>Hull, Yorkshire</i>	1			Ward,	
Thomson, Wm. esq. <i>Birds buildings, Islington</i>	1				

Ward, Hen. Wm. <i>Bishopsgate within</i>	2	Whitlaw, Hugh, <i>Castle st.</i>	1	Wilson, Tho. <i>Broad st.</i>	3
Ware, Jas. esq. <i>Bridge st. Blackfriars</i>	2	Whitacre, John, <i>Woodhouse, near</i>	1	Wilson, Tho. esq. <i>Gower st.</i>	3
Waring, Jof. <i>Lambeth</i>	1	<i>Huddersfield</i>	2	Wilson, Tho. jun. <i>Wood st.</i>	3
Waring, Sam. esq. <i>Gloucester</i>	2	Whitaker, Miss Ann, <i>Loughton</i>	2	Wilson, Wm. <i>Goldsmith st.</i>	5
Warne, Jas. <i>Southwark</i>	3	<i>ball, Essex</i>	2	Wilson, Will. esq. <i>Clapton</i>	2
Warne, Jas. jun. <i>Ditto</i>	2	Whitaker, David, <i>Hackney</i>	1	Wilson, Will. esq. <i>Minories</i>	3
Warner, Jo. <i>Fleet st.</i>	2	Whitbread, S. esq. <i>M. P. Portman sq.</i>	20	Wilson, Wm. jun. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Warner, Rev. Dr. Jo. <i>Rector of</i>		White, Henry, <i>Wood st.</i>	5	Wilson, William, jun. <i>Hoxton sq.</i>	1
<i>Stourton, Wilts.</i>	1	White, Lawrence, <i>Fish st. hill</i>	1	Wiltshire, Geo. <i>Paulry</i>	2
Warner, Rich. <i>Little Wigston, Leic.</i>	1	White, Rich. <i>124, Wood st.</i>	1	Windeatt, Sam. <i>Milford, Bridge</i>	
Warren, Rev. Erasmus, <i>Bolton</i>		White, Dr. Step. <i>Foundling Hospital</i>	5	<i>town, Tynes</i>	2
<i>row, Piccadilly</i>	2	White, Wm. <i>Bulham</i>	4	Winter, Ben. <i>Leeds</i>	
Warren, Geo. <i>Warminster</i>	1	Whitehead, Jo. esq. <i>Basinghall st.</i>	2	Winter, Sam. jun. <i>Ditto</i>	1
Warren, Peter, <i>Ditto</i>	1	Whitelock, Wm. <i>Leeds</i>	1	Withaw, Jo. <i>Castle st. Holborn</i>	1
Warren, Mrs. Mary Domet, <i>Great</i>		Whiting, Mat. esq. <i>Ratcliff cross</i>	2	Witte, Ludewig, <i>Wells st.</i>	2
<i>Ruffel st. Bloomsbury</i>	3	Whitaker, Mrs. Penelope, <i>Man-</i>	3	Witton, Matthew, <i>63, Chiswell st.</i>	2
Warren, Sam. <i>Ditto</i>	3	<i>chester sq.</i>	3	Wils, Broome, P. <i>44, Friday st.</i>	1
Warriner, Geo. <i>New Bond st.</i>	1	Whittaker, Miss Ann, <i>Loughton</i>	9	Wolff, Ernest F. esq. <i>American sq.</i>	3
Wathen, Jona. esq. <i>Walbrook</i>	3	<i>ball, Essex</i>	9	Wolff, Geo. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	15
Watkinson, Sam. <i>Lavenham, Suff.</i>	2	Whittenbury, Jo. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	2	Wolff, Jens. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	3
Watson, Miss Ann, <i>Whitchurch,</i>		Whitty, Mrs. Sarah, <i>Lyme Regis,</i>	1	Wolff, Miss Maria Ann, <i>Ditto</i>	3
<i>Shropsh.</i>	1	<i>Dorsetshire</i>	1	Wallaston, Rev. Fr. Jo. Hyde,	
Watson, Christoph. <i>Great Tower st.</i>	1	Wicke, Geo. <i>Church l. Whitechap.</i>	1	<i>Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge</i>	2
Watson, Geo. <i>Sexlingham, Norwich</i>	2	Wickens, Reh. Aaron, <i>Great Dun-</i>	2	Wallaston, John, <i>Holborn bridge</i>	2
Watson, G. esq. <i>Whitchurch, Shrop.</i>	1	<i>more, Essex</i>	2	Wontmer, John, <i>Minories</i>	1
Watson, Jacob Kruger, <i>Little Dif-</i>		Wilberforce, Will. esq. <i>M. P.</i>	10	Wood, Sir Francis, <i>Bart. Lower</i>	
<i>staff lane</i>	1	<i>Old Palace yard</i>	10	<i>Grosvenor st.</i>	12
Watson, Jo. esq. <i>Mincing lane</i>	3	Wilcocks, Wm. esq. <i>Norwich</i>	1	Wood, Henry, <i>Leicester</i>	1
Watson, Jo. <i>St. Giles, Norwich</i>	3	Wild, John, <i>Queen st. Southwark</i>	4	Wood, John, <i>North Cave, Hull</i>	3
Watson, Jofa. <i>Mincing lane</i>	1	Wild, Rich. <i>Bishopsgate st.</i>	3	Wood, Rev. Will. <i>Market Bof-</i>	
Watts, David Pike, <i>Minories</i>	1	Wilding, Rev. R. <i>Allstretton, Shrop.</i>	2	<i>worth, Leicestersh.</i>	1
Watts, Jo. esq. <i>General Post Office</i>	1	Wilkinson, Geo. <i>Dublin</i>	1	Woodall, Miss Eliz. <i>Scarborough</i>	1
Waugh, Jof. esq. <i>Downgate hill</i>	1	Wilkinson, Rev. Jas. <i>Sheffield</i>	2	Woodhouse, Jas. <i>Croft lane, Str.</i>	
Weaver, Francis, <i>Bathwick</i>	2	Wilkinson, Miss Rebec. <i>Clapham</i>	2	<i>Dunstons bill</i>	3
Webb, Jof. 8, <i>Staining lane</i>	1	Wilkinson, Mrs. Rebecca, <i>Prescot</i>	1	Worley, Jofia. <i>Cheapside</i>	1
Webber, Dorothy, <i>Burrow Build-</i>		<i>st. Goodmans fields</i>	1	Wray, Sir Cecil, <i>Bart. Pall mall</i>	1
<i>ings, Blackfriars road</i>	1	Williams, Jo. esq. <i>Viñualling Office</i>	2	Wrench, Jacob, <i>Lower Thames st.</i>	1
Webber, Jas. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	1	Williams, Rev. J. <i>Eridewell, Devon.</i>	1	Wrench, J. G. <i>Lower Thames st.</i>	1
Webber, Major Jas. 62, <i>Welbeck st.</i>	5	Williams, John, 26, <i>Bread street</i>	1	Wright, Alex. esq. <i>Eltham, Kent</i>	1
Webster, Jude, <i>Spread Eagle Inn,</i>		Williams, Jo. 19, <i>Arlington st.</i>	1	Wright, Dan. <i>Bristol</i>	2
<i>Gracechurch st.</i>	2	Williams, Jo. Casely, <i>Exeter</i>	2	Wright, Jo. esq. <i>Nottingham</i>	5
Wedgewood, Jo. esq. <i>Esstruria,</i>		Williams, Stephen, <i>Poultry</i>	5	Wright, John Maud, <i>Wc leclof sq.</i>	5
<i>Stafford st.</i>	2	Williams, T. esq. <i>M. P. Adelphi</i>	1	Wright, Will. <i>Goodmans fields</i>	1
Wedgewood, Jof. jun. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	6	Williamson, Joshua, <i>Botolph l.</i>	1	Wroe, Mrs. Ann, <i>Macclesfield,</i>	
Wedgewood, Tho. esq. <i>Ditto</i>	5	Williamson, Mat. <i>Bridlington Key</i>	2	<i>Chester</i>	1
Wedgwood, Jof. <i>Greek st. Sobo</i>	1	Willington, Jas. <i>Philpot lane</i>	10	Wroughton, William, esq. <i>Hadley,</i>	
Weed, Sam. <i>Greenwich</i>	1	Willington, Jo. esq. <i>Kings Bench</i>	1	<i>Middlesex</i>	3
Welch, Sam. <i>Custom house</i>	3	<i>Walk, Temple</i>	1	Wyatt, Rob. <i>Coleman st.</i>	2
Wellford, Jo. <i>Lad lane</i>	3	Willis, James, <i>East India House</i>	1	Wyvill, Rev. Christopher, <i>Burton</i>	
Wells, Jos. esq. <i>Clapham</i>	2	Willis, John, esq. <i>Dulwich</i>	3	<i>ball, Yorkshire</i>	2
Wells, Peter, esq. <i>Adelphi</i>	2	Wilmhurst, Rev. S. <i>Malden, Essex</i>	1	Y.	
Welsford, Jo. <i>Creditor, Devonshire</i>	1	Wilson, Benj. <i>Moorfields</i>	1	Yardley, Samuel, <i>Shrewsbury</i>	1
West, Jas. esq. <i>Clapham</i>	3	Wilson, Francis, esq. <i>Navy Office</i>	10	Yarker, John, esq. <i>Devonshire st.</i>	
Weston, Tho. <i>Clay hill, Enfield</i>	5	Wilson, Geo. esq. <i>Lincolns Inn</i>	1	<i>Queen sq.</i>	1
Whalley, Daniel, esq. <i>Minories</i>	1	Wilson, Mrs. Jane, <i>Bucklersbury</i>	1	Yates, Rev. Jo. <i>Toxteth Park, Liv.</i>	2
Whalley, Rev. Palmer, <i>Edon,</i>		Wilson, Jo. <i>Goldsmith st.</i>	5	Yerbury, John, jun. <i>Gracechurch st.</i>	1
<i>Northampton sh.</i>	5	Wilson, Jof. <i>Milk st.</i>	3	Young, Sir Geo. <i>Great Ruffel st.</i>	
Whalley, Tho. <i>Friday st.</i>	2	Wilson, Miss Mary, <i>Highbury pl.</i>	3	<i>Bloomsbury</i>	5
Watley, Wm. <i>Oxford c. Cannon st.</i>	1	Wilson, Stephen, <i>Bucklersbury</i>	1	Young, Joshua, 51, <i>New stairs,</i>	
Whately, Rev. Geo. <i>Kemble,</i>		Wilson, Stephen, <i>Church court,</i>	3	<i>Rotherhithe</i>	1
<i>Hones Green, near Oakingham</i>	10	<i>Spitalfields</i>	3	Young, Will. <i>Harley st.</i>	3

APPENDIX.

The following Resolutions, show what laudable care the original subscribers took to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into the Company. But their humane intention could not be executed, on account of the impossibility of obliging persons who would afterwards become possessed of shares, as heirs, &c. to dispose of them in a manner suitable to the original plan. Besides the unemployed part of the Company's capital could scarcely be expected to be always adequate to the purchase of the shares, which would thus be continually falling in, and for which it would not at all times be easy to find proper purchasers. But it is submitted, Whether this difficulty might not have been avoided, if every subscriber, in case of his death, &c. had vested the right of disposing of his shares in the remaining original subscribers, who might have been empowered to exercise that right, as long as a certain number of them, (say) should remain. And in all probability, the object of the institution would have been secured, long before the original subscribers would have been reduced to so small a number. (See § 606, Art. 1. Plan.)

1026. (Abridgment).—At a General Court, held at the King's Head Tavern in the Poultry, on Wednesday, 30th November, 1791.—Read a Report of the Court of Directors, proposing that, from the increase of the Company's affairs, many Proprietors with the sum of £50,000 to be added to the Company's capital.

RESOLVED,

£50,000 to
be raised.

(1.) That not less than £50,000 be added to the £100,000, voted at the last court.

(2.) That every subscription be paid at one payment, within a month after the date of a circular letter, from the Directors, calling for the same.

How subscri-
bers are to be
recommended,

(3.) That every Proprietor of a share, be at liberty to recommend, in person at this Meeting, or by letter to the Secretary, on or before Dec. 13th, Proprietors for his proportion of the new shares; *he declaring the person he recommends to be well affected to the Company's objects*, and to intend holding his shares, on his own account.

[N. B. Every Proprietor of a share may recommend for nineteen new shares in the whole.]

and balloted
for.

(4.) That the new Proprietors recommended shall be balloted for on the 20th Dec. at a ballot to be kept open from 12 to 5 o'clock; and that agreeable to a resolution of the last General Court, *one third* of the balloters shall exclude.

(5.) That the right of recommending new Proprietors for the deficiency remaining after the 13th Dec. shall be divided equally among the present Proprietors, who shall be informed, by letter, of his farther share of recommendations.

(6.) That every Proprietor fill up this his farther share of recommendations by a letter to the Secretary, on or before the 1st of Feb. and that a farther ballot, of new Proprietors, shall be taken the 8th of Feb.

(7.) That so much of the £150,000 as shall not be filled up on the 1st of Feb. may be filled up by the existing Proprietors, either by their taking additional shares on their own account, or by their recommending new Proprietors, until the whole deficiency be supplied.

APPENDIX.
Proprietors
to recommend
Subscribers,

(8.) That, in case the capital should be increased beyond £150,000, the right of taking additional shares shall be distributed as equally as possible among the then Proprietors, in proportion to their shares; and, if any of them shall decline taking the shares due to them, the right of recommendation shall be distributed among them on the same principle of equality.

according to
their shares.

(9.) That the annexed letter be the future form of recommending new members, viz.—“ I beg to recommend A. B. of for Shares, and C. D. of for Shares, in the stock of the Sierra Leona Company, *believing they are well affected to the objects for which the Company is established*; and that they take the said stock on their own account.

Form of re-
commenda-
tion.

Abridgment of the Act of Parliament, incorporating the Sierra Leona Company. 1790.

1027. THE Preamble states, *inter alia*, that a commercial intercourse with the interior countries of Africa, would be highly beneficial to the manufactories of Great Britain; that those interior countries have not yet been explored by Europeans; that such undertakings require a considerable capital joint stock; that the parties should be possessed of some district on the coast, where they may securely deposit their property; that a society has been already formed, and considerable sums subscribed; but that they are apprehensive of legal difficulties in recovering debts, &c. unless they are regularly incorporated: it is therefore enacted that the subscribers (who are enumerated in the act) and those who may become such, be incorporated under the name of the S. Leona Company, and have a common seal.

II. The Company may purchase lands, not exceeding the annual value of £2000, and may also sell the same.

III. The Company may raise a joint stock, not exceeding £500,000 by subscriptions from members of the Company or other persons, in shares of £50 each.

IV. Subscribers to have an interest in the capital joint stock, according to the amount of their subscriptions; and to be responsible to the Company's creditors, to that amount, but not farther. See § 373.

V. The Company not to borrow money, except by a subscription for shares.

VI. The Company not to deal in or have slaves.

APPENDIX.

VII. Thirteen persons to be chosen by the members, from among themselves, to be called a Court of Directors, to manage the Company's affairs.

VIII. The first election of Directors to be made in July, 1791; and every subsequent election shall be made between the 1st of Jan. and the 1st of April yearly; and they shall continue Directors till their successors be sworn into office.

IX. Fourteen days' notice of the time of chusing Directors, to be published in the London Gazette.

X. The Directors, at their first Meeting, to chuse out of their own number a chairman and a deputy chairman, who shall continue in office, till the succeeding Directors be sworn in.

XI. In case of the death, or other avoidance of office, of any of the Directors, on 14 days' notice in the London Gazette, the members of the Company to meet, and chuse a successor or successors, who shall continue in office, till the succeeding Directors be sworn in.

XII. The same rule, *mutatis mutandis*, to be observed by the Directors, in chusing a chairman or deputy chairman, in case of death, &c.

XIII. Elections and business in General Courts, to be determined by the majority of votes.

XIV. Members of the Company, in General Courts, to have votes, according to the number of their shares, namely, 1 or 2 shares entitles a member to 1 vote; 3 or 4 shares to 2 votes; 5, 6, or 7 shares, to 3 votes; 8 or 9 shares to 4 votes; 10 or more shares to 5 votes, and no member shall give more than 5 votes.

XV. Directors to take an oath to give their best advice and assistance in the concerns of the Company, and to demean themselves faithfully and honestly in their office.

XVI. No person to have a vote in the election of Directors, or making of by-laws, but proprietors in their own right, and not in trust.

XVII. Where joint proprietors hold a share or shares, the person whose name stands first in the Company's books, shall vote.

XVIII. Quakers to make solemn affirmations instead of the oaths required.

XIX. No person to be chosen a Director, unless possessed, in his own right, of one share at least in the said capital joint stock.

XX. Every Director to take an oath that he possesses, in his own right, one share at least.

XXI. Oaths to be taken by Directors, to be administered by the Lord Mayor, or any Alderman of London, or by any two or more Directors who shall have been first sworn.

XXII. In case any person chosen Director, refuse or neglect to qualify or take the office, a new election to be made.

XXIII. Court of Directors, or the majority, (the Chairman or deputy Chairman being always one) may meet when, and where convenient, may summon General

Courts when they see cause; and, in all cases not provided for by this act, or by the bye-laws agreed upon by the General Court, they may act as they think meet.

XXIV. Directors may appoint Subcommittees to transact business.

XXV. The Secretary to be chosen by the Court of Directors, to receive notice of his election, and to take an oath of fidelity to the Company, which is to be administered by the Directors.

XXVI. Notice to be given to persons appointed agents or servants to the Company.

XXVII. Directors to administer to agents or servants, an oath of fidelity to the Company.

XXVIII. Secretary, agent, or servant, neglecting or refusing, for 40 days after receiving notice, to take the oath, vacates his office.

XXIX. Members of the Company may meet at any convenient time and place, to chuse Directors, make bye-laws, &c. Such Meeting (the Chairman or deputy Chairman to be always one, except in cases hereafter mentioned) shall be called a General Court of the Company.

XXX. One General Court in a Year at the least to be called, by the Court of Directors.

XXXI. In cases of failure to call them by the Court of Directors, any 5 of their successors may call a General Court in the month of May next ensuing.

XXXII. On a written requisition from any 9 or more members, at any time, the Directors shall call a General Court, within 20 days. In case of refusal, the said 9 or more members, on 14 days' notice in the London Gazette, may summon a General Meeting, and appoint one of themselves chairman, and may hear any complaint against any Director or Directors. In case he or they shall not clear him or themselves, then, within 20 days, (notice being published as aforesaid) another General Court shall meet and determine the matter, and may remove such Director or Directors, and elect one or more Directors in his or their place.

XXXIII. The General Meeting may make bye-laws and inflict penalties, so that the same be not repugnant to the laws of the realm. The penalties to be applied to the use of the Company.

XXXIV. First General Court to be held in July, 1791.

XXXV. Chairman to have the casting vote, when the number of votes is equal, either in a General Court, or in a Court of Directors.

XXXVI. A Court of Directors, to be held at least every month; and, if the Chairman or deputy Chairman neglect or refuse to call such Court, then 5 or more Directors, on reasonable notice in the London Gazette, may summon the said Court.

XXXVII. The Chairman or deputy Chairman, within 2 hours after the Meeting of the Directors, sending notice of their inability to attend, the other Members may proceed to business without them.

XXXVIII. Books by the name of "The Ledger of the Capital Joint Stock of the Sierra Leona Company," and "The Transfer-book of the Sierra Leona Company,"

APPENDIX. pany," to be kept, sworn to by the accomptant, if required ; and, from time to time, to lie open for inspection.

XXXIX. Shares to be transferable by an entry in the transfer-book, signed by the party, to this effect.

I *A. B.* do transfer and assign unto *C. D.* his executors, administrators, and Assigns, my Share or Shares [*as the case may be*] in the Capital Joint Stock of the *Sierra Leona Company*, and all benefit arising therefrom. Witness my hand, this _____ Day of _____ in the Year of our Lord

Or, by his attorney, to this effect

I *A. B.* by virtue of a Letter of Attorney from *C. D.* dated the Day of in
Year of our Lord do in the name and on the behalf of the said *C. D.*
transfer and assign unto *E. F.* his executors, administrators, and assigns, the
Share or Shares of the said *C. D.* in the Capital Joint Stock of the *Sierra Leona Com-*
pany, and all benefit arising therefrom. Witnefs my Hand, the Day of
in the Year of our Lord

XL. No person to claim as executor, administrator, or devisee, without producing the probate or letters of administration, of which a memorandum must be entered in the transfer-book, which shall lie open for inspection, without fee.

XLI. For preventing doubts with respect to the credit of the Company, an account of their debts, credits, and capital, signed by the Chairman, deputy Chairman and 5 other Directors, shall be published in the London Gazette in April, every year.

XLII. The Directors to appoint officers and servants, continue them while they think fit, and establish their salaries.

XLIII. Shares in the Capital Joint Stock to be deemed personal estate.

XLIV. His Majesty empowered to grant, and the Company to hold, the exclusive right of such part of the *Peninsula of Sierra Leona*, as may be vested in His Majesty, by grant or purchase from the native kings; and the Company empowered to purchase, if they think fit, the rest of that peninsula, from the native kings, &c.

XLV. The ships of the African merchants, may, as heretofore, anchor in Sierra Leona and Camaranca rivers, may build temporary tents and huts on shore, and may purchase from the natives, ivory, wax, camwood, and provisions, fire-wood and water, without any new charge.

XLVI. Proceedings, in pursuance of this act, not to be quashed or vacated for want of form.

XLVII. Actions for things done in pursuance of this act, to be brought within 6 months after the fact. The defendant may plead the general issue, and give this act in evidence, and then the jury shall find for the defendant, or the Court of Session in Scotland shall dismiss the suit, and the defendant have treble costs.

XLVIII. The duration of this act, and consequently of the Sierra Leona Company, limited to 31 years from the first day of July, 1791.

XLIX. This act to be deemed a public act.

LIST

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL SUBSCRIBERS TO THE ASSOCIATION FORMED IN 1792, FOR CULTIVATING THE ISLAND OF BULAMA; AND BY THAT MEANS PROMOTING THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.

This subscription was raised in London and Manchester, upon lands to be purchased, from the native chiefs of the Island of Bulama, and the adjacent parts of the continent. *Absentee Subscribers* paid £60 per 500 acres, and *Colonist Subscribers* £30 per 500 acres:—8680 acres were to be given *gratis* to the governor and the other officers who were to conduct the first expedition.

The figures annexed to the names denote the number of acres subscribed for.

The names marked with asterisks come under the Manchester subscription.

Absentee Subscribers or Purchasers of Land.

* Afzelius, Dr. Adam, <i>Upsal, Sweden</i>	500	Duppa, Mrs. Sarah,	250
* Alfop, George, <i>Manchester</i>	250	* Edensor, John, <i>Manchester</i>	250
* Baker, Thomas, <i>esq. Ditto</i>	500	* Edensor, Wm. Johnson, <i>Ditto</i>	500
Banbury, W. <i>esq. 166, Bishopgate without</i>	125	Elkins, Randolph,	250
* Barton, Henry, <i>Manchester</i>	500	Etheridge, John, <i>sen. Hoxton</i>	125
* Bateman, Thomas, <i>Ditto</i>	500	Etheridge, John, <i>jun. Ditto</i>	125
* Berry, Jeremiah, <i>Stockport</i>	500	* Fielding, John, <i>Manchester</i>	250
* Binns, Joshua, <i>Manchester</i>	250	Fletcher, Henry, <i>184, Wapping</i>	250
* Birch, So. <i>Ditto</i>	500	* Fogg, Ralph, <i>Manchester</i>	500
* Birch, Scholes, <i>Ditto</i>	500	* Fogg, Thomas S. <i>Ditto</i>	250
Blew, Wm. <i>High Lords Court, Crutched Fryars</i>	250	Frogley, Bartho. <i>esq. 28, Winchester st.</i>	125
* Broadhurst, John, <i>Manchester</i>	500	* Gee, Robert, <i>Stockport</i>	500
Campbell, Heft. 12, <i>Newcastle st. Strand</i>	250	Gibbens, John, 3, <i>City Road</i>	125
Cock, Ambrose Hinde, 65, <i>L. Shadwell</i>	250	Goodwin, Dav. 65, <i>Lower Shadwell</i>	125
* Collin, John, <i>Stockport</i>	500	Goring, Charles,	500
* Cooper, Thomas, <i>esq. Manchester</i>	500	Gratton, Thomas, <i>Norton Falgate</i>	250
* Cooper, William, <i>Leeds</i>	250	* Hanson, Joseph, <i>Manchester</i>	500
Coffett, William, <i>esq.</i>	500	Harrison, Wm. <i>esq. Bread st.</i>	500
Cotton, Jos. <i>Exchequer, Chigwell, Essex</i>	125	Hartwell, Geo. <i>esq. Navy Office</i>	2000
Denham, Thomas,	500	Hayne, Wm. 3, <i>Broadway, Blackfriars</i>	250
Dickenfon, S. 31, <i>Stanhope st. Clare Mar.</i>	250	* Heywood, Geo. <i>Manchester</i>	500
Dickenfon, Thomas,	250	* Hilton, Thomas, <i>Ditto</i>	500
* Dodgson, J. <i>Manchester</i>	250	Hopkins, Joshua, <i>esq. Elder st. Norton Falgate</i>	125
Douglas, Hon. Dunbar, <i>at Courts Trotter's, Somerset place</i>	1000	* Inkerfole, Joseph, <i>Leicester</i>	250
* Doxon, James, <i>Manchester</i>	1250	* Jackson, John, <i>Manchester</i>	500
* Dunderdale, David, <i>Leeds</i>	500	* Jackson, John, <i>Leicester</i>	500
		* Johansen, Andrew, <i>Ystad, in Sweden</i>	250
		* Jowett,	

*Jowett, Benj. <i>Leeds</i>	500	Secretan, Fred. Sam. esq. 6, <i>Walbrook</i>	250
*Kay, Benj. and Sons, <i>Ditto</i>	500	Sherwood, John, 76, <i>Drury lane</i>	125
*Kay, Benj. junr. <i>Ditto</i>	500	*Sidgreaves, Ja. <i>Manchester</i>	250
Keyfer, Asfur and Cohan, Sam. <i>Berwis</i>		*Slater, William, <i>Ditto</i>	250
<i>Markt, St. Mary Axe</i>	500	Smith, Nathan. <i>Knightbridge</i>	500
Kirkpatrick, J. S. esq. 14, <i>Johnst. Adelp.</i>	1250	Sneyd, Tho. 18, <i>Hertford st. May fair</i>	250
Langdale, Ja. 16, <i>Tabernacle row</i>	125	Sneyd, Ralph, <i>Ditto</i>	250
Le Mesurier, Paul, esq. M. P. <i>Walbrook</i>	1750	*Sotheby John, <i>Manchester</i>	125
Locke, John, <i>Fifth street bill</i>	250	*Stanley, Charles, <i>Ditto</i>	250
Loufada, Em. Barah, jun. esq. 36, <i>Perry</i>		*Stopford, Miss Jane, <i>Stockport</i>	250
<i>st. Ratbone place</i>	250	*Sykes, William, <i>Manchester</i>	500
*Lupton, Jonathan, <i>Leeds</i>	250	Symcoe, John, 15, <i>Oakley-street, Lam-</i>	
Lopes, M.	250	<i>beth, Surry</i>	250
Mangles, Ja. esq. 272, <i>Wapping</i>	250	Texeira, Abraham	250
Miller, Sir J. Riggs, Bart.	1750	Tulk, John, Aug. 21, <i>Sloane-street,</i>	
*Mitchel, William, <i>Manchester</i>	500	<i>Knightbridge</i>	250
Mocatta, Jacob,	250	Vial, G. W. 58, <i>Wheeler-st. Spitalfields</i>	125
Montefiora, Sam. Vita, <i>Manfell st. Good-</i>		*Wadstrom, Mrs. Ulrica, <i>Manchester</i>	500
<i>mansfields</i>	250	Wainwright, Charles, St. <i>George's Turn-</i>	
Morgan, F. L.	250	<i>pike, E. st</i>	125
Mullens, Wm. 26, <i>Bartlets Buildings</i>	500	Walker, Joseph, esq. <i>Doctors' Commons</i>	250
Paiba, Roland, <i>Garraway's Coffee house</i>	125	Walker, Rev. Wm. 31, <i>Stanbope-street</i>	
Parker, Isaac, <i>Putney, Surry</i>	250	<i>Claremarket</i>	250
Pearce, Wm. 12, <i>Howland st.</i>	125	*Walker, Miss Charlotte, <i>Stockport</i>	250
Phillips, Isaac, 27, <i>City road</i>	125	*Wardle, James, <i>Manchester</i>	500
*Phillips, John, junr. <i>Manchester</i>	500	Watts, Ja. 16, <i>Tabernacle-row, City-road</i>	125
*Phillips, Robert, <i>Ditto</i>	1000	Webb, Samuel, 71, <i>Grub-street</i>	250
*Phillips, George, <i>Ditto</i>	1000	Webber, James, <i>Welbeck-street</i>	500
*Phillips, Thomas, and Co. <i>Ditto</i>	1000	*Webster, Robert, <i>Whitby</i>	500
*Phillips, Christopher, <i>Hallifax</i>	250	Whitewood, Peter, 2, <i>Old Burlington-st.</i>	250
*Preston, Thomas, <i>Manchester</i>	500	Wilfon, Giffin, esq. 10, <i>Lincoln's-inn,</i>	
Reed, Shakespeare,	250	<i>New-square</i>	250
*Rees, C. G. <i>Manchester</i>	250	Wilfon, Gloster, esq. <i>Ditto</i>	250
*Rees, P. L. <i>Ditto</i>	250	Wood, James, 21, <i>Old Compton-st. Sobo</i>	125
Reid, R. esq. at <i>Paul le Mesurier's, Walbr.</i>	250	Woodburn, Mrs. Jane, <i>Petersham, Surry</i>	250
*Roberts, Rich. esq. <i>Manchester</i>	500	Wootton, Jo. 12, <i>White's-al. Coleman-st.</i>	125
*Ross, Joseph, <i>Bristol</i>	250	*Worthington, Thomas, <i>Manchester</i>	250
Rickets, John,	250	Ximenes, Abr. <i>Garraway's Coffee-house</i>	125
*Salmon, Joshua, <i>Whittenham, Manchester</i>	250	Ximenes, Mos. esq. 30, <i>Upper Gorwer-st.</i>	1000
*Sanders, George, <i>Whitby</i>	500	Young, William, <i>Harley-street</i>	500
Scott, Dav. M. P. <i>Upper Harley st.</i>	1750		

*Colonist Subscribers to the Bulama Association, and who sailed
for that Island on the first Expedition, in 1792.*

Aberdeen, C. E.	250	Bayley, Nicholas,	500
*Afzelius, Dr. Adam, <i>Upsala, in Sweden</i>	500	Beaver, Philip, esq. <i>Lieut. in the Navy</i>	1000
Ahlelund, Adolph, <i>from Sweden</i>	500	Bostock, Robert C.	500
Ballard, William Edward,	250	Brodie, Francis,	2000
Banfield, William,	500	Burdet, Henry,	250
Bant, Mrs. Anna,	125	Clutterbuck, Peter,	1500
Bant, Miss Ann,	500	Curwood, John,	1000
Bant, Miss Elizabeth,	500	Curry, Abraham,	500
Bant, Miss Millefant,	500	Dobbin, Robert,	1000
		Drake	

Drake, Charles,	1500	Munden, John,	500	APPENDIX.
Donnelly, Francis,	500	Neild, Richard Cloudefley,	1250	
* Farrer, Timothy,	2000	* Nordenfkiold, August. Finland, Sweden	500	
Fielder and Butler,	1250	Ozanne, Thomas,	1000	
Finlay, Justice,	125	Paiba, John William,	500	
Flynn, Thomas,	1000	Paiba, John,	1000	
Ford, Richard,	500	Parny, Henry,	500	
Freeman, Joseph,	500	Pereira, Benjamin,	1000	
Gandell, John Strathern,	500	Pereira, Mordet,	500	
Hancorne, Richard,	500	Price, Dolphin,	500	
Harley, John,	500	Pullen, W.	125	
Halton, Sir W.	500	Reynolds, John,	2000	
Hood, John,	250	Robinson, Charles,	500	
Keyburn, George,	750	Seaton, R.	500	
King, John,	500	Sherwood, Charles,	500	
Lawless, John,	500	Smith, William,	625	
Longbotham, Bulkeley Thomas,	500	Sparks, Thomas,	250	
Mallefon, John Kennedy,	500	Squire, John,	250	
Marfack, Charles T.	1000	Ward, Richard Samuel,	250	
Metcalf, Hicks,	500	Webster, Robert,	1000	
Metcalf, William,	500	Wightman, Daniel,	250	
Montfiore, John,	500	Ximenes, Isaac,	750	
Morse, John,	250	Young, J.	500	

Lands granted gratis, before the Expedition failed.

Dakruple, H. H. esq. Governor	2000	Marlton, Benjamin, Surveyor	500
Bant, W. esq.	500	Rowe, John, Surgeon	500
Balled, J. Surgeon	500	Williams, Owen, Assistant Surgeon	500
Heriot, John, esq. Secretary	500	Young, J. esq.	500

S H I P S.

CALYPSO.		HANKEY.	
Stenzell, J. Captain	Acres 500	Cox, J. Captain	500
Stenzell, W. 1st Mate	200	Brixey, J. 1st Mate	200
Martin, M. 2d Ditto	100	Mackay, G. 2d Ditto	100
Jordan, A. Carpenter	100	Mitchel, J. Carpenter	100
Robson, W. Boatwain	100	Hardy, J. Boatwain	100
Bennet, J.	} Seamen, 40 acres each 360	Adams, W.	} Seamen, 40 acres each 320
Cormick, W.		Davis, R.	
Jefferson, P.		Davy, R.	
Johnson, J.		High, J.	
Millar, J.		Mosely, W.	
Paper, W.		Wilkinson, G.	
Porter, J.		Wood, C.	
Smith, G.		Woody, T.	
Wood, S.			
	1360		1320
Hankey's	1320	The above lists, respecting the Bulama expedition, were communicated to the author, by Mr. Mallefon, secretary to the association.	
Bizzar's Bennison, Cutter			
Bickhead, J. Captain	500		
	3180		

Errata in the above Lists.

Kirkpatrick, J. S. esq. read 2250 Acres.

Loufada, E. B. read 750 Acres.

APPENDIX.

*Journals and other MSS. left by the late Dr. H. Smeathman. (See § 331, note.)**
1029. When the concluding sheet of this work was about to be printed off, Mr.

Dr. S's MSS.
respecting
Africa.

Heathcote, a gentleman particularly acquainted with the late Dr. Smeathman, was so kind as to send the author a box containing a great number of the MSS. of that indefatigable and philosophical traveller.—Mr. Heathcote's friendship to the Doctor originated in an enlightened zeal for the best interests of mankind; and a peculiar desire to contribute to the civilization of Africa, has now induced this gentleman, to entrust the author with the papers of his deceased friend. But unfortunately they have come too late to be rendered of any material use to *the present publication*. A cursory view of these curious MSS. however, sufficiently shews, that many of them deserve to be published, on account of their intrinsic value.

Proofs of Dr.
S's ability,
and zeal.

1030. It is certain that so many speaking proofs of ability and indefatigable diligence, in the cause of humanity and useful knowledge, are not always to be met with among the posthumous papers of men, whose fame has yet been found a very profitable theme for fashionable panegyric. But the very misfortunes of poor Dr. S. and the uncomfortable circumstances in which he often pursued his researches, will enhance the value of his performances in the eyes of every friend to real merit.

Observations
on the ther-
mometer.

1031. In order to gratify some readers, the following observations on the Thermometer are inserted. They are extracted from one of the Doctor's Journals, kept at the Island of Bananas, where they were regularly taken down from the 19th of December 1772, till the 16th of January 1773.

at 6	in the morning	60½	the lowest, and	68	the highest	64½	<i>Average</i>
9	Ditto	65	Ditto	70	Ditto	68¾	Ditto
12	Noon	70	Ditto	77	Ditto	73¾	Ditto
3	Afternoon	71½	Ditto	77	Ditto	74¾	Ditto
6	Ditto	68	Ditto	73	Ditto	70½	Ditto
9	Ditto	66	Ditto	70	Ditto	68½	Ditto
12	Midnight	67	Ditto	68	Ditto	67½	Ditto
2	in the morning	67	Ditto	68	Ditto	67½	Ditto

There are several similar observations to be met with in different parts of his journals, but not having been made in a regular series of time, they cannot be arranged.

An interesting
MSS. respect-
ing coloniza-
tion.

1032. Among the MSS. of Dr. S. is one consisting of 86 pages large quarto, apparently drawn up with much judgement and experience, and which seems to be ready for the press. It is entitled, "*A Plan for a new and beneficial System of Commerce and Colonization, which may be established at a small Expence, on the Grain Coast of Africa, in a series of Letters to a friend, by H. S.*"

1033. There are also many detached MSS. respecting the preservation of health, and the removal of inconveniences attending warm climates, and various large and interesting journals, fragments of observations, &c.

1034. In short the ardour of Dr. S. in useful researches is abundantly verified by these valuable papers; and it would be a breach of candour and charity to doubt that his pursuits were directed, not by the sordid and mercantile spirit of the present age, but by the philanthropic sentiment, thus expressed in one of his MSS. "*If every man knew that his happiness depended on making others happy, all mankind would be so.*"

APPENDIX.

Anecdote respecting Dr. S's character.

The Author here subjoins the Print of the Medal he promised. (§ 331 note).

1035. Capt. I. Kendrick, of the Columbia, the first American vessel that visited the NW. coast of N. America, purchased from the Natives a beautiful and fertile tract 240 miles square.

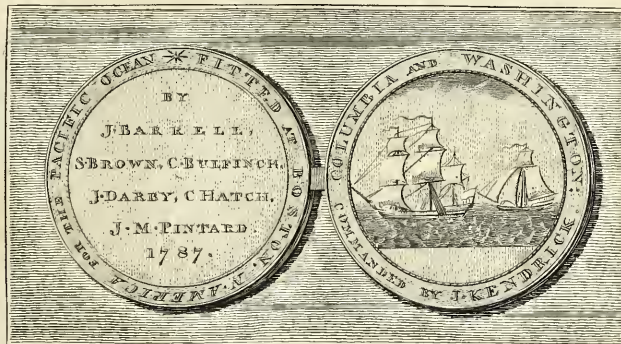
First vessel for discovery fitted out from N. America.

1036. It may perhaps not be improper to hint, that the easy conditions on which this valuable tract of land might be obtained, independent of all claims of jurisdiction from any nation whatever, ought to have its due weight with all those who may be inclined to form themselves into colonial associations, for *example* and *extending* any enterprize that may be beneficial to mankind, beyond the reach of mercantile influence, either according to the plan hinted at, § 604, 606, or any other that may be suggested.

purchase a fine tract of land fit for colonization.

1037. The author must not omit to observe, that the above interesting piece of information has been kindly communicated to him by the gentlemen, superintending the office for disposing of American lands, No. 24, Threadneedle street.

1038. Mr. A. Dalrymple's plan, and the plans pursued by the gentlemen concerned in the African civilization, tend to improve uncivilized nations; but to improve ourselves in a form of association in some sequestered part of the world, and thereby to arrive at the same end, appears to be of much greater importance.



C O N T E N T S

O F

P A R T T H E F I R S T.

Consisting of ten Chapters, nine of which treat on the Formation of Colonies, on PRINCIPLES of COMMERCE, combined with HUMANITY. The tenth Chap. contains some Account of the Colonies already formed in Africa, on PRINCIPLES of COMMERCE unconnected with HUMANITY.

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ADVERTISEMENT.—The author's reasons for his delay.—Recommends a periodical publication respecting Africa to all subscribers, &c.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE author is sorry to find himself under the necessity of finishing this second part, as he did the first, with some apology to the subscribers for the delay of it's publication, beyond the time proposed. One cause of this delay, was the unexpected increase of interesting matter which the reader will find, by looking into the Appendix, must have been excluded, had the work been published sooner. For some other valuable information he has waited, and he is sorry to add, too much in vain. He alludes particularly to the journal of Mr. Watt and Mr. Winterbottom, when they penetrated to the capital of the Foulahs, in 1794. The perusal of this important document was promised to the author by several of the Directors. But, he presumes, unavoidable causes have prevented them from favouring him with this communication. It's interesting nature, he hopes, will justify his waiting thus long; but the attention he owes to his respectable subscribers forbids him to wait any longer.

Having mentioned the communication of papers, he hopes he may be permitted to observe, that, from what he has understood, a monthly publication, containing all the intelligence received by the superintendants of colonial undertakings in Africa, in it's *original form and words*, would be extremely acceptable to many or most of the Proprietors; not to mention numbers of other persons who wish to extend their imperfect knowledge of Africa.

The increased size and expense of the work, will account for the increase of the price to *non-subscribers*. The sketch of the Sierra Leona harbour, published in the last report of the Directors, did not come into the author's hands, till he had had an engraving of it executed from other authorities. But considering that of the Directors as the most authentic, and having been favoured with some additional improvements, the author had the first engraving erased from the plate, and the present one substituted in it's place. This unforeseen expense, however, was trifling, compared with that of inserting a circumstantial abridgment of the 2d interesting, but unexpectedly voluminous, Report of the S. Leona Directors, together with the recent matter, and the notes therewith connected. In short, *non-subscribers* cannot be surprized at the increase of price to *them*, when they are informed that instead of 30 or 35 sheets of middle-sized print, the accession of unexpected, but important matter, has swelled the work to nearly 80 sheets, a great part printed with small types.

The increase of the work, while passing through the press, will not be supposed very favourable to that cool and cautious research which is so necessary to preclude

error,—

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error,—if indeed error *can* be precluded from *any* considerable work, filled with multifarious materials, depending entirely on human testimony, and on probable reasonings. It is hoped, therefore, that intelligent readers, who are always the most indulgent critics, will make a candid allowance for any mistakes which may not be noticed among the *errata*; especially as the author will thankfully receive any corrections, and will readily answer any questions, relating to this publication, if addressed to him, *post-paid*, at Darton and Harvey's, No. 55, Gracechurch-street.

N. B. Mr. John Clarkson, to whose generous breast cold reserve is a stranger, has kindly favoured the author with 6 different views of S. Leona, viz.

1. View of Free Town in the River of Serra Liôa
2. View of Granville Bay and part of the Town.
3. View of King Naimbannas Town in the Island of Robanna.
4. S. W. View of the Hospital on Savoy Point.
5. View of the English Slave Factory on Bense Island, taken from the Island of Taffa.
6. View of the French Slave Factory at Gambia Island.

Those views do great credit to the ingenuity of Mr. J. Becket, who drew them on the spot. Had the author received them in time, he is not sure that the expense would have prevented him from embellishing his work with them. But, at present he can only offer them to the public, engraved by subscription, at one guinea and a half, for the six. And, in order that the public may be able to judge whether the views are worthy of attention, they are left for inspection with Mr. Edwards, Bookseller, in Pallmall, where subscriptions are received. Should the number of subscriptions prove sufficient to defray the expense, the drawings will be immediately put into the hands of a very able artist.

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Williamson, Johan, esq. *Ditto* 1

Willis, esq. *Consul General of Africa, Devonshire st. Portland place* 1

Witfoth, esq. *Russian Con. Gen. at Bourdeaux* 1

Wohlfart, Berndt, esq. *Gottenburg* 1

Wolff, Geo. esq. *one of the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, and Danish Consul General, American square* 2

Wolff, Ernst, esq. *a native of Denmark, American-square* 1

X.

Ximenes, Moses, esq. *one of the Trustees to the Bulama Association, Upper Gorwer st.* 1

Y.

Young, Sir Geo. *Admiral, Great Russell st.* 1

Z.

Zimmerman, E. A. G. *Professor, Brunschwig* 1

NB. As several lists of subscribers, especially those from abroad, are not yet returned, and the work, in other respects being ready for delivery, the Author does not think himself at liberty to delay the publication any longer. It is hoped that this circumstance will serve as a general apology to those subscribers, at a distance from London, who may not find their names inserted in the above list.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

N. B. The Figures refer to the Paragraphs and Lines.

- § 4 line 11 read East and West Indies.
 § 5 line 6 note, read though homeward bound ships from Jamaica, &c. are furthered in their transit by the gulph stream.
 § 15 The following note should have been added, viz. "It is a fact no less surprising than certain," says Dr. Forster, "that the more we examine the history of *almost every nation*, the more we find this custom, (*cannibalism*) prevalent in the first periods of their existence." Voy. round the World, Vol. II. p. 78. But I may very safely affirm, that this horrid practice does not exist in that part of Africa which I am now sketching.
 § 40 line 2 read, presents.
 § 42 line 2 dele in.
 ib. line 4 read the thermometer.
 § 57 line 14 read made by.
 § 135 line 16 dele is.
 § 142 Qu. XLVIII. read Do not, &c.
 § 143 line 2 read depend.
 § 150 line 7 dele a.
 § 172 line 16 dele the parenthetical marks.
 § 246 line 18 note, read that which he has seen in the E. Indies.
 § 280 line 3 This road was not finished till Feb. 12th, 1775.
 § 282 line 12 for at the head, read the referee
 § 331 line 12 read 1786.
 § 370 The note referred to should be Note K.
 § 418 line 25 read the greatest risk.
 § 443 line 8 read symptoms.
 § 447 line 16 read captivity.
 § 448 line 13 read having been previously promised.
 § 479 line 33 read a man of humanity.
 § 516 line 16 read the following.
 § 543 On Mr. Beaver's authority, the king's names are here spelt *Niobana, Matchore*.
 § 580 line 42 read kings of Canabac
 § 599 line 2 read Lieut. Col. von Rohrs.
 § 605 line 2 read the views of those gentlemen
 § 606 line 2 note to the 3d art. read unnatural, feudal classification.
 § 613 line 2 read in our journey.
 § 614 line 4 read on the coast.
 ib. line 10 read Malesherbes.
 § 618 Annex to the † note. See in the Appendix. Documents, &c. respecting the Swedish colonial Design, No. 7.
 § 647 line 2 read on those coasts.
 § 650 line 19 read will know.
 § 682 line 6 read bought.
 § 692 line 10 read the horror of the natives at the place.
 § 694 line 6 read Note AA.
 § 695 line 3 read domestics.
 ib. line 17 read Note B.
 § 703 read Note M. See § 377.
 § 710 line 3 read latter colony.
 § 715 line 24 read then rendered.
 § 725 line 24 read come.
 ib. line 11 read Note GG. § 936.
 § 744 line 3 dele which is called a cent piece.
 ib. line 4 dele or half-cent.
 ib. line 5 read the 10 cent piece.
 § 750 line 6 read I should be tempted, in so far, to prefer, &c.
 § 754 line 5 read should find means.
 ib. line 6 read would no longer be similar.
 § 760 line 27 After W. Indian artists, insert (for gins to separate the cotton from the seeds, may be sent out from Europe.)
 ib. line 5 note, read is reckoned by most writers
 § 761 note, read annually per acre.
 § 773 line 4 dele indeed
 ib. line 22 read by being left.
 § 774 line 32 read Hence also.
 ib. line 3 † note, dele and.
 § 784 line 4 read April, 1788.
 § 932 line 5 read Windmills.
 § 936 line 20 read medical men.
 § 973 read No. 1. See § 605, 609.

In the list of names of the S. Leona subscribers

read Affleck, Affleck, Mrs. Ann	read Jefferies, John esq. Gloucester	read Prideaux, John, Northampton
read Alleyne, Mrs. Ann	read Jocelyn, Mrs. Martha, Rumford	read Prideaux, Thomas, Ditto
read Bearcroft, Mrs. Judith	read Lea, Richard, Old Jewry	read Reeve, Joshua, Canterbury-square
read Beawan, W. H. Lincoln's-Inn	read Leech, John, Cornhill	read Smithers, H. Clink-st. Southwark
read Birckett, Daniel, 3 shares	read Nicholson, John, Philadelphia	read Spranger, Jo. Symond's Inn
read Blizard, Jo. 1 share	read Nicklin, James, Botoyph-lane	read Whatley, W. Oxford-c. Canaan-st
read Buthnan, Joseph, Guildhall	read Ninde, Benj. Great Prescot-st.	read White, Wm. Fulham
read Culmer, John, Plymouth	read Osgborn, R. Bishopgate-st within	read Wolff, Miss Martha Ann
read Evans, C. esq. Highgrove, &c.	read Pearlall, Nich. Kidderminster	read Worley, Isaac, Cheapside
read Jefferys, Tho. Cockspur-street	read Plumtre, Jo. Friedwille, Kent	read Wright, J. M. Wellclose sq. 1 share

The author perhaps should also note, as errata, the words *common people, better sort of people, &c.* in short, every expression which may have escaped him tending to exalt or depress the human species, from any consideration of outward circumstances; and, in so doing, he claims the indulgence due to a foreigner, who receives or picks up certain phrases without entirely entering into their full signification. The *better sort of people* are those who are frugal in their expenses, and conscientiously apply their time and possessions to the good of society, and it is to be regretted that the opposite character is *common*.

Directions to the Bookbinder.

All the plates to be placed at the end of the work, in the following order,

- Plate I. The Colonial House.
 - Plate II. The Harbour of Sierra Leona.
 - Plate III. The Island of Bulama.
 - Plate IV. The Buildings at Bulama.
 - Plate V. The Slave Ship.
 - Plate VI. The large Map.
 - Plate VII. is inserted below the Letter-press, at the end of the Second Part.
-

Persons who chuse to purchase the Plates coloured, either with or without the Work, may be supplied with them, by applying at DARTON and HARVEY'S, No. 55, Gracechurch-street.

EXPLANATION.

a. The ground on which the House is to be erected & which ought to be covered with a Coat of cement or mortar, to prevent the ascent of Vapours from the Earth.

b. A small trench which may be made all round the House through which water should be constantly running if the Situation admit of it, to prevent Ants & other Insects from entering the House.

c. Pillars on which the dwelling House should be raised to a proper elevation above the ground in order to give a free circulation of Air underneath, to carry off the Vapours. These pillars may be covered with bricks & plastered if found necessary.

d. A Fire Urn or grate from which the Smoke rises through the opening in the top of the Roof.

e. The Roof also double, like the floor, in order to give a free circulation to the Air & render the roof, & consequently the room, cool.

f. The Stairs to be wound up, in order to render the house a place of defence, in case of necessity, particularly in the night time.

g. Curtains to let down on the side the Sun enters, but moveable Venetian blinds are preferable.

h. A Gallery covered by the projecting roof of the house all round, in order to keep off the Sunshine.

To Mr. Johansen's Invention I have added an apparatus which I have seen frequently used in Germany for blowing their furnaces, in Situations where they have water-falls. But where that advantage is wanting, a sufficient quantity of water for cooling a House may easily be raised by a pump.

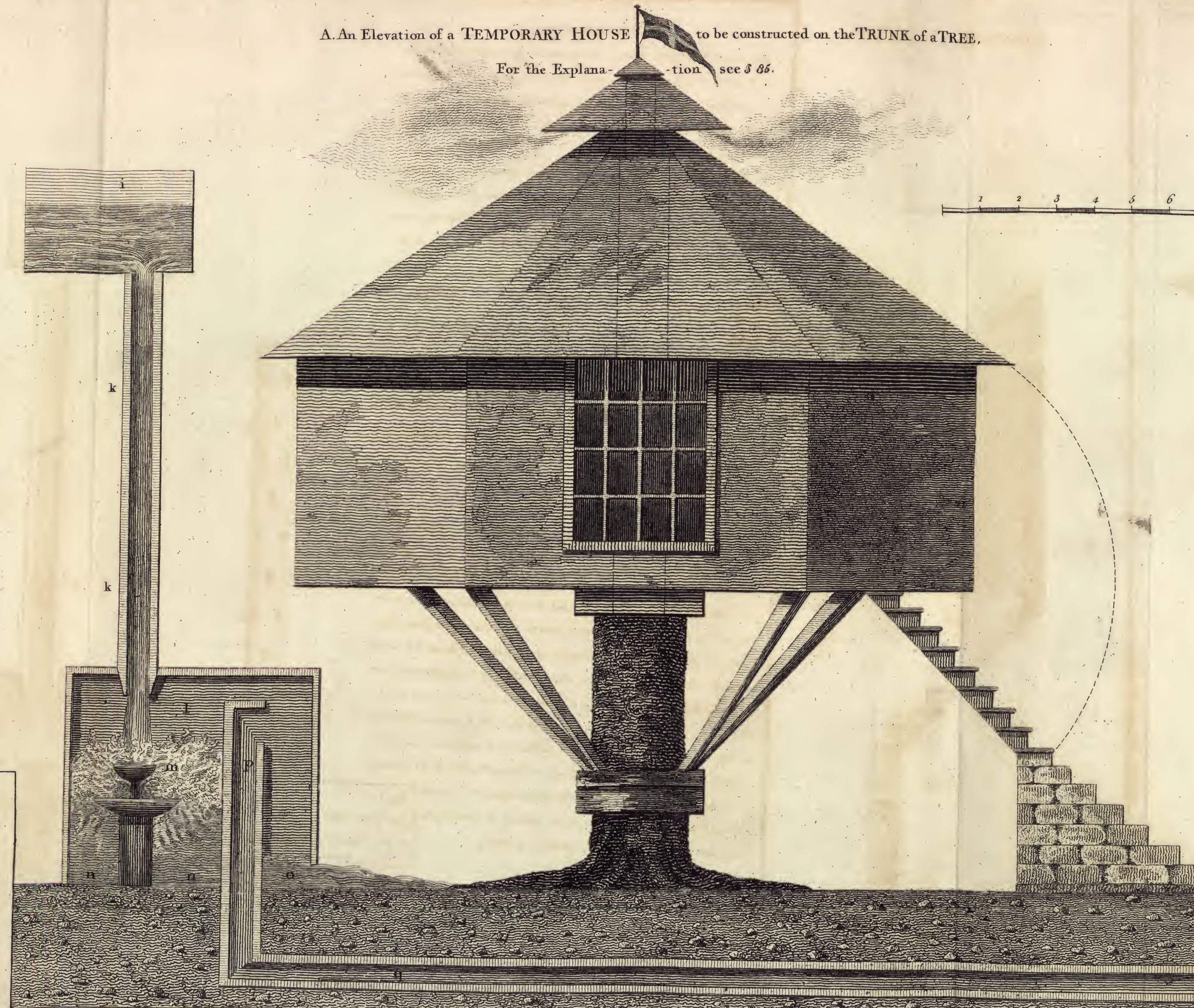
i. Is a Cistern from which the water falls through the pipe k, full of holes, by which the Air enters & is forced downwards by the violent descent of the water, into the close barrel l. The water dashing on the basons m, is broken into froth & falls into the lower part of the barrel n, whence it runs off by the hole o, and may then supply the above mentioned trench b. The Air, being disengaged from the broken Water, & confined on all sides, is driven into the pipe p, by which Mr. Johansen's pipe q, under the earth, is furnished with a constant stream of Air, which ascending through his pipe r, spreads itself in his air reservoir s, & continues its ascent through his side pipes t. The cool & purified Air thus delivered by these pipes, being specifically heavier than the Air in the room, descends towards the floor, & takes place of the rarified Air, which constantly ascends till it escape by the opening u.

Fig. 1.
A Hat with 3 Valves
in the Crown, very
useful for those, who
live in hot climates.
see 88.



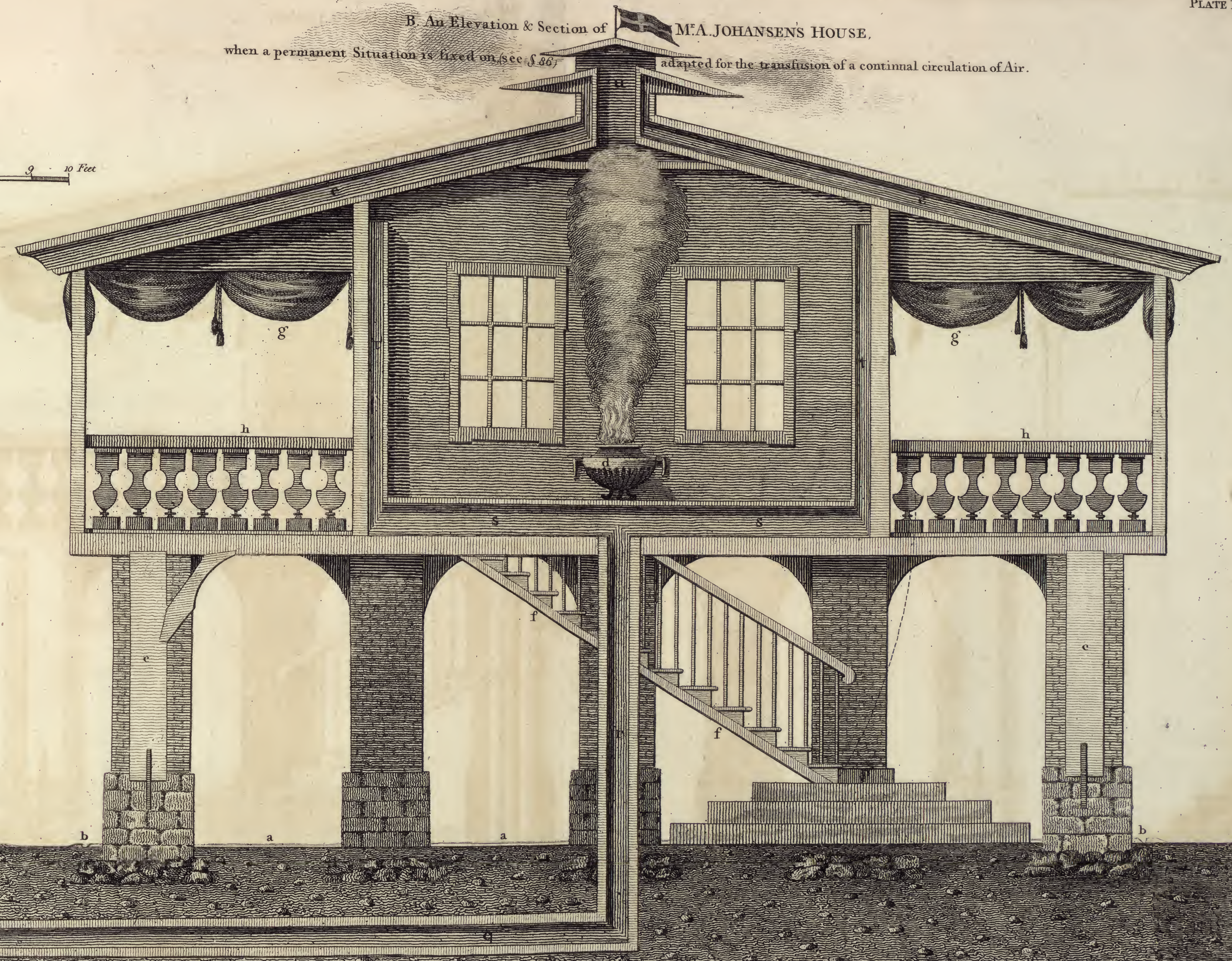
A. An Elevation of a TEMPORARY HOUSE to be constructed on the TRUNK of a TREE,

For the Explanation see § 86.



B. An Elevation & Section of M^r.A. JOHANSEN'S HOUSE,

when a permanent Situation is fixed on (see § 86) adapted for the transfusion of a continual circulation of Air.



EXPLANATION.

- a. The ground on which the House is to be erected & which ought to be covered with a Coat of cement or mortar, to prevent the ascent of Vapours from the Earth.
 - b. A small trench which may be made all round the House through which water should be constantly running if the Situation admit of it, to prevent Ants & other Insects from entering the House.
 - c. Pillars on which the dwelling House should be raised to a proper elevation above the ground in order to give a free circulation of Air underneath, to carry off the Vapours, These pillars may be covered with bricks & plaistered if found necessary.
 - d. A Fire Urn or grate from which the Smoke rises through the opening in the top of the Roof.
 - e. The Roof also double, like the floor, in order to give a free circulation to the Air & render the roof, & consequently the room, cool.
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A. An Elevation of a TEMPORARY HOUSE

to be constructed on the TRUNK of a TR

For the Explana- tion see § 86.

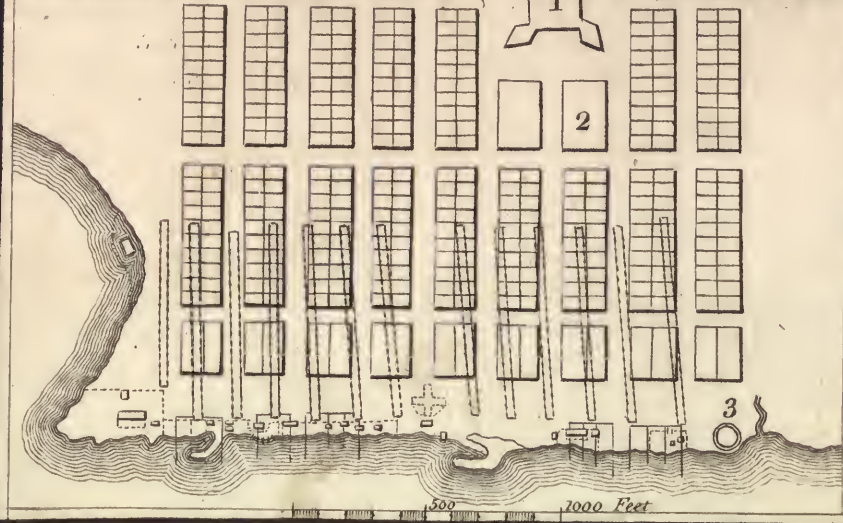




A Plan of FREE TOWN.

The dotted lines shew how it was first built.
The Comp^y buildings now destroyed were all next to the Shore.

1. Thornton Fort. 2. The Church. 3. Padenheim Fort.



A GENERAL SKETCH
of the
HARBOUR of SIERRA LEONA,
pointing out the Situation
of the
NEW COLONY.

NB. This Sketch differs from that inserted in the report
of the Directors in some particulars in which I have
followed the corrections of M^r. Dawes and of Capt. Gotther.
But, after all, as no regular survey of this harbour has
ever been made, it can scarcely be supposed sufficiently
accurate, for nautical purposes.

Appearance of Cape Sierra Leona from the Sea, dist^{ce} 6 miles, Lat. 8° 30' N. Long. 13° 43' W. Variat. 14° 30' W.

Published as the Act directs Sep^r 1st 1795 by C.B. Wadstrom.

Observations.

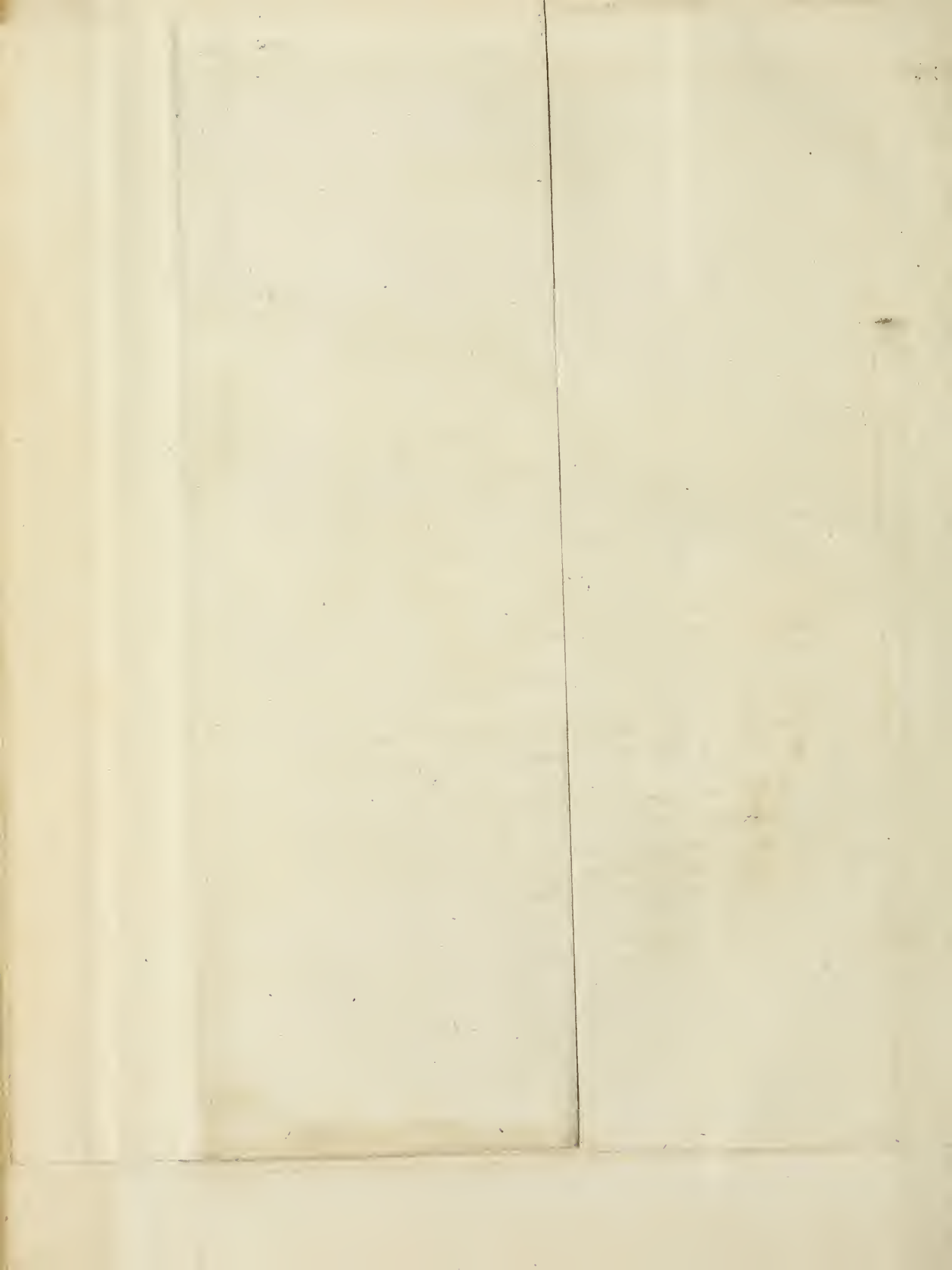
With half a mile offing N of Cape Sierra Leona
Hospital Point shews clear of any other Point.
Steer due N from Cape Sierra Leona you are
sure to keep clear of the Middle Ground in 7
fathoms water.
Freetown is built in the direction of ENE.
and W.S.W.

Communicated by Captain LA. Gotther.

REFERENCE.

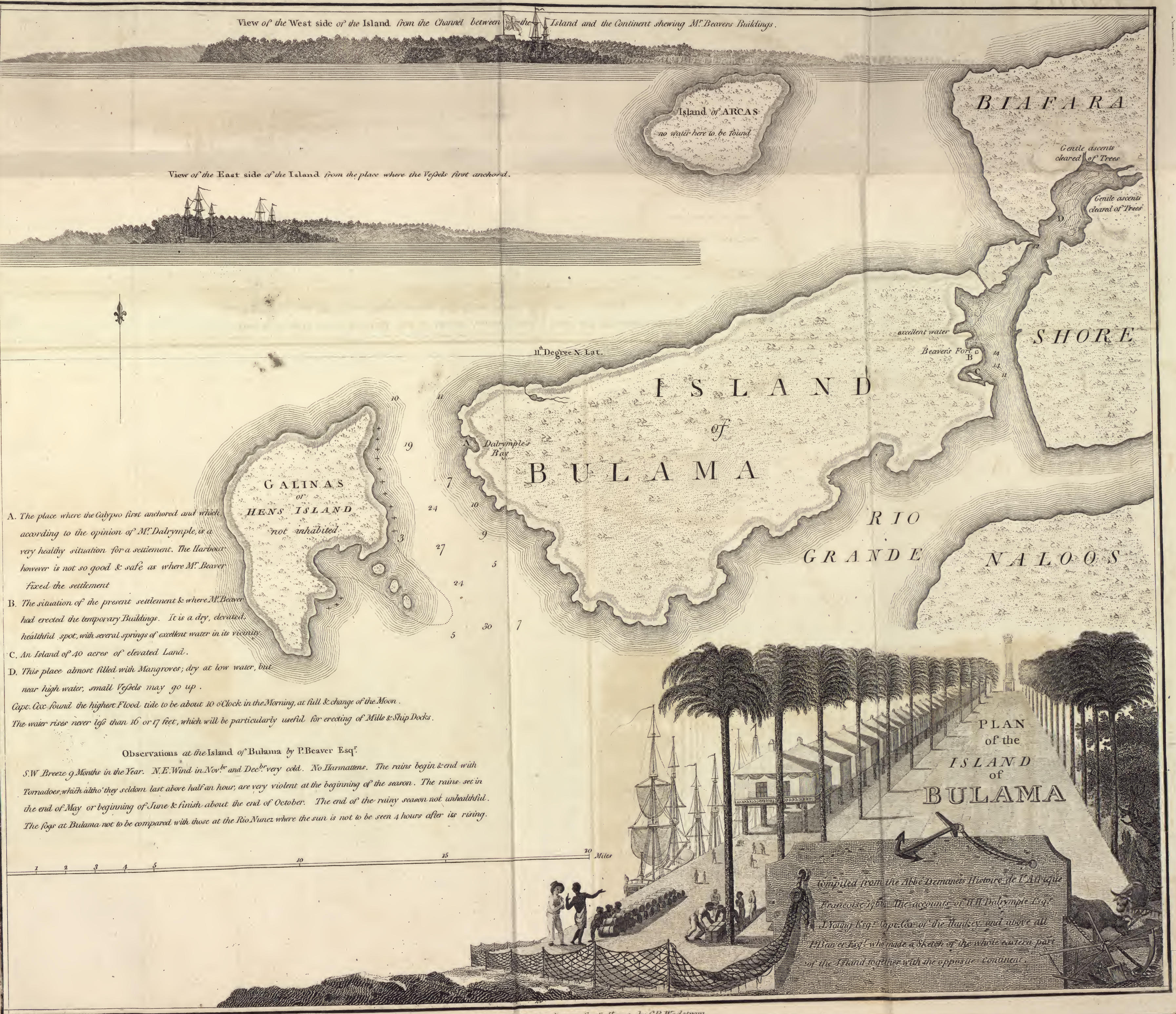
- a. Land reserv'd for Dock Yard
 - b. Land reserv'd to the inhabitants
of Pa Maquois Town.
 - c. Company's Plantation with Managers
House Granary &c. on the Bullen Shore.
- On the Island of Gambia there
was lately a French Slave Factory
but it is now abandoned.





View of the West side of the Island from the Channel between the Island and the Continent shewing M^r. Beavers Buildings.

View of the East side of the Island from the place where the Vessels first anchored.



A. The place where the Calypso first anchored and which according to the opinion of M^r. Dalrymple, is a very healthy situation for a settlement. The Harbour however is not so good & safe as where M^r. Beaver fixed the settlement

B. The situation of the present settlement & where M^r. Beaver had erected the temporary Buildings. It is a dry, elevated, healthful spot, with several springs of excellent water in its vicinity

C. An Island of 40 acres of elevated Land.

D. This place almost filled with Mangroves; dry at low water, but near high water, small Vessels may go up.

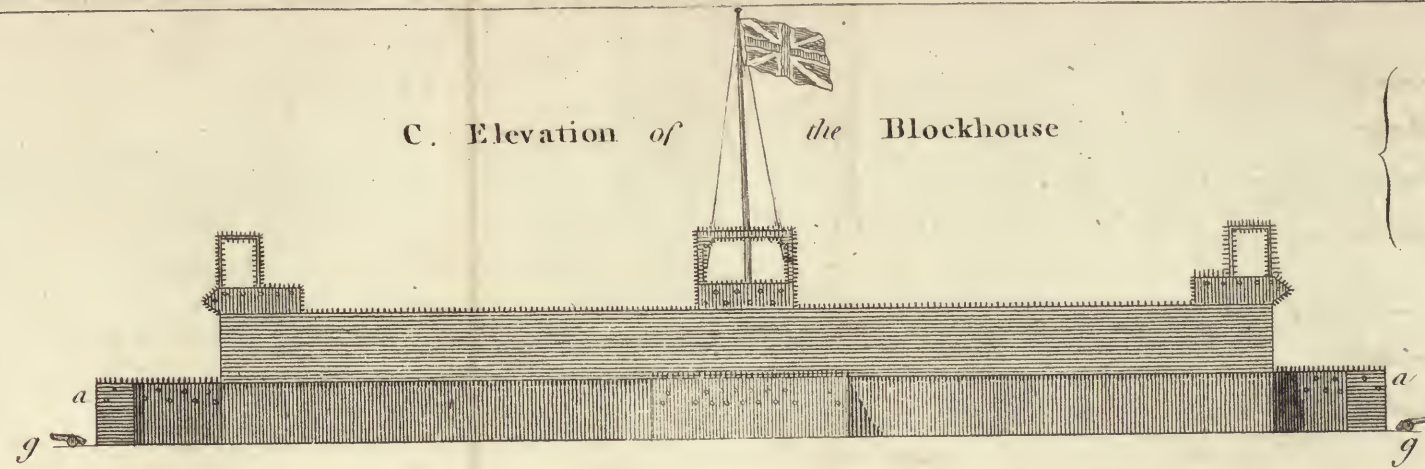
Capt. Cox found the highest Flood tide to be about 10 o'clock in the Morning, at full & change of the Moon. The water rises never less than 16 or 17 feet, which will be particularly useful for erecting of Mills & Ship Docks.

Observations at the Island of Bulama by P. Beaver Esq^r.

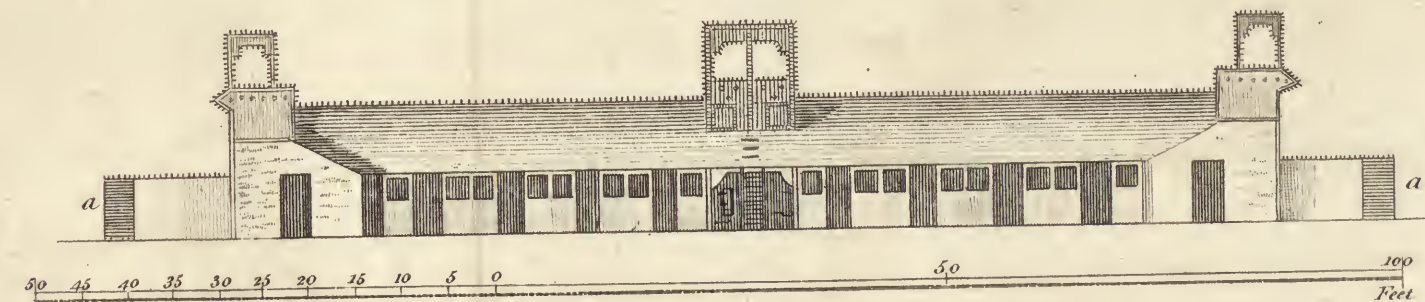
S.W. Breeze 9 Months in the Year. N.E. Wind in Nov^r and Dec^r very cold. No Harbatters. The rains begin & end with Tornados, which altho' they seldom last above half an hour, are very violent at the beginning of the season. The rains set in the end of May or beginning of June & finish about the end of October. The end of the rainy season not unhealthy. The fogs at Bulama not to be compared with those at the Rio Nunez where the sun is not to be seen 4 hours after its rising.

Compiled from the Abbe Demare's Histoire de l'Afrique Françoise 1768. The account of M^r. Dalrymple Esq^r. J. Young Esq^r. Captain of the Blunkey, and above all P. Beaver Esq^r. who made a sketch of the whole eastern part of the Island together with the opposite continent.

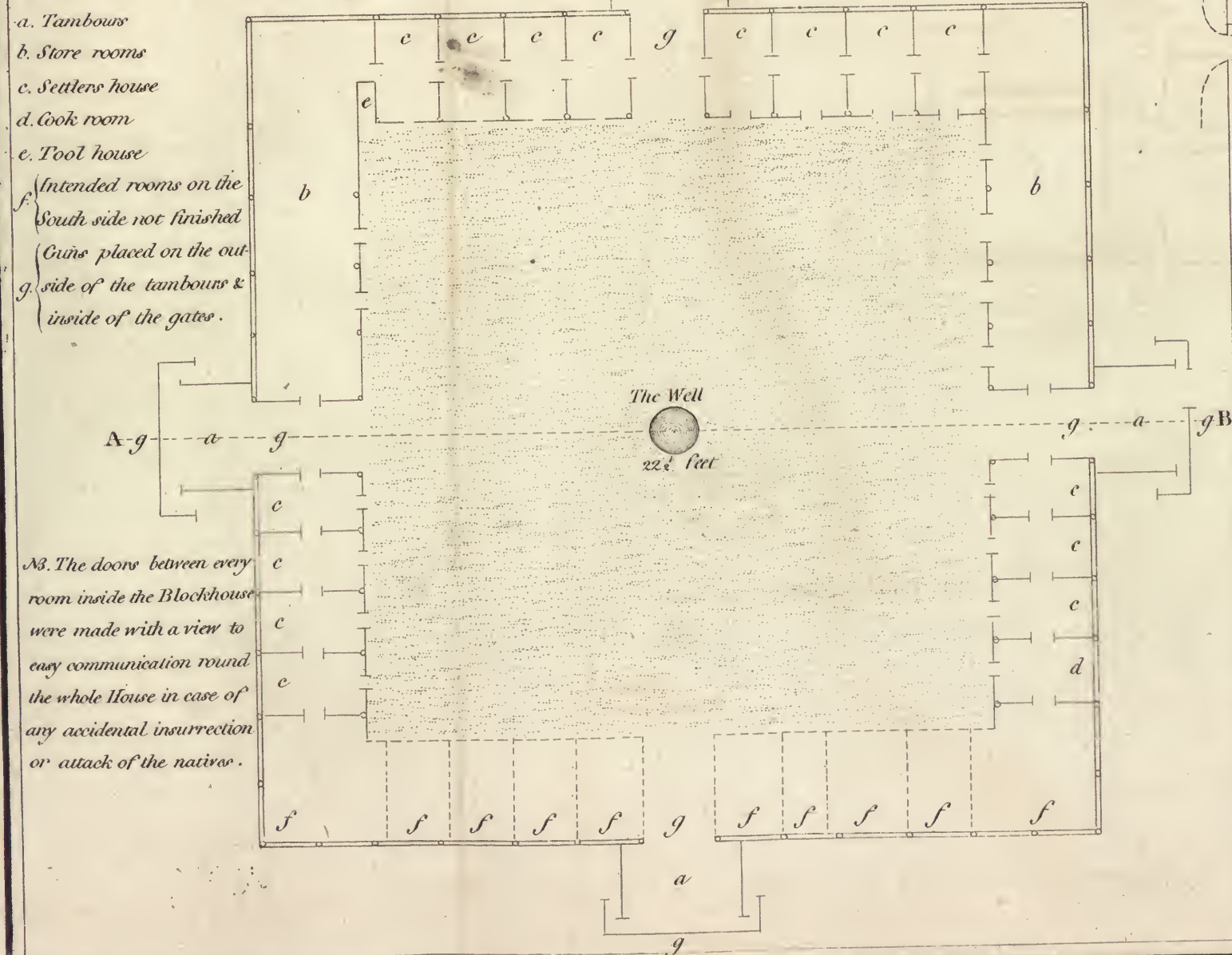
C. Elevation of the Blockhouse



B. Elevation & Section of the Blockhouse



A. Plan of the Blockhouse

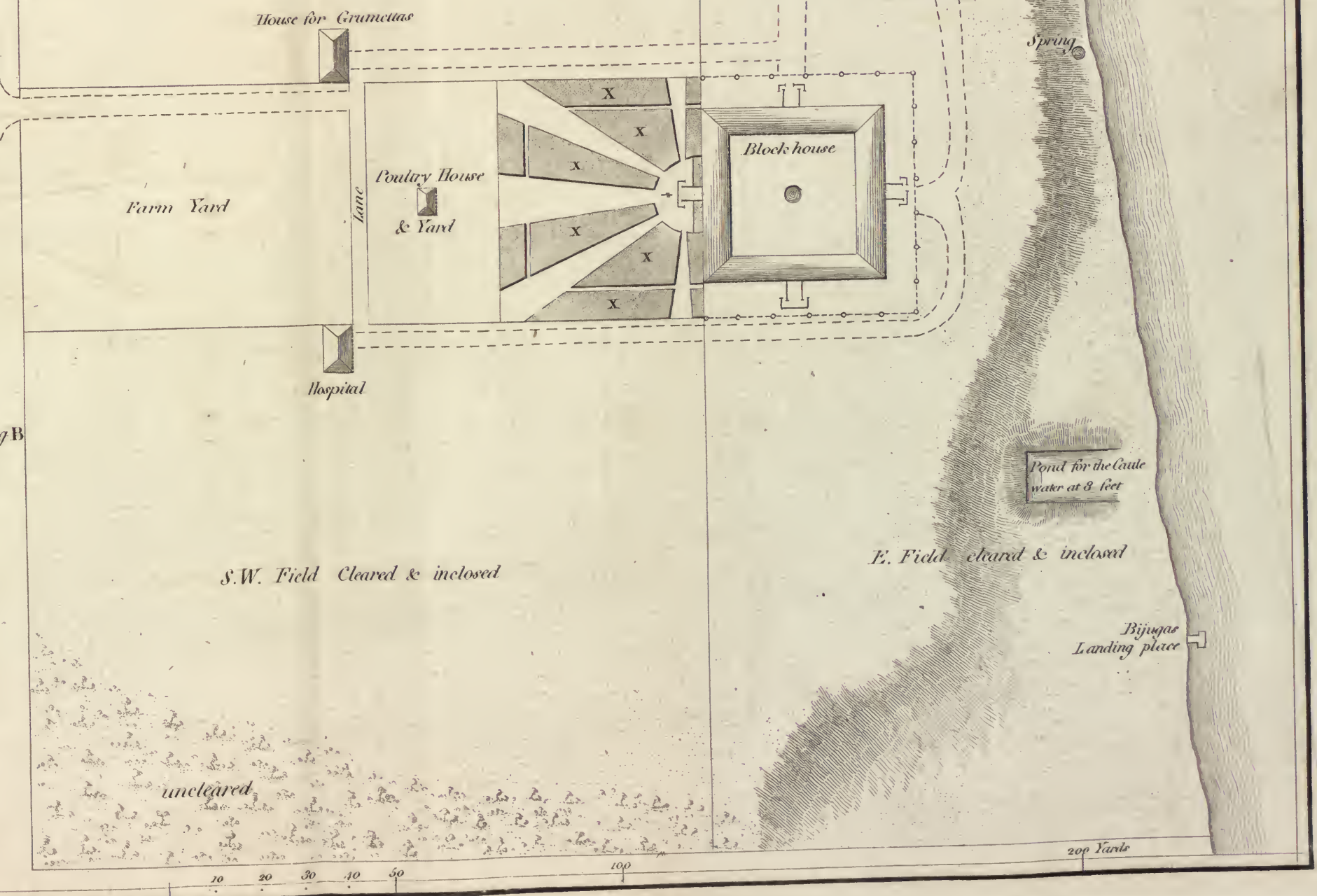


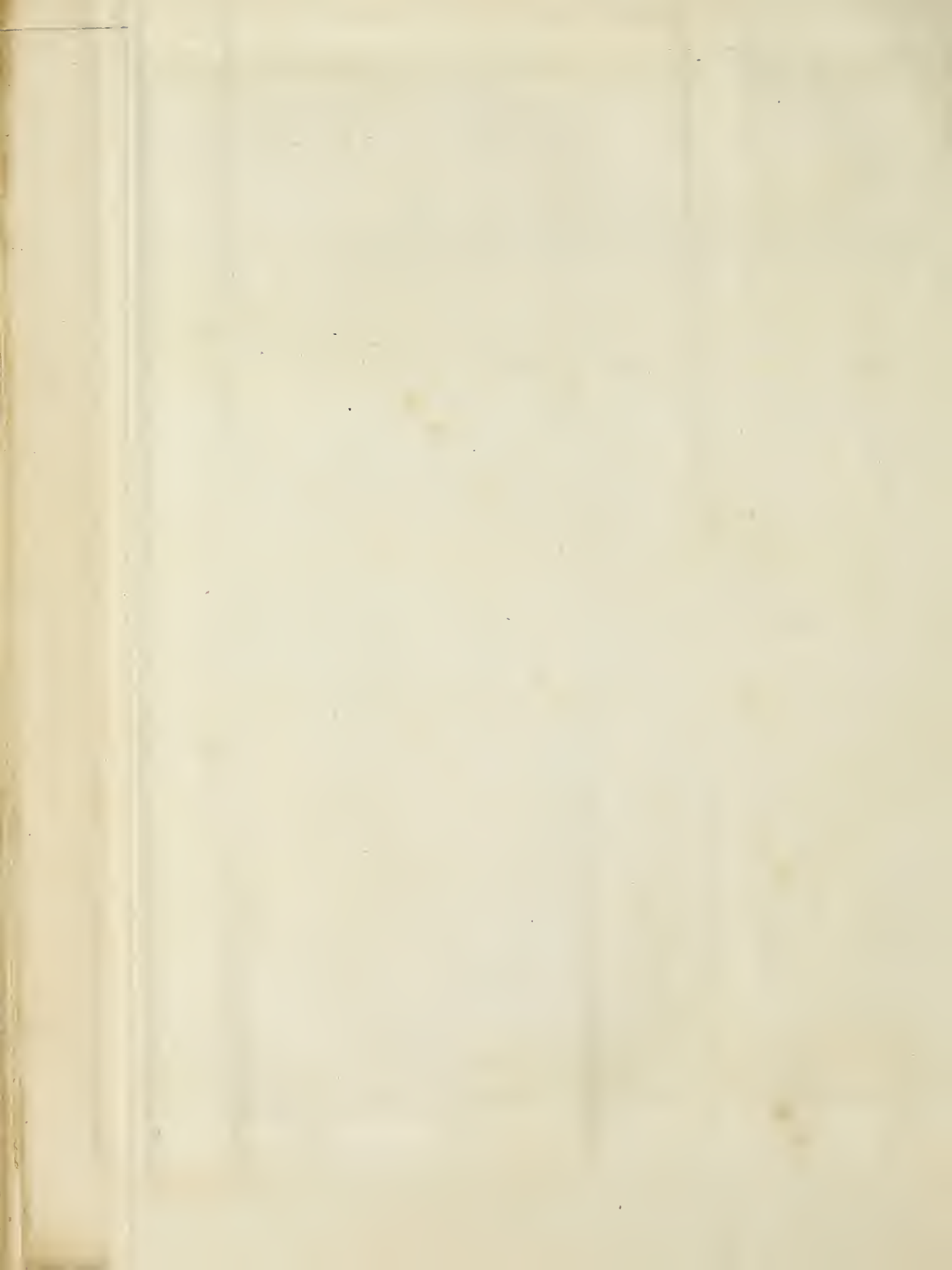
PLAN of the provisional defence, buildings & cleared grounds, which have already been executed at Bulama by the enterprising Spirit and perseverance of M^r. Beaver, who had the courage of remaining under the greatest difficulties upon the Island in order to secure it for the Subscribers till further support could be supplied from Europe.

X In the garden were left growing, when M^r. Beaver quitted the Island, Orange, Lime & Cotton Trees about 300 of each, a few Pepper, Papaws & Coava Trees, also two plots of Plantains & Bananas, and one large Bed of Pineapples.

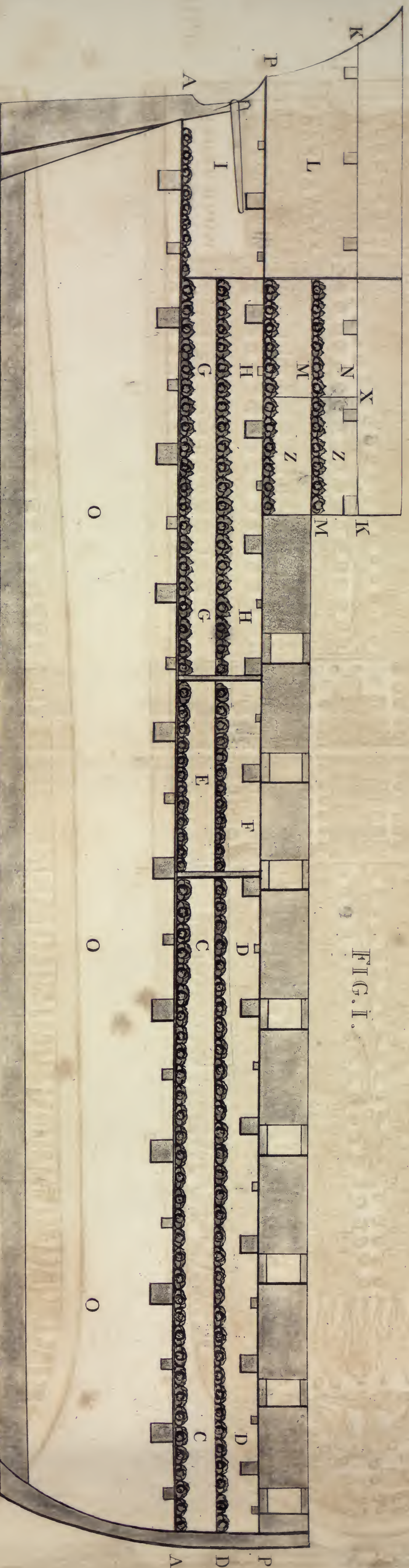
He had also planted & sowed various annual vegetables which thrive very well, except some European seeds which were mouldy & never came up, altho' they thrive very well at the neighbouring Portuguese Settlement.

N.W. Field Cleared & inclosed





PLAN AND SECTIONS OF A SLAVE SHIP.



SCALE
of Twenty Feet

One Eighth of an Inch to a Foot

REPRESENTATION of an INSURRECTION

on board
A SLAVE SHIP.

Showing how the crew fire upon the unhappy slaves from behind the BARRICADO, erected on board all slave ships, as a security whenever such commotions may happen.



See the pretty account, report part I. Art. SLAVES.
Minutes of evidence before the House of Commons.
Wednesday 18th May 1807 on Colonization 5. 477.

FIG. II.

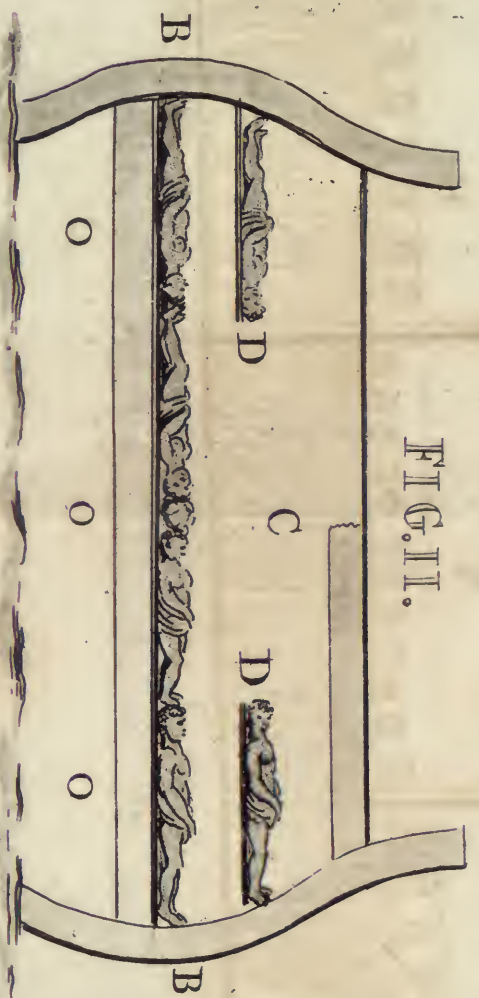


FIG. III.

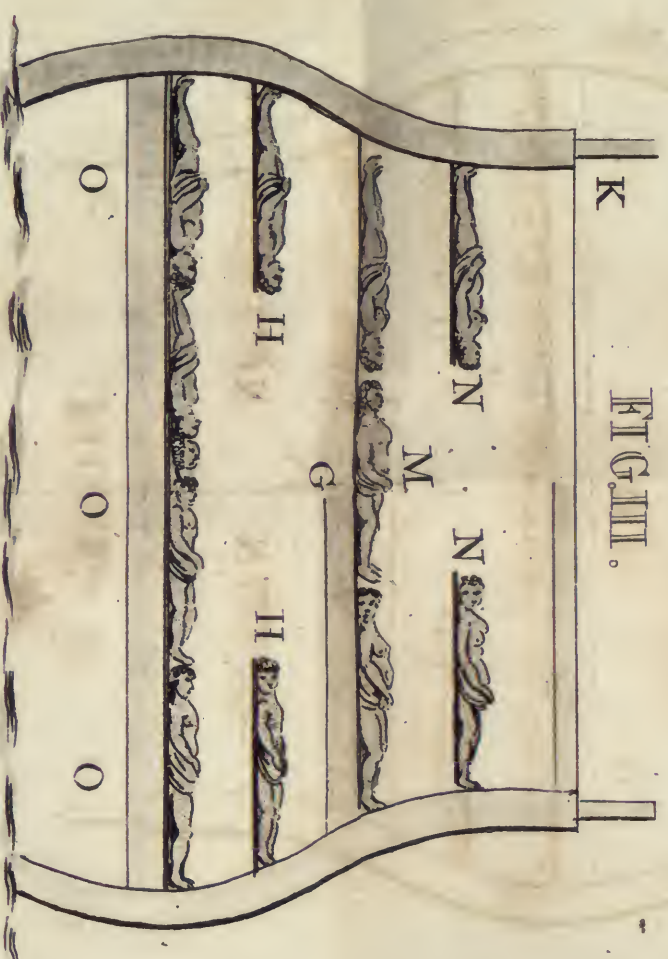


FIG. VI.

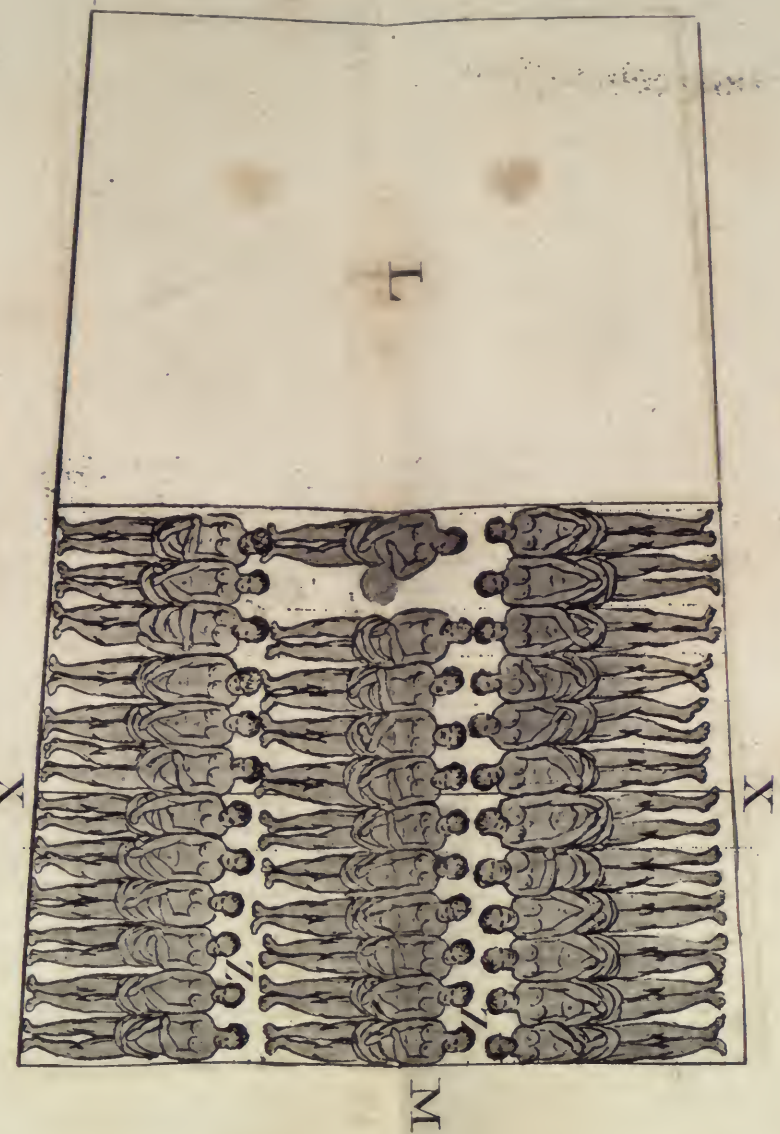


FIG. V.

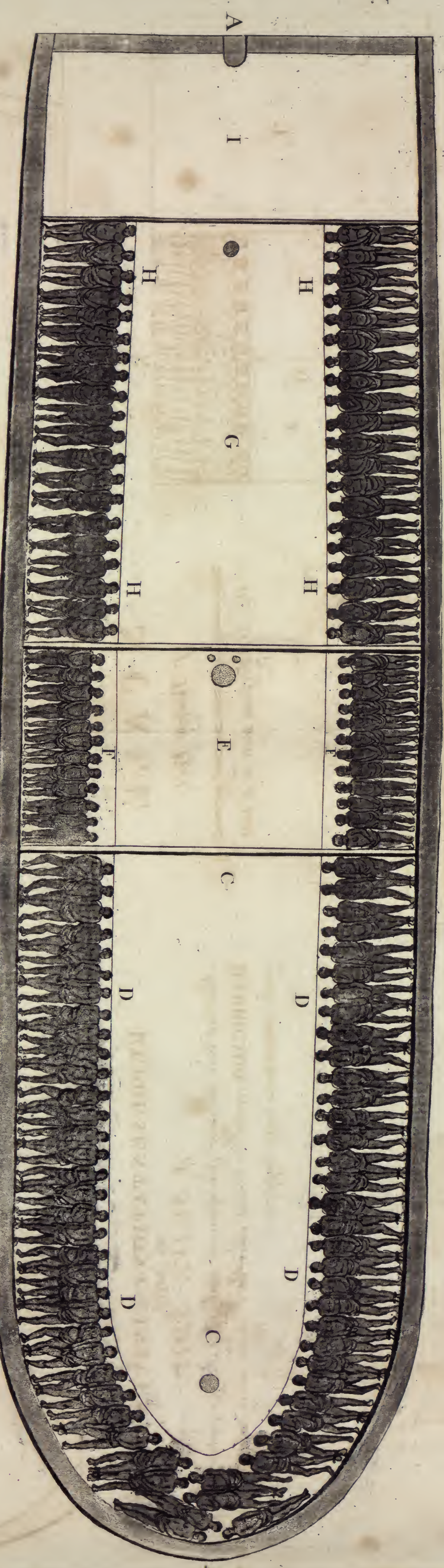


FIG. IV.

